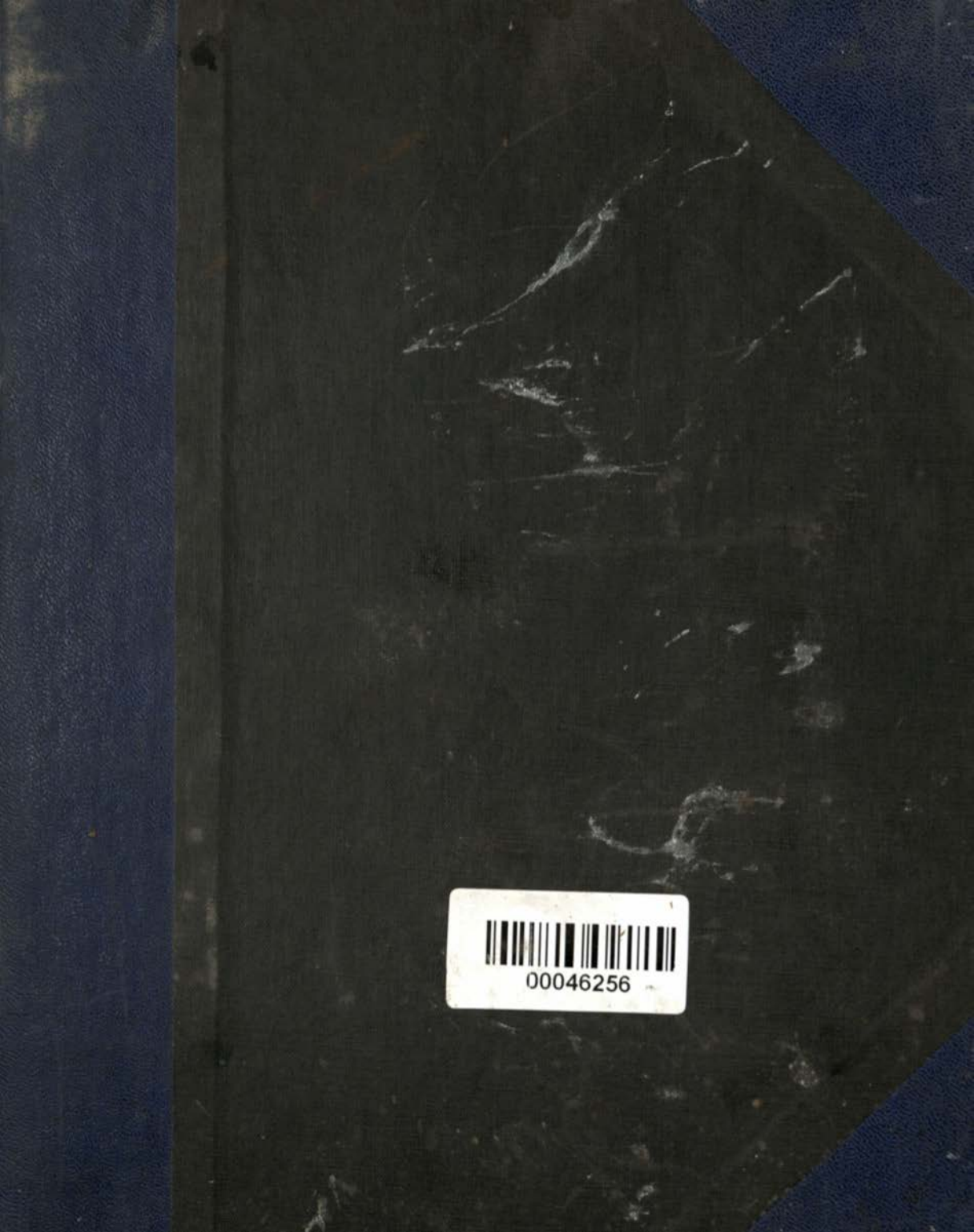
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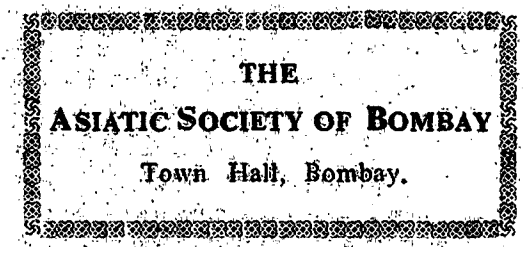

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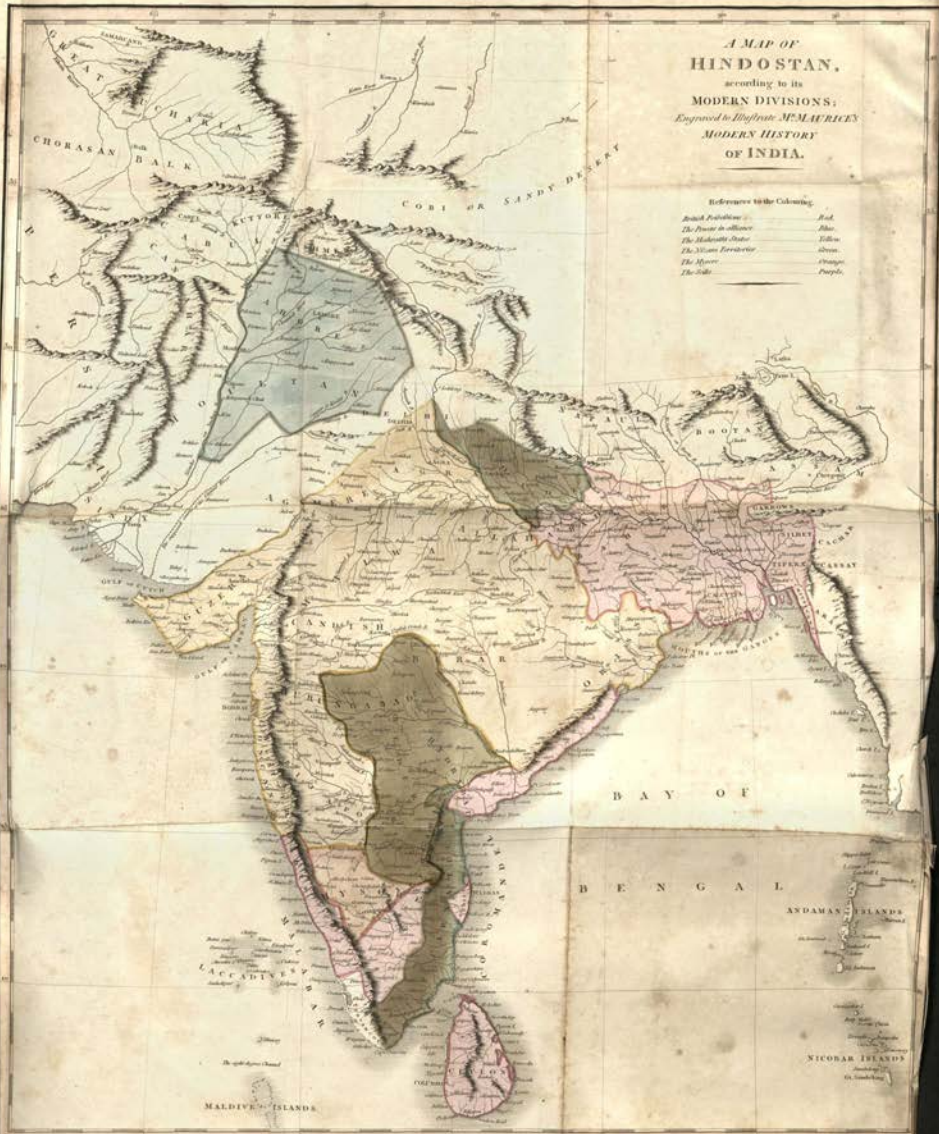
A MAP OF
HINDOSTAN,
according to its
MODERN DIVISIONS;
Engraved to Illustrate Mr. MAURICE'S
MODERN HISTORY
OF INDIA.
References to the Colouring.
British Possessions — Red.
The Powers in alliance — Blue.
The Mahratta States — Yellow.
The Nizam Territories — Green.
The Mysore — Orange.
The Sikhs — Purple.
CHORASAN
BALK
COBI OR SANDY DESERT
BOOTAN
ASSAM
GARROWS
TIBET
CACHAR
CASSAY
GULF OF CUTCH
CANDISH
BAY OF
BENGAL
ANDAMAN ISLANDS
NICOBAR ISLANDS
LACCADIVES
MALDIVE ISLANDS
CEYLON

THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN:

COMPREHENDING THAT OF

THE GREEK EMPIRE OF BACTRIA,

AND OTHER

GREAT ASIATIC KINGDOMS, BORDERING ON ITS WESTERN FRONTIER.

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COMMENCING AT

THE PERIOD OF THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER,

AND

INTENDED TO BE BROUGHT DOWN TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

VOL I. PART I.

44 C. 33

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S;
AND SOLD BY J. WHITE, FLEET-STREET.

1802.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY ADDINGTON,

FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER,

THE FIRM FRIEND OF HIS COUNTRY, AND OF PEACE,

THE

MODERN HISTORY OF INDIA,

IS

RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS

OBLIGED AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THOMAS MAURICE.

PREFACE.

THE Title of MODERN HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN, by which I have distinguished the present Work, must be understood by the reader comparatively, with respect to those very remote periods to which the preceding Volumes have reference, and to which all transactions in India, posterior to the invasion of Alexander, must undoubtedly be considered as *Modern*. Although, for the sake of connection, it has been thought proper to commence the Work from that conqueror's decease, yet it will be candidly confessed by every person conversant with the subject, that, deducting what the classical writers of Greece and Rome have delivered down to us concerning the Greek empire of Bactria, founded on the ruins of the Macedonian, and the intercourse with India of the Egyptian, Syrian, and Parthian empires, there exist but very scanty materials for any regular history of India, till the establishment, in Asia, of the celebrated dynasty of the

Gaznavide Sultans; the rapacious conquerors, in the tenth century, of that secluded and beautiful region. Whether any native histories of these times remain among the literary treasures of Benares, and to what extent, is a point extremely uncertain; but what has been observed in a former Preface seems more likely to be the genuine fact, that the Brahmins have been more zealous to preserve the history of their wretched superstitions than that of their early sovereigns. None, at least, have yet appeared in the languages of Europe, though every thing is to be expected from the industry and talents of the gentlemen who compose the Asiatic Society. What could be done by an individual has been performed with zeal, with diligence, and with perseverance. From every quarter, whence a ray of intelligence could be obtained, I have endeavoured to collect the scattered gleams, and have brought their concentrated light to bear upon the obscure subject which I have, for some years, laboured to illumine. That in this, as in some other instances, the labourer has not reaped the soil which he has tilled, is only regretted because it has prevented his efforts from being more extensively useful.

After all, however an *historian* may lament the deficiency of materials for the domestic history of India, yet the mere contests of its Rajahs for pre-eminence in

their respective provinces, or even the grander efforts of the supreme sovereign, or Maharajah himself, to subjugate to his controul the rebel chieftains of their haughty race, of which that history must principally consist, could not long or deeply interest the public mind. The same unvaried tale of insult and revenge, of victory and defeat, occurring in every successive reign, could not fail to weary by its repetition, and disgust by its uniformity; and, I am convinced, that the only truly interesting and instructive history of India must be planned on that enlarged scale and *that* comprehensive view of the affairs of Asia, upon which it is here undertaken. Considered independently of its connection with the neighbouring empires, flourishing at the same period, the Seleucidian, the Parthian, the Bactrian, and, in later periods, the powerful Mohammedan kingdoms and dynasties that rolled their thunder round the mountains on its frontier, the history of India, instead of firing, as it ought, equally the soul of the writer and the reader, would sink to an insipid narrative, which others, than myself, might write, and persons of a different description from my patrons would probably peruse.

It has been well observed by a writer who preceded me in this line of historical investigation, but whose

Oriental researches, made at great labour and expense, could not keep him from a jail, if they did not lead him to it; that the course of a great history should resemble the current of a vast river, with difficulty restrained within its bounds, and sometimes even overflowing its banks; sometimes rushing forward with a great and impetuous descent, and at others gliding on with an equal and almost imperceptible motion.* From natural impulse, not less than conviction, I am led heartily to accede to this decision of Ockley, and am resolved to adhere, in the present, as in the former work, to that more dignified style of narration, which alone becomes the majesty of history. After having made choice of a period fraught with sublime and interesting events, the true historian descends not to trivial incidents, but seizing the striking facts and prominent characters of the times, consigns them to immortality on the faithful tablet of her recording page. It is, above all things, incumbent upon him properly to *feel* the various subjects which his pen describes—when the trumpets are sounded, he must glow with his hero, and transport his reader with himself, amidst the thickest of the battle. But while he gives to valour its due tribute of applause, he should never forget (and I trust in these

* Professor Ockley, in his preface to the second volume of his History of the Saracens.

pages it has not been forgotten,) to expose in terms of just and warm indignation, the sanguinary principles that too frequently accompany the warrior to the field of Asiatic conflict; the ferocity of Mohammedan zeal, and the ravages of Tartar barbarity.

So far back as the year 1790, when the Directors of the East India Company, on the recommendation of my respected friend, Mr. Nathaniel Smith, at that time their Chairman, first honoured my humble efforts with their patronage, I had the honour of addressing a Letter to them, containing the plan and prospectus of my intended history. It was meant as an introduction to its *modern*, rather than to its *ancient* history, which I had then not the remotest idea of composing, and principally alludes to writers and events posterior to the death of Alexander, at which the present work commences. It was, however, approved of as a composition, and by the desire of intelligent friends, was printed at the head of that work, with which, in truth, it has little concern, since that history, as all other Oriental histories of such a remote retrospect must necessarily be, is mostly of a mythological nature. As there are many persons to whom the Modern History of India may be acceptable, who yet may not choose to purchase the ancient work, from the numerous engravings become so very expensive, but by whom the

parts of that letter, giving an account of the Persian and Arabian authors cited in this work, are indispensably necessary to be known, the subscribers to the ancient history, who may purchase the present, it is hoped, will not be offended at finding the substance of that Address again brought before their view, though with many emendations and additions, in the initial chapters of the first and second book of this volume, in which my authorities used in the composition of it, are produced. The letter in question will be rejected as irrelevant, in any future edition of the ancient part, and be only preserved in its present form, and in its present more appropriate situation.

A correct and elegant Map of Modern India, executed upon such an extended scale, as to include the geography of the great empires situated to the north and west of India, the annals of which are so inseparably blended with those of that country, as to form a part of its history, is at this moment engraving for this work by that excellent artist, Mr. Arrowsmith. It will contain the new divisions of the Peninsula, will be a coloured one, with an index pointing out the present possessors of the different provinces, and shall infallibly be given with the second part. With respect to engravings, it is utterly out of my power to decorate this volume with ANY, for printing as I now

do, at my sole hazard and expense, unaided, as before, by the East India Company, to whose generosity I was unwilling again to apply, and with only a very slender list of subscribers, I have found it a task sufficiently arduous, to produce at the present juncture, even this First Part of my intended volume. It is now a well known fact that, from the late enormous rise in the price of the finer papers, when that heavy charge, the expenses of printing, and the just profits of the bookseller shall have been deducted, a publication of any magnitude must have very superior merit indeed, to reimburse the author; any adequate emolument for labour and time expended in the composition of it, is wholly out of the question. Under these incumbrances, and still far remote from those bowers of learned leisure, in which alone reflection is matured, or rather in the midst of the perpetual interruptions of a public situation, I can proceed but slowly; yet I WILL proceed, and hope ultimately to produce a work honourable to myself, and not disgraceful to my country!

The above just and ingenuous statement, will, it is presumed, prove a sufficient apology to the indulgent public, for the mode in which this volume can alone be vended. It will be published in two parts, and will consist of about five hundred pages, the price

two guineas; but, the former work having been also published in parts, and many of them being left separately on hand, to the great loss of the author, no person can have the first part without subscribing, at the same time, for the complete volume, for which proper receipts will be given. The SECOND PART is considerably advanced in the press; and will, if possible, be ready for delivery in the ensuing JUNE.

British Museum,
February 1st, 1802.

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MODERN HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

BOOK I

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF INDIA, FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MOHAMMEDAN ÆRA.

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INDIA, or rather HINDOSTAN, is a country more distinguished by the vicissitudes it has undergone, and more remarkable for the peculiarity of its inhabitants and productions, than any other on the face of the earth. Its natural history and aspect strongly partake of the same predominant feature of singularity. The grandeur and extent of its two celebrated rivers, which, after diffusing verdure and plenty through many rich and powerful kingdoms, fall into the ocean, at the distance of four hundred leagues from each

other: the stupendous height of those mountains, by which, as an everlasting barrier, it is on three sides girded, and of which another mighty ridge extends quite across, from north to south, causing an agreeable variety of climate, and exhibiting, on its opposite extremities, the surprising phænomenon of two seasons at one period; the luxuriant beauty and fertility of its plains; the fragrance of its aromatic woods; the delicious flavour of its fruits; the immense treasures daily poured forth from its subterraneous regions, and the rich variety of its manufactures; have rendered India, from the remotest ages of antiquity, equally the wonder of the curious, and the delight of the voluptuous; the object of contemplation to the philosopher, and too frequently of rapacity to the unrelenting fury of the soldier.

The natives of this beautiful country, like the Chinese, and all other Eastern nations, carry up their annals to an incredible antiquity. Their early writers, according to Pliny,* boasted of a long succession of great, wise, and powerful princes, who reigned over it for many thousand years before the invasion of Alexander the Great. These exaggerated accounts, however, have been proved to be utterly repugnant to truth, to reason, and to every just system of chronology. The pretensions of the Indians, as a nation, to high antiquity are readily admitted; but when they wish us to consider that antiquity as unfathomable, they only excite our pity, or contempt.

Secluded from any immediate intercourse with the neighbouring countries, by the peculiarity of its customs and religion, India was governed during the very early periods alluded to, by one supreme Maha-rajah, and other great feudatory princes; the extent of whose dominions varied at different æras, according to the peaceful or aspiring nature of the sovereign. These were armed with the full powers of monarchy in their several governments,

* Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 17.

and, as we are informed, both by Diodorus Siculus* and Strabo,† on the subject, were absolute proprietors of the lands in their respective jurisdictions. They claimed affinity with the sun and moon, and being assisted in the administration of affairs by the counsels of the Brachmans, who, like the Magi of Persia, discharged at once the sacred function of the priesthood, and the high hereditary office of counselling the monarch, were regarded with reverence that bordered on adoration. The domestic history, however, of these most ancient dynasties of princes is unfortunately involved in impenetrable obscurity. Their names alone remain, a dead letter on the recording tablet of time, and exhibit an awful and an instructive lesson on the vanity of human grandeur, and the pride of sublunary distinction.

The inhabitants of India were then, as at present, divided into various tribes, or casts, never intermingled in marriage, at entertainments, or in any intimate manner associated. Their great ingenuity in all the mechanical arts, their genius for commerce, which they carried on to a considerable extent with Egypt and Arabia, the liberal hospitality and love of truth, the rigid temperance and frugality by which they were distinguished; but, above all, the profound learning and lofty precepts of morality inculcated by the ancient Brachmans, are celebrated with lavish encomiums, not only by the above-cited authors, but by many others of the most respectable character for veracity in pagan antiquity. The successors, however, of those holy sophists, in the present day, are supposed dreadfully to have mutilated the simple and sublime doctrines of their great legislator, by adopting the most absurd superstitions, and devoting themselves to the grossest idolatry. It has been conjectured by many intelligent writers, little acquainted with the genius of the Hindoos, that many of these superstitions were borrowed during their intercourse, in succeeding ages, with the

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. p. 41. † Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 703.

Egyptians, and in the monstrous figures and images of deity that are at present worshipped in the pagodas of India, they have imagined can be clearly traced the hieroglyphic representations of the gods of Egypt.

But the very reverse of the argument is most likely to be the truth. The genius of the Indians was ever too proud to borrow either ceremonies of religion or maxims of policy from their neighbours on either confine of their empire. The Egyptians have either appropriated to themselves the ancient mythological rites and symbols of India; or, the maxim which through these volumes has been endeavoured to be demonstrated is just, they have derived both from one primitive source of Cuthite profanation.

The ancient classical writers had, in fact, but a very imperfect conception of the religion of the Indians. Jupiter Ammon, Pan, and Pluto are said to have been the objects of their worship. Such were the Grecian appellations for the several deities, or rather attributes of deity, adored in Hindostan. With more truth was the sacred Ganges affirmed to be an object of superstitious veneration, when, charged with the blessings of Providence, he descended in majesty from the mountains, and with his overflowings fertilized the thirsty soil.

The legislator whose sublime precepts improved; the hero whose resistless sword defended; the patriot whose inventive fancy adorned, with useful and liberal arts, his favoured country, secured the fervent prayers of the grateful Indian; was first remembered with admiration, and then deified. The very animal whose milk nourished him, and whose labours turned the fruitful sod, received his tributary homage, and was ranked in order next to a divinity. Whatever has life shares his affection, and partakes of his benevolence. Hospitals are erected, and endowed with large stipends, for the preservation and support of the different species of insects and animals; and we are informed by Oyington, of a certain secretary

to the English brokers of Surat, who for a long time cherished a prodigious snake in his own house, which he daily fed with bread and milk, on the supposition that its body was the receptacle of the soul of his deceased father.

Except in the single circumstance of the pure primæval religion of India, which descended from their patriarchal ancestors, having, in some melancholy instances, degenerated into idolatry, no perceivable vicissitude has taken place among this celebrated people, from the commencement of their empire to the present day. Whatever is true of them at one period, is equally true of them at another. The laws of the Medes and Persians were not more unalterable. From age to age, from father to son, through a hundred generations, the same uniformity of manners, and cast of character prevail; inexterminable by the sword, incorruptible by the vices, and unalterable by the example, of their conquerors.

Strangers, in general, to the turbulence of ambition, to the fever of intemperance, and all the tumultuous violence of the more boisterous passions, it cannot, however, be denied that the Hindoos are often the victims of one most fatal and degrading vice, insatiable avarice! When inflamed with this passion, its influence over their bosoms is said to know neither limit nor restraint. In the accumulation of wealth all their faculties are absorbed; but, ever mindful of the grasping extortion of their Mohammedan governors, they are reported to bury that wealth under ground, and dare not trust even their children with the fatal secret. The most cruel tortures cannot compel them to reveal the place of its concealment; the horror of threatened defilement has alone any influence over their firmness, and to avoid this menace, they fly for refuge to the destroying steel, or elude the inventive malice of their persecutors, by swallowing a dose of poison. Thus are the plains of Hindostan, like those of modern Tartary, covered with hoards of secret treasure; and, in this manner, may partly be accounted for those enormous sums of silver

bullion which are constantly importing into the country, and swallowed up as in a vast vortex, without ever being exported, or visibly increasing the quantity in circulation.

If, however, they are sometimes hurried away by this destructive passion, and by the stings of jealousy, the result of disproportionate marriages, into extremes which militate against that mild cast of character by which they are in general distinguished, the Hindoos have a thousand excellent qualities to counterbalance the defect. They are not less ardent in the love of their country, than zealous in their attachment to the institutions of their forefathers. In domestic life, they are tender and affectionate, and in their morals, for the most part, unsullied.

The above concise sketch of the country and character of the people of Hindostan, in addition to what has been already intimated on that subject, has been thought not improperly introductory to the pages of their modern history; from which we shall no longer detain the reader than, for the sake of connecting the two works, will be necessary to take a summary retrospect of what has been already attempted in this intricate and little explored path of literature, and exhibit a clear concatenated display of those interesting scenes, which will still lay claim to his attention, during the extended period of above two thousand years.

After having, in the ancient part of this work, considered the various accounts given by the Indians themselves of their cosmogony, and combated effectually, it is hoped, their absurd chronological assumptions above-mentioned, on the ground of that very astronomy on which the air-built fabric was erected; after having discussed the history of the various Avatars, and shewn the entire consonance between the oldest Indian records, respecting the creation, the deluge, and other important events, and the Mosaic, with this only difference, that the former are clothed in the veil of mythology, while the latter are radiant in the lustre of unadorned truth; after paying also that

just respect which is due to the earliest historians of *classical* antiquity, even when treating of ages deeply involved in fabulous obscurity; after having displayed the romantic exploits, related by those historians, of the Indian Bacchus and Hercules, and pointed out what degree of credibility may be due to the accounts of the irruptions into India, of the Egyptian Sesostris, the Assyrian Semiramis, and other preceding invaders of India, we endeavoured to discover how far the Persians penetrated into a country, which they for ages boasted to have subdued, and rendered tributary to that enormous empire which they once possessed in Asia. We found Alexander, in fact, grounding his right to India on the claims of the ancient Persian monarchs, whose dynasty he had utterly subverted, for the suspended tribute; and though the claim appeared somewhat dubious, and the motive rather to satiate ambition and avarice, than to exact justice from the tardy Hindoos; yet we could not but admire the ardour manifested in exploring, and the intrepidity displayed in conquering, so vast and distant an empire.

At that luminous period of our history, having emerged from the region of mystery and fable, we felt ourselves firmly treading on classic ground; and, taking Arrian and the other Greek historians for our conductors, we presented to the view of the reader, that triumphant hero, with his determined Greeks, after trampling on the ruins of the Persian empire, bending their toilsome march down the precipices of Caucasus, or rather of Paropamisus, a branch of the Caucasus, towards the banks of the Indus; and we exhibited the mighty POURAVA, the Porus of the classics, towering above the rival princes of India, as well in the gigantic stature of his body as the comprehensive faculties of his mind, with an army numerous as the locusts, issuing from his renowned capital, to give unsuccessful battle to his too powerful antagonist. We then accompanied the undaunted Greek down the Indus, detailed the

progress of his harassed fleet and army along the barbarous shore of Carmania; and, entering Babylon with him in triumph, beheld in that capital the melancholy termination of his life and his glory. The above is a brief retrospect of past transactions connected with this history; let us, with a glance somewhat more extended, take a survey of the future.

From the death of Alexander till the commencement of the Hegira, or Mohammedan æra, in the sixth century, the path of Indian history becomes again gloomy, cheerless, treacherous, and unconnected. We are possessed of few authentic documents to guide, and still fewer important incidents to vary, the uninteresting narrative. We shall trace, however, some vestiges of ancient fortitude and independence in the daring and successful efforts of Sandracottus, the *Sinsarchund* of Ferishtah, to shake off the Macedonian yoke, or rather that of Seleucus, the successor of Alexander, in his Syrian conquests; but we shall still be compelled to acknowledge, notwithstanding the vigorous, and, for the moment, effectual, opposition of Sandracottus, that, in the time of Antiochus the Great, India was not entirely independent of the power of the Seleucidæ, since, as we are informed by Polybius, this monarch exacted a tribute of elephants from Saphogasinus, its king, who seems to have been the *Jona* of Ferishtah, or one of his posterity, who, about that period, (two centuries before the Christian æra,) sat on the imperial throne of India. Dark and barren as this part of the work must necessarily be, I shall endeavour, from various fragments relative to India, in the history of these Seleucidæ, and that of the Ptolemys in Egypt; from the scanty records of the Greek sovereigns of Bactria, the dynasty of the Arsacidæ, and the other neighbouring nations; and from the twilight glimmering of information scattered through the pages of Roman history, both of the eastern and western empire; to connect the chain of events, and retain, unextinguished, the spirit that ought to animate every historical composition.

After this long interval of doubt and obscurity, we shall observe the scene grow gradually more clear and luminous. The clouds that darkened the historical page vanish before the effulgence of the crescent of Mohammed, now rising in baneful glory in the terrified East. Urged on by the sanguinary precepts of the Coran, and the same insatiable ambition that distinguished its author; fired with the love of military glory, and impatient for the honourable title of Gazi,* we see the heroes of the Arabian superstition successively pour their armies into the desolated plains of India. Filled, as we must be, with ardent admiration at the invincible fortitude with which, in pursuit of those objects, they surmounted difficulties almost insuperable, and, at the same time fired, as we ought to be, with indignation, excited by nature and Christianity, at their intolerant and destructive principles, we see them penetrate, with equal ease, the snows of Caucasus, and the deserts of Thibet.† Descending thence, more terrible than all the inundations of her Ganges, we behold those remorseless marauders plundering her pagodas, sanctioned by the devotion, and rich with the accumulated wealth, of ages; mutilating her idols, venerable from the remotest antiquity; driving her rajahs from their fortresses, before deemed impregnable; and laying the noble capitals of Canouge and Delhi in ruins.

The history of those warlike tribes, that, from the north of Asia, as from an exhaustless hive, have swarmed over half the kingdoms of Europe and the East, and usurped the thrones of many of their most powerful monarchs, has been too long buried in silence and obscurity. Engaged in more interesting pursuits, and wandering in more flowery and beaten paths, the man of polished

* "Gazi signifies a man who carries on religious war," (as we understand the word crusader.) See Abulgazi Khan's Hist. of the Tartars, Vol. I. p. 252. The illustrious author's name is a proof of his own remark.

† The route of Sultan Mahmud, in his expedition to Canouge, lay through Thibet; that of Timur over the Indian Caucasus.

manners and science turns, with cold and averted look, from the bleak mountainous regions of Scythia, and falsely imagines its history as barren as the country. Arguing upon mistaken premises, and deluded by partial and unjust representations, he considers the whole race, both of Tartars and Arabs, as a generation of fierce and intractable barbarians, destitute of arts and culture, the decided enemies of all science, and the remorseless destroyers of all its records. But, on this subject, let us hear a writer well versed in the history of Asia. Mr. Richardson, in language equally forcible and animated, declares, that " in the eighth, ninth, and succeeding centuries, when the European world was clouded with barbarity and ignorance; when sovereign princes and great feudal lords could neither write nor read, the Arabians rivalled the Romans of the Augustan age, in erudition and genius; whilst, with a more extensive empire, they excelled them in magnificence, and in the more refined splendour and elegance of life. The Khalifs Al Modhi, Al Rashid, Al Mamoun, and other monarchs of the illustrious house of Al Abbas, were men of learning, genius, and politeness; learning and genius were found, therefore, the surest avenues to royal favour; they were, of consequence, universally cultivated; princes, generals, and viziers, being not only magnificent patrons of literary merit, but holding, themselves, a conspicuous rank among writers of the most distinguished class."

That zeal for the encouragement of learning which animated the Arabian princes, continued to glow, with almost equal fervour, in the breasts of the Tartar monarchs, their conquerors and successors, in these parts of Asia. To Halaku, surnamed Il Khan, the grandson of Gengis, and founder of their monarchy in Persia, we owe the astronomical tables of Nasireddin, called, from him, Ilkhanian. He built a magnificent observatory at Maragha, in Persia, and invited thither all the great astronomers of his time, to observe the motions of the heavenly bodies. Gazan Khan, his sixth

successor, caused the history of the Moguls and Tartars to be written by his wazir, or vizier, Fadlallah; and Abusaid Khan the Great devoted to literary pursuits the whole of that time which was not engrossed by the immediate concerns of the empire.

Timur Bec, without literature himself, was still its patron; by his descendants, the same flame was cherished inviolate; or rather, in this line of Eastern conquerors, it broke forth with renovated strength and lustre. Of the truth of this assertion, a conspicuous proof will hereafter be given, in the renowned astronomer Ulug Beg; with whom may be classed the illustrious Shahroc, and his son, the Sultan Ibrahim, who founded at Shiras a noble college, with ample endowments for the reward and encouragement of literature. The conduct of his posterity, who sat on the throne of India, through every period of their empire, while that empire existed in its vigour, afforded the most ample and honourable testimonies, that in them the hallowed spark remained still unextinguished.

But to return to the more immediate events of this history. Having taken rather an extensive retrospect of the rise, decline, and fall, of the Gaznavide, the Gauride, and Charazmian, empires, whose respective sovereigns, for more than two centuries, gave law to India; that is, from the first invasion of Sultan Mahmud, in the year 1000, to the defeat of Gelaleddin, by Gengis Khan, on the banks of the Indus, in 1221 of our æra,—having noticed the principal events in the life of that celebrated conqueror, and traced the history of his successors down to Timur Bec, I shall direct my attention to a more particular review of the domestic history of India; and from the ample sources in my possession, record the history of what Mr. Orme calls the first dynasty of Mohammedan kings of Delhi. This dynasty of Afghan emperors, commencing in the person of Cothbeddin-Ibek, and ending in Mahmud, dethroned by Timur, will carry us down to the year 1398, in which year that

great founder of the Mogul empire, in India, erected the Tartarian standard on the imperial towers of Delhi. "There are two celebrated histories," says Sir W. Jones, "of the life of Tamerlane; one in Persian, the other in Arabic; both of them written with all the pomp and elegance of the Asiatic style; in the first, the Tartarian conqueror is represented as a liberal, benevolent, and illustrious, prince; in the second, as deformed and impious, of a low birth and detestable principles. It seems difficult, at first, to reconcile this contradiction; but the difficulty vanishes, when we learn, that great part of the Persian history was composed under the inspection of Tamerlane himself, and received only the polish of language from the pen of Ali Yezdi; and that the Arabian author bore the most inveterate hatred against that monarch." By Ali Yezdi, Sir William means Sherifeddin, who was thus called from Yezd, a city of Persia, where he was born; and by the Arabian author, Ebn Arabshah, of whom the learned Golius gave an edition in Arabic, and M. Vatier, a French version. The impartial historian, however, can only collect the truth from a diligent attention to both histories; and it is my intention to give the substance of each, on the leading traits of his character.

It seems surprising, considering the importance of the subject, that so scanty a memoir, relative to the great event of Timur's invasion, and of the route pursued by that conqueror, from Delhi to the Straits of Kupele, is inserted in the Indian history of Ferishtah. Of the work now offered to the public, this portion will necessarily be not the least interesting, and it will principally be taken from the two histories above mentioned, both of which are in my possession, and from Timur's own "Institutes;" published in Arabic and English, by Dr. White. To render this account at once satisfactory and perspicuous, entertaining and instructive, I mean to bestow upon it the most assiduous and laborious attention. What historian, indeed, can avoid being animated, whilst he reviews the

mighty exploits of the great Timur, and records acts of generosity and valour, without parallel in the ample page of history. From the military maxims by which the Tartars were guided in carrying on war, though these acts were sometimes stained with a tinge of barbarity, yet Timur far surpassed both Alexander and Cæsar, as well in the vast extent of his empire, as in the boundless diffusion of his munificence. I feel an ardent desire of public applause enkindled in my mind, and I am impatient to plunge into this most interesting and splendid period of Asiatic history. But, before I can arrive at its commencement, a tedious and barren waste must be toiled over; and, indeed, from the death of Timur, till the expulsion of Baber by the Usbecks, great and almost insuperable difficulties will again arise, in the attempt to preserve the connecting chain of history between his descendents, who reigned in Grand Tartary, and the princes of Hindostan. All that we know for certain, from the few scanty and precarious fragments of history in our possession, chiefly to be found in Mirkhond, Herbelot, and the continuation of Arabshah's Life of Timur, is, that the Indian dominions were, in some degree, dependent on the Tartar emperors, who, to overawe those distant provinces, constantly kept a numerous body of cavalry at Gazna, or Candahar, at all times ready to exact the tribute, to extinguish the flame of rising rebellion, and pour, when necessary, their vengeance on that devoted country. For the clearer elucidation of the domestic history of India, during this period, Ferishtah will be of great and important advantage. Timur appointed no regular king to govern Hindostan; but by this author we are informed, that Chizer, whom he had stationed in the soubah of Multan, and its dependencies, rose by degrees, after the destruction of the weak Mahmud, and his weaker successor Lodi, to the imperial dignity, and founded another dynasty of Patan kings of Delhi. This dynasty flourished, with little interruption from the Tartar monarchs, from the death of Timur, in 1405, till the

fifth invasion of Hindostan, by the great, the politic, the immortal Baber, whose chequered life was equally distinguished by glory and misfortune; and who, in a pitched battle, fought in 1526, totally defeated Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, at the head of an army of 100,000 Afghans. Baber, more justly than Timur, may be called the genuine founder of the Mogul dynasty in India; as from him, in regular lineal succession, descended that glorious race of kings, who governed India, for the space of near two centuries, with wisdom unequalled, with moderation unprecedented, and with justice hardly impeachable.

Baber was not less eminent as a scholar than as a warrior: he wrote the commentaries of his own life and actions, called Vakeat Baberi, mentioned in Fraser's Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts; containing "a full account of his battles in Tartary and India; a correct description of India; the soil, climate, and the manners of the people; a list of the several powers who then possessed India, &c. &c." From the Vakeat Baberi now deposited among the Bodleian manuscripts, and originally written in the Mogul language, but translated into Persian, in the reign of Akber, by Khan Khanan, will be extracted a faithful history of this illustrious character, who mounted the throne of the Tartarian empire at twelve years old, and lived to see the new empire, which he had founded in Hindostan, established in peace, and rising in renown.

Pursuing the regular course of our history, and referring constantly to the dates of Fraser, as the most accurate chronological statement of Indian events of that period, in our possession, after Baber, the chequered life of Homaion, distinguished, in a great degree, like that of Baber, by alternate triumph and depression, will engage our attention. In this life of Homaion, and in those of Sheer Shah, Selim, Mohammed, and Ibrahim, three successive monarchs of Patan extraction, who usurped the Mogul throne, I shall have occasion once more to compare Ferishtah with the Persian history,

as it was entirely owing to the vigorous assistance of Tahmas, the Persian monarch, to whom Homaion in his misfortunes fled, that the royal exile was enabled to recover possession of the empire of Timur, or rather of his father Baber. As, about this period, the affairs of the peninsula of India, and the settlement of the Europeans on its coast, will more immediately come under consideration, I shall present my readers with a concise, but authentic, history, of the gradual rise, to eminence and power, of all those European nations who successively established themselves under those emperors in India, from the first landing of the Portuguese at Calicut, to the present day. I shall be particularly attentive to mark the gradations by which the HONOURABLE EAST-INDIA COMPANY OF GREAT BRITAIN have risen to their present exalted state of power and splendour in that country; and I solemnly protest that nothing dictated by party consideration shall find its way into these sheets; but, that I will inviolably follow the duty of an impartial narrator, and religiously adhere to the grand outlines of historical truth.

The whole life of the illustrious hero who succeeded Homaion is a continued series of great and shining events. The annals of Akber may be justly styled the annals of glory. Equally great in the council and in the field, the zealous patron of genius, and the munificent rewarder of literary merit, he sat on the throne of Hindostan, which he ascended at the early age of thirteen, during a period of fifty years, the most splendid in the history of the Mogul dynasty. The life of Akber, in Ferishtah, is a professed translation of the "Akber Namma," written by Abul Fazil, secretary to that emperor, the most elegant writer of India. I have not contented myself, however, with the information to be gleaned from that work, but for the more ample illustration of the events of his reign, have taken a very extensive range through Asiatic annals; and trust that I have concentrated, into one point of view, whatever, relative to Akber, is to be found in the historians and travellers of the last

century, or of the present, that can at all be considered as important, or worthy of that distinguished and immortal character.

With the life of Akber, the Indian history of Ferishtah concludes; but Mr. Gladwin, in his recently published life of the Emperor, Jehaun Geer, as well as many other Oriental scholars have supplied ample materials for the reigns of his successors, down to Aurengzeb.

Aurengzeb, who died in the year 7 of the last century, left the richest and most powerful empire in the world to be rent asunder and convulsed to its very centre by the ambitious contentions of his surviving offspring. India had not for ages seen two such immense armies assembled on her plains, as those which accompanied to the field his sons Azem Shah and Mohammed Mauzim, the rival competitors for his vacant throne. The black and aggravated crimes by which the father himself ascended to empire, seem to have been avenged by heaven in the successive destruction of his immediate descendants.

From the death of the victorious Mauzim to the irruption from Persia, in 1738, there occurs a period of Indian history, the events of which it is painful to record,—a period deeply stained with blood, and marked by many progressive scenes of national calamity, the effect of that general anarchy and that uncontrolled spirit of faction which diffused itself among the Omras at the court of Delhi. From this melancholy æra, the page of the Mogul history hastens rapidly to its close, and the scene grows gradually darker, till at length it is extinguished in tenfold and total gloom. Indeed, of the Tartarian empire, in India, which flourished in its proudest zenith under the great Aurengzeb, it can hardly with propriety be said that it *gradually declined:* for, as no succeeding emperor arose, endowed with the same great military talents to defend, and animated by the same enlarged views of policy to govern, its vast extent, that empire may, with more precision, be represented as rushing at once, by its own enormous weight, into general and irretrievable ruin.

The scene of desolation and horror that commenced under the avaricious Nadir Shah, was finally completed by the ferocious Abdallah, who, after plundering the treasury of his master, led back his insatiable Afghans to Delhi, to divide the remaining spoil, and riot on the refuse of the feast. In the general plunder the Mahrattas and the Rohillas (another tribe of Afghans) have since largely participated, and, at this day, hardly a vestige remains of that mighty empire, which was founded by the illustrious Timur, and established by the persevering fortitude of Baber, which derived its most permanent column of glory from the wise regulations of Akber, and was carried to its greatest extent by the sword of the dauntless and politic Aurengzeb.

In contemplating the various and astonishing revolutions which have, within the last century, taken place throughout the whole continent of India, a wide and almost boundless range is opened to the historian. The principal events, so interesting and multifarious, that are comprised within this period, and have led to those revolutions I shall endeavour to record with fidelity, and to arrange in a regular and connected manner. Amidst the necessary abridgment of so vast a mass of historical information, perspicuity will be my chief aim, and I have spared neither labour nor expense to procure authentic documents. But, above all, in my relation of the transactions of the BRITISH NATION IN INDIA, it will be my highest ambition to preserve the character of an unbiassed and impartial historian, totally free from the violence of either party, without the temporizing servility that disgusts, and the intemperate warmth that offends. It is my fixed resolution to adhere solely to the grand outlines of *historical truth*, by whose awful dictates I mean on all occasions inflexibly to abide; all other influence the historian should disdain, all other praise is far below his notice, and merits only contempt.

CHAPTER II.

Amidst the Distractions that succeeded the Death of Alexander, the Indian Provinces are rent from the Macedonian Empire.—The History of Sandracottus, or Chandragupta, according both to classical and native Historians.—The Indian Geography of Strabo and Arrian reconciled to Sanscreet Topography.—Seleucus having at length recovered Babylon, takes Advantage of a Moment of temporary Repose from the protracted Contests with his Rivals, the Generals of Alexander, to march an Army into India; but finding Sandracottus in great Strength, and being recalled to the Field of his former Glory, enters into Compact with that Usurper, and restores the ancient Limits of India.—The great Exertions of Ptolemy Soter, and Ptolemy Philadelphus, in Egypt, to make that Country the Centre of the Indian Commerce.

THE power which the Greeks, by their superior military skill and valour, had obtained in India was nearly as rapidly subverted as it was gained. A young and daring soldier of fortune, who had made some deserters of that nation useful in his elevation to empire, gradually collected together an immense army, instructed them, as far as the genius and prejudices of the Indians would admit of such instruction, in the Greek method of attack and defence, and drove the Macedonians everywhere before him, retook all their fortresses, and finally delivered his country from the Macedonian yoke. This was the celebrated *Sandracottus* of the Greek historians, a name corrupted from CHANDRA-GUPTA.

Justin, after whom and Arrian I write the name Sandracottus, has the following curious story concerning this warlike chief. He

tells us, that he was humili genere natus—*of a low descent*, which agrees very well with the Sanscreet account of his maternal ancestry, but not with what follows; for he adds, that, when a youth, he was in the camp of Alexander, and had the misfortune, by some presumptuous act, indicative of his future greatness and independence, to offend that prince, who commanded him to be put to death. The infliction of this sentence Sandracottus avoided by a precipitate flight, and in that flight being overcome with heat and fatigue, in the midst of a lonely forest, he lay down, and, while he slept, a lion of a vast size came to him, licked off the reeking sweat from his youthful limbs, and, when he awoke from his repose, left him, without offering him the smallest injury.* Whence Justin, or his original, Trogus Pompeius, collected this story, cannot be ascertained; but it savours very much of Indian romance, and possibly may be inserted in some native account of Chandra-gupta. It accounts, however, for his determined aversion to the Greeks; for he is said immediately to have collected from all quarters a band of desperadoes, who made frequent inroads on the Macedonian camp; and these by degrees increasing to an immense army, he attacked their colonies, and finally effected their expulsion from India. The same author tells us, that a wild elephant of uncommon magnitude and ferocity used frequently to come to him out of the woods, pay his obeisance, and suffer him, before his troops, to mount his back with all the docility of the tamest of those animals.†

From the above circumstances it is evident that some of the Greek writers are guilty of a great error, when they represent Sandracottus as exalted to the throne when Alexander was advancing towards the Ganges. The name of the reigning prince was Nanda, lineally descended, by his father's side, from the ancient kings, who had reigned in Maghada, or South Bahar, from the days of Creeshna, but by his mother's side, whose name was Mura, and

* Justin. lib. xv. cap. 4. edit. variorum. † Ibid.

was a female slave of the Sudra tribe, that high descent was in a great degree disgraced.

Mura had many children, and they were called from that mother by the general appellation of MAURYA. This word in Sanscreet is also unfortunately used to signify a *barber*, and hence it was contemptuously said, alluding to his low extraction on the mother's side, that a *barber* had usurped the Indian throne: this mutilated account was heard and recorded by the Greeks, as a fact. Mr. Wilford has detailed, from native authorities, many curious particulars concerning this hero, and has taken great pains to correct the geography of Strabo and Arrian, in their attempts to describe the exact limits of his kingdom, and the precise situation of his capital. Let us first attend to the geographical, and afterwards to the interesting historical, detail.

King Nanda is said to have reigned over the Prasii and the Gangarides. The Sanscreet name of the country is PRACHI, meaning *the east;* whence the Greek Prasii was obviously formed; and, properly, it was intended to comprehend the whole country from Allahabad, situated on the conflux of the Ganges and Jumna, to the most eastern limits of India. It included also the fertile province of Bengal, known in Sanscreet by the appellation of *Gancara-desa;* whence the Greeks formed Gangarides. The Pali-bothra of Greek writers, where Megasthenes resided so long, is ascertained by our author to have occupied the site on which Raj-mahal now stands, and the Sanscreet term is Bali-putra, the habitation of the children of Bali; having been taken by the hero Bali-Rama, the brother of Creeshna. The river Erannoboas, near the confluence of which with the Ganges, Megasthenes, in Arrian, informs us that city stood, and to identify which has perplexed all the commentators, is discovered to be that now called the Coosey, having been thus denominated from the Sanscreet epithet of *Hiran-ya-baha*, or *gold-washing*, from its rolling down particles of gold.

The above might have been the limits of Nanda's dominions, but Sandracottus, doubtless, greatly enlarged them, and indeed must have extended them westward very near to the Indus, since the dread of the formidable army which he had assembled, prevented Seleucus Nicator, when he had passed over that river with intent to reconquer the Panjab, from penetrating into the country to any distance beyond its eastern bank. Northward, his empire probably extended to the great range that separates Hindostan from Tartary, and therefore he must have been sovereign of all Upper Hindostan.

According to Plutarch also, Sandracottus, when a youth, had been in Alexander's camp, and was heard to say, that if the Macedonians had pushed on their conquests to the Ganges they would probably have been successful, notwithstanding the immense army opposed to him; as king Nanda, who then reigned over the Prasii, though wise and valiant in his youth, had in his old age grown into contempt and general hatred, from his cruelty and tyranny. All this is amply confirmed by accounts preserved in India of the events of that period, for the following is Mr. Wilford's relation of this important revolution, that raised Sandracottus to the imperial diadem; a narration which I scarcely know how to analyze, as there is an apparent contradiction in some of the circumstances of it, and therefore present it unabridged to the reader.

" Chandra-Gupta, or he who was saved by the interposition of Lunus or the Moon, is called also Chandra in a poem quoted by Sir William Jones. The Greeks call him Sandracuptos, Sandracottos, and Androcottos. Sandracottos is generally used by the historians of Alexander; and Sandracuptos is found in the works of Athenæus. Sir William Jones, from a poem written by Somadeva, and a tragedy, called the Coronation of Chandra, or Chandra-Gupta, discovered that he really was the Indian king mentioned by the historians of Alexander, under the name of Sandracottos. These two poems I have not been able to procure; but I have found another

dramatic piece, intitled Mudra-Rácshasa, or the Seal of Rácshasa, which is divided into two parts: the first may be called the Coronation of Chandra-Gupta, and the second the Reconciliation of Chandra-Gupta with Mantri-Ráchshasa, the prime minister of his father.

"The history of Chandra-Gupta is related, though in few words, in the Vishnu-purána, the Bhagawat, and two other books, one of which is called Brahatcatha, and the other is a lexicon called Camandaca: the two last are supposed to be about six or seven hundred years old.

"In the Vishnu-purána we read, 'unto Nanda shall be born nine sons; Cotilya, his minister shall destroy them, and place Chandra-Gupta on the throne.'

"In the Bhagawat we read, 'from the womb of Sudri, Nanda shall be born. His eldest son will be called Sumalya, and he shall have eight sons more; these, a Bráhmen (called Cotilya, Vatsayana, and Chanacya in the commentary) shall destroy, after them a Maurya shall reign in the Cali-yug. This Bráhmen will place Chandra-Gupta on the throne.' In the Brahatcutha it is said, that this revolution was effected in seven days, and the nine children of Nanda put to death. In the Camandaca, Chanacyas is called Vishnu-Gupta. The following is an abstract of the history of Chandra-Gupta from the Mudra-Rácshasa:

"Nanda, king of Prachi, was the son of Maha Nandi, by a female slave of the Sudra tribe: hence Nanda was called a Sudra. He was a good king, just and equitable, and paid due respect to the Bráhmens: he was avaricious, indeed, but he respected his subjects. He was originally king of Maghada, now called South Bahar, which had been in the possession of his ancestors since the days of Creeshna; by the strength of his arm he subdued all the kings of the country, and like another Parasu-Ráma destroyed the remnants of the Kettris. He had two wives, Ratnavati and Mura. By the

first he had nine sons, called the Sumalyadicas, from the eldest, whose name was Sumalya; by Mura he had Chandra-Gupta, and many others, who were known by the general appellation of Mauryas, because they were born of Mura.

"Nanda, when far advanced in years, was taken ill suddenly, and to all appearance died. He soon revived, to the great joy of his subjects: but his senses appeared to be greatly deranged, for he no longer spoke or acted as before. While some ascribed the monarch's imbecility to the effects of a certain poison, which is known to impair the faculties at least, when it proves too weak to destroy the life, of those to whom it is administered, Mantri-Rácshasa, his prime minister was firmly persuaded, according to a notion very prevalent among the Hindus, that upon his master's death, some magician had entered into the lifeless corpse which was now re-animated and actuated by his presence. He, therefore, secretly ordered, that strict search might be made for the magician's own body; for, as according to the tenets of their superstition, this would necessarily be rendered invisible, and continue so, as long as its spirit informed another body; so he naturally concluded the magician had enjoined one of his faithful followers to watch it, until the dissolution of the spell should end the trance. In consequence of these orders, two men being discovered keeping watch over a corpse on the banks of the Ganges, he ordered them to be seized and thrown into the river, and caused the body to be burnt immediately. It proved to belong to Chandra-das, a king of a small domain in the western part of India beyond the Vindhyan hills, the capital whereof is called Vicat-palli. This prince having been obliged to save himself by flight, from the Yavanas, or Greeks, who had dispossessed him of his kingdom, had assumed, with the garb of a penitent, the name of Suvid'ha. Mantri-Rácshasa having thus punished the magician for his presumption, left the country.

"When Nanda recovered from his illness he became a tyrant, or,

rather, having entrusted Sacatara, his prime minister, with the reins of government, the latter ruled with absolute sway. As the old king was one day hunting with his minister, towards the hills to the south of the town, he complained of his being thirsty, and quitting his attendants, repaired with Sacatara to a beautiful reservoir, under a large spreading tree, near a cave in the hills, called Patalcandira, or the passage leading to the infernal regions; there Sacatara flung the old man into the reservoir, and threw a large stone upon him. In the evening he returned to the imperial city, bringing back the king's horse, and reported, that his master had quitted his attendants and rode into the forest; what was become of him he knew not, but he had found his horse grazing under a tree. Some days after Sacatara, with Vacranara, one of the secretaries of state, placed Ugradhanwa, one of the younger sons of Nanda, on the throne.

" The young king being dissatisfied with Sacatara's account of his father's disappearance, set about farther inquiries during the minister's absence, but these proving as little satisfactory, he assembled the principal persons of his court, and threatened them all with death, if, in three days, they failed to bring him certain intelligence what was become of his father. This menace succeeded, for, on the fourth day, they reported, that Sacatara had murdered the old king, and that his remains were concealed under a stone in the reservoir near Patalcandira; Ugradhanwa immediately sent people with camels, who returned in the evening, with the body, and the stone that had covered it. Sacatara confessed the murder, and was thereupon condemned to be shut up with his family in a narrow room, the door of which was walled up, and a small opening only left for the conveyance of their scanty allowance. They all died in a short time, except the youngest son Vicatara, whom the young king ordered to be released, and took into his service. But Vicatara meditated revenge; and the king having directed him

to call some Bráhman to assist at the sraddha he was going to perform, in honour of his ancestor, Vicatara, brought an ill-natured priest, of a most savage appearance, in the expectation that the king might be tempted, from disgust at so offensive an object, to offer some affront to the Bráhmen, who, in revenge, would denounce a curse against him. The plan succeeded to his wish: the king ordered the priest to be turned out, and the latter laid a dreadful imprecation upon him, swearing at the same time, that he would never tie up his shicá or lock of hair, till he had effected his ruin. The enraged priest then ran out of the palace exclaiming, whoever wishes to be king let him follow me. Chandra-Gupta immediately arose, with eight of his friends, and went after him. They crossed the Ganges, with all possible dispatch, and visited the king of Népal, called Parváteswara, or the lord of the mountains, who received them kindly. They entreated him to assist them with troops and money, Chandra-Gupta promising, at the same time, to give him the half of the empire of Prachi, in case they should be successful. Parváteswara answered, that he could not bring into the field a sufficient force to effect the conquest of so powerful an empire; but, as he was on good terms with the Yavans or Greeks, the Sacas or Indo-Scythians, the people of Camboja or Gayni, the Ciratas or inhabitants of the mountains to the eastward of Népal, he could depend on their assistance. Ugradhanwa enraged at the behaviour of Chandra-Gupta, ordered all his brothers to be put to death.

"The matter, however, is related differently in other books, which state, that Nanda, seeing himself far advanced in years, directed that after his decease, his kingdom should be equally divided between the Sumalyadicas, and that a decent allowance should be given to the Mauryas or children of Mura; but the Sumalyadicas being jealous of the Mauryas, put them all to death, except Chandra-

Gupta, who, being saved through the protection of Lunus, out of gratitude assumed the name of Chandra-Gupta, or saved by the moon: but to resume the narrative,

" Parváteswara took the field with a formidable army, accompanied by his brother Virochana and his own son Malaya-Cetu. The confederates soon came in sight of the capital of the king of Prachi, who put himself at the head of his forces, and went out to meet them. A battle was fought, wherein Ugradhanwa was defeated, after a dreadful carnage, in which he himself lost his life. The city was immediately surrounded, and Sawartha-Siddhi, the governor, seeing it impossible to hold out against so powerful an enemy, fled to the Vindhyan mountains, and became an anchoret. Rácshasa went over to Parváteswara.* Chandra-Gupta, being firmly established on the throne, destroyed the Sumalyadicas, and dismissed the allies, after having liberally rewarded them for their assistance: *but he kept the Yavans or Greeks,* and refused to give the half of the kingdom of Prachi to Parváteswara, who, being unable to enforce his claim, returned to his own country meditating vengeance. By the advice of Rácshasa he sent a person to destroy Chandra-Gupta; but Vishnu-Gupta, suspecting the design, not only rendered it abortive, but turned it back upon the author, by gaining over the assassin to his interest, whom he engaged to murder Parváteswara, which the villain accordingly effected. Rácshasa urged Malaya-Cetu to revenge his father's death; but, though pleased with the suggestion, he declined the enterprize, representing to his counsellor, that Chandra-Gupta *had a large body of Yavans or Greeks in his pay,* had fortified his capital, and placed a numerous garrison in it, with guards of elephants at all the gates; and finally, by the defection of their allies, who were either overawed by his power, or conciliated by his

* Rácshasa, on hearing of the death of Sacatara, returned, and became prime minister of Ugradhanwa.

favour, had so firmly established his authority, that no attempt could be made against him with any prospect of success.

" In the mean time Vishnu-Gupta, being conscious that Chandra-Gupta could never be safe so long as he had to contend with a man of Rácshasa's abilities, formed a plan to reconcile them, and this he effected in the following manner: there was in the capital a respectable merchant or banker, called Chandana-Das, an intimate friend of Rácshasa. Vishnu-Gupta advised Chandra-Gupta to confine him with his whole family: some time after, he visited the unfortunate prisoner, and told him that the only way to save himself and family from imminent destruction, was to effect a reconciliation between the king and Rácshasa, and that if he would follow his advice, he would point out to him the means of doing it. Chandana-Das assented, though, from the known inveteracy of Rácshasa against Chandra-Gupta, he had little hope of success. Accordingly, he and Vishnu-Gupta betook themselves privately to a place in the northern hills, where Ráchasa had a country seat, to which he used to retire from the bustle of business. There they erected a large pile of wood, and gave out that they intended to burn themselves. Rácshasa was astonished when he heard of his friends' resolution, and used every endeavour to dissuade them from it; but Chandana-Das told him, he was determined to perish in the flames with Vishnu-Gupta, unless he would consent to be reconciled to Chandra-Gupta. In the mean time the prince arrived with a retinue of five hundred men; when, ordering them to remain behind, he advanced alone towards Rácshasa, to whom he bowed respectfully and made an offer of delivering up his sword. Rácshssa remained a long time inexorable, but at last, overcome by the joint entreaties of Vishnu-Gupta and Chandana-Das, he suffered himself to be appeased, and was reconciled to the king, who made him his prime minister. Vishnu-Gupta, having succeeded in bringing about this reconciliation, withdrew to resume his former occupations; and Chandra-

Gupta reigned afterwards many years, with justice and equity, and adored by his subjects."*

Of all the cities erected by Alexander in Northern India, and in the higher Asia, and of all the numerous colonies which he planted in them, in order to cherish an intimate connection between the Indian and other conquered nations, few seem to have flourished for any extended period after his decease; for those cities, afterwards distinguished by Grecian names, were for the most part built and repeopled by Seleucus, in the higher Asia, who derived from his new conquest of those regions, the illustrious name of Nicator. Many of the soldiers left behind in the fortified places were far advanced in years, many were dreadfully maimed; these in the course of nature would soon decay, and those who had health and strength to return to Macedon, in all probability returned thither, or to the more southern districts of Persia, and either settled peaceably under the government of Seleucus, or served in his armies. Taxiles and Porus, who, on Alexander's death, his captains (undetermined in almost every thing besides), resolved should remain sovereigns of the respective domains to which he had appointed them, together with all the additional provinces annexed to their respective kingdoms, were probably permitted to continue so, because they were unable to displace them, and at best were but nominally, if at all, dependent on the power of his successors. Mr. Wilford informs us, that in the Vishnu Purana, eight Grecian princes are said to have reigned over part of India, and conjectures that these must have been the Grecian kings of Bactria, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

This is possible, and indeed probable, but by them may also be meant the Greek dynasty of princes, which seems to have been established, even in the time of Alexander, in the southern provinces towards the mouth of the Indus, and along the western coast of the

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. V. p. 268.

Peninsula. For we are informed by Arrian, or whoever was the author of the Periplus, that down even to his time ancient Greek drachms were frequently to be met with in the vicinity of Barygaza, or Baroach, with Greek inscriptions; and since he particularly specifies those inscribed with the names of Apollodotus and Menander,* two Greek princes, and positively affirms those princes to have reigned in that southern province of India, it cannot be doubted that in the same region considerable remains of the Macedonian power existed for several ages, probably till the utter extinction, by the Romans, of the greater dynasties of Egypt and Syria. The interests of commerce required that this power should be kept up in considerable vigour, to afford it protection; and they were too remote from the usurpation of Sandracottus, to have much to apprehend from that prince.

The career of the Macedonian conqueror over the mountainous districts of the Northern Asia was rapid and destructive; he passed them with the transient and portentous glare of the comet, but the south was long illumined by the more permanent and genial light shed by the glory which his arms acquired on the shores of the Indus, and in the Pattalene.

According to Justin's statement of the division of the empire of Alexander, to Pithon, son of Agenor, was assigned the general superintendance of the colonies distributed over the Northern India. This Pithon is called the son of Agenor to distinguish him from that other Pithon who, in the Excerpta from the lost books of Arrian,† preserved by Photius, the learned patriarch of Constantinople, in the time of Julian, is said to have been the son of Crateas, and to have had the command of Media and the Superior Asia, quite to the Caspian gates. Concerning any exploits, however, of this Indian

* Arrian's Periplus, p. 27.

† Vide Arrian de Rebus post Alexand. gestis, in Excerptis Photii, p. 215 and 223; edit. Steph. 1612.

præfect, nothing particular has descended down to posterity. Whether, therefore, he thought it prudent to retire southward, and seek the protection of the dynasty of princes who I conjecture to have settled in the Pattalene; whether he turned traitor, and joined Sandracottus with his Greek battalions, as many Greeks are in the native histories affirmed to have done; or was otherwise swallowed up in the vortex of the vast revolution that necessarily attended that chieftain's exaltation to empire, cannot, from the utter obscurity of the annals of this period, be now ascertained. Taxiles and Porus, if not entirely subjugated by the usurper, who is said not only to have driven out the Greeks, but also their allies, were probably compelled to temporize, and become the reluctant vassals of the king of the Gangaridæ. They seem, however, at a future period, to have resumed their independence, and to have renewed their friendly correspondence with the Greeks, since Megasthenes, on his visits to India, was hospitably received in their respective capitals. At present the torrent of his power was too violent to be resisted; nor can we wonder when we learn from that writer, in Strabo,* that Sandracottus had collected an army of six hundred thousand men, the individuals composing which were in so exact a state of subordination, that they were known to march through a country without offering the smallest molestation either to the quiet or property of the inhabitants. To such an overwhelming force every thing must have given way, and the higher India have continued in the undisturbed possession of that chief during the greater part of the twelve years that intervened between the death of Alexander, and the recovery of Babylon by Seleucus Nicator, at which period, properly, the reign and æra of the Seleucidæ commenced. Our present business, therefore, is to bring into one focal point of view all the scattered rays of information concerning India, in our power to collect, during the period of two hundred and fifty-one years which that dynasty reigned, with various

* Strabonis Geograph. lib. xv. p. 709.

fortune, over Syria and the East, till the expulsion from its throne of Antiochus Asiaticus, the last sovereign of this illustrious line, and the final conquest of this part of Asia by Pompey the Great. India and its rich and fertile provinces were too alluring a spoil to all the successive warriors, who, during that dynasty, contended with the Seleucidæ for the empire of the Northern Asia, to be ever wholly out of sight of their ambition, and we shall see the Parthian, the Bactrian, and finally the Tartar, armies, successively devastating that beautiful territory.

As Alexander, at his decease, was the undoubted sovereign, by conquest, of Western India, partitioned out by himself into various præfectures, and as his children were consequently the heirs of its throne, some farther particulars concerning his family may possibly be expected in these pages, from the professed historian of Indian events; but the terrible catastrophe that befel his infant family, owing to the ambitious contests, and diabolical ingratitude of the chief officers, who divided his vast empire among them, is already too well known, and has been too often detailed, to be repeated with propriety in these pages. The twelve fatal years immediately subsequent to his death, in which Asia and Egypt were deluged with the blood of his bravest battalions, had afforded leisure for maturing the projects of the not less ambitious Chandra-Gupta, and establishing his empire upon a solid foundation. When Seleucus, however, in consequence of his recovery of Babylon from Antigonus, found himself firmly seated in that government, and at leisure to extend his conquests northward, he advanced with a powerful army into Media, where he met in battle, and with his own hand slew, Nicanor, the general sent against him by his potent rival Antigonus. Thence he led his victorious troops into Persia, which properly formed a part of the Babylonian government, but had revolted, which he also subdued; and pursuing his triumphant progress through the provinces of Bactria and Hyrcania, again reduced them beneath the

Grecian yoke, as well as all the other provinces lying on the west of the river Indus, which had been rent from it during the troubles that had convulsed the empire since the death of Alexander. But the richest portion of his Asiatic præfecture, could it be recovered, lay on the other side of that river; and, elated with his past success, he now prepared to pass the stream, and retrace the steps of his great master. The sight of a river on whose shores Alexander had gained such high renown, a renown in which Seleucus himself had so largely participated, must have inflamed him with ardour to obtain new victories on the soil of India; and probably a general so skilful in war, and inured to its toils, had formed hopes of succeeding where Alexander had failed; of reaching the distant Ganges itself, and recruiting the exhausted treasury of Babylon with the wealth of the capital of the Prasii. The general character of Taxiles and Porus, the generous and friendly conduct of the former, during the preceding invasion, and the strong tie of gratitude for life and empire preserved, by which the latter was bound to the Macedonians, induced him to believe, that if the necessity of circumstances had compelled them to join the usurper, his army would meet with no long or very vigorous resistance from those princes, through whose kingdoms his direct route lay to the Ganges; and if it should be otherwise, his battalions consisted of the flower of the Grecian army in Asia, to whom their opposition would necessarily be unavailing.

That those princes did still retain their ancient friendly sentiments towards their Grecian allies may be reasonably concluded from Seleucus's passing the Indus, which he immediately did, without opposition. When arrived with his army on the opposite banks, he first learned, probably from those princes, the true extent of the power and resources of Sandracottus; that he was equally brave and expert in war, that he observed the Greek discipline and mode of fighting, that his army consisted, in horse and foot, of six hundred thousand

men, with a prodigious train of elephants; with which he had absolutely subjugated all the higher India, and that he was rapidly advancing to give battle to Seleucus. On this intelligence, the ardour of the invader was considerably checked; and more particularly as at this instant of time messengers arrived in his camp, from the confederated governors at war with Antigonus, warmly soliciting his return to the western provinces of his government, and the union of his whole force with Ptolemy, in order to effect their rescue from the overbearing violence of Antigonus and his son Demetrius, who were, in concert, ravaging the Lesser Asia, and had already subjugated to their controul the principal cities of desolated Greece. Seleucus was inflamed with rage at these tidings of the success of his haughty rival; and the subjugation of Sandracottus, were it even practicable, immediately became only a secondary consideration to a mind stung with jealousy, and irritated to vengeance. Defeat, or even repulse, on the plains of India, would not only be highly disgraceful, but might be attended with utter ruin to his affairs; and therefore, after maturely considering the critical situation in which he stood, he deemed it far more prudent to enter upon immediate negotiation, than to engage in hazardous battle with so warlike and powerful a chieftain.

The Indian monarch too, notwithstanding his vast superiority in point of numbers, and though determined, at all hazards, to defend his newly-acquired dominions against foreign invasion, was too deeply impressed with a sense of Grecian skill and fortitude, animated and directed by so renowned a general, to entertain a wish of risking that success in a battle which he might, without the slightest hazard, obtain by negotiation. On being made acquainted, therefore, probably by Porus or Taxiles, with the altered sentiments of Seleucus, he listened with readiness to proposals for the amicable adjustment of their disputes; and ambassadors, in consequence, were mutually dispatched to settle between the contending sovereigns the

preliminaries, and fix the terms, of a lasting peace. Sandracottus must have been fully sensible of his great strength in the field, when he demanded, as we are informed * he did, that the barrier of the Indian empire should be again removed to its ancient limit, the Arbis, a river of Gedrosia, which was, in fact, requiring the surrender of many rich and fertile provinces to the west of the Indus, in return for five hundred of his best disciplined elephants, with which, on that condition being complied with, he promised to reinforce the army of Seleucus; and the latter, in agreeing to the demand, must either have seen the utter inability, under the present circumstances of his situation in regard to Antigonus, of defending them against the power of that successful usurper, or have felt the urgent want of a species of succour so highly in request at that time in the armies of Asia. Such, however, were the terms mutually agreed upon, and finally ratified: on the one side, the river Arbis was again allowed to be the western limit of India; and five hundred of the noblest elephants of its forests were delivered on the other. Very few particulars of this remote transaction have descended down to posterity; but from the friendship that afterwards subsisted between these monarchs, evidenced by the long residence of Megasthenes, in quality of ambassador from Seleucus, at the court of Palibothra, it is more than probable that an interview took place between them, and than such a meeting between two such distinguished characters of their day, nothing can be conceived more interesting; honourable and flattering, indeed, to the one, but truly degrading to the other: the young soldier of fortune ignominously ordered to be put to death by Alexander, stipulating with his most renowned general, for the surrender of all the forts and cities which Macedonian valour had won on Indian ground, on condition that the subverter of the power of Alexander, *in the east*, should furnish five hundred warlike elephants to crush the remainder of the brave veterans that

* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 687.

fought under his banner in the west. To cement more closely the connection between the two sovereigns, before they parted, Sandracottus, according to Strabo, received in marriage one of the daughters of Seleucus, in whose posterity the blood of the two families being thus united, was established a twofold and incontestible right to the throne of India. On this Mr. Wilford observes:

"It may be objected to the foregoing account, the improbability of a Hindu marrying the daughter of a Yavana, or, indeed, of any foreigner. On this difficulty I consulted the Pundits of Benares, and they all gave me the same answer; namely, that in the time of Chandra-Gupta the Yavanas were much respected, and were even considered as a sort of Hindus, though they afterwards brought upon themselves the hatred of that nation, by their cruelty, avarice, rapacity and treachery, in every transaction, while they ruled over the western parts of India; but that at any rate the objection did not apply to the case, as Chandra-Gupta himself was a Sudra, that is to say, of the lowest class. In the Vishnu-purána, and in the Bhagawat, it is recorded, that eight Grecian kings reigned over part of India. They are better known to us by the title of the Grecian kings of Bactriana. Arrian, in his Periplus, enumerating the exports from Europe to India, sets down as one article, beautiful virgins, who were generally sent to the market of Baroach. The Hindus acknowledged that, formerly, they were not so strict as they are at this day; and this appears, from their books, to have been the case. Strabo does not positively say that Chandra-Gupta married a daughter of Seleucus, but that Seleucus cemented the alliance he had made with him by connubial affinity, from which expression it might equally be inferred, that Seleucus married a daughter of Chandra-Gupta; but this is not so likely as the other; and it is probable the daughter of Seleucus was an illegitimate child, born in Persia, after Alexander's conquest of that country."

Many respectable writers, among whom are the Baron Montesquieu and M. Bayer, have been induced, by a passage in Pliny,* to suppose that Seleucus, in his Indian expedition, had penetrated far beyond the limits that bounded the march of Alexander, even to Palibothra, and the mouths of the Ganges. But the Roman author was doubtless deceived in his statement, and probably mistook the Itinerary of Megasthenes, or some other Greek traveller in India, for that of Seleucus. With the vast army, the immense resources, the military talents of Sandracottus, with the ample means which he possessed, of incessantly annoying and harassing the Grecian troops, the greater part of them would probably have perished by famine in that dreary desert of eleven days march, which, according to Curtius,† and as experienced by Timur, stretched from the Hyphasis to the Ganges; or had the imprudence of their general, in fact, led them to the mouths of the Ganges, they would probably have expiated their temerity by being driven into the ocean. But in other respects the account is utterly inadmissible. The critical situation of Seleucus, in regard to Antigonus, would not allow him leisure to have accomplished these feats, which must have taken up a very extended period. Had his army visited Palibothra, which implies the subjugation of its monarch, it would probably have returned home laden with a greater and nobler spoil than five hundred elephants; and the eastern regions of India being thus laid open to the exploring eyes of the Greeks, must have been better known and

* "Reliqua," says Pliny, "inde Seleuco Nicatori peragrata erant: ad Hesidrum 168 millia: Jomanem amnem tantundem: exemplaria aliqua adjiciunt quinque millia passuum: inde ad Gangem 112 millia: ad Rodapham 119 millia, alii 325 millia in hoc spatio produnt: ad Calanipaxa oppidum 168, alii 265 millia: inde ad confluentem Jomanis amnis et Gangis 725 millia, plerique adjiciunt 13 millia; ad oppidumque Palibothra 425: ad ostium Gangis 738 millia passuum.—Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 17.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 2.

better described in the pages of their historians and geographers, than they are in their authentic works that have descended to posterity.

After this compact and connubial affinity, Seleucus, with his army thus strongly fortified, repassed the Indus, and marching back with the utmost expedition into Assyria, began, in concert with Ptolemy, his ally, those vast preparations for a general attack, with their united forces, upon Antigonus; which, at the fatal battle of Ipsus, proved so utterly destructive to the latter. It is remarkable, that the Indian elephants brought into the field by Seleucus, to the amount of four hundred, in opposition to only seventy-five, which formed the train of Antigonus, were of the most essential service in deciding the fortune of the day; for when Demetrius, at the head of his father's numerous cavalry, was engaged in the hot pursuit of the routed cavalry of Seleucus, that experienced general interposed his elephants between the prince and the main body of the adverse army, and so completely cut him off from it, that he was not able to send any succour to Antigonus, already surrounded on all sides by the victorious foe; but still disdaining to yield, and, according to his last words preserved in Plutarch, on the very verge of death expressing aloud his confidence to his troops, that his beloved Demetrius would yet come to their rescue.* A shower of arrows, says the historian, immediately poured upon him, deprived him at once of hope and of life, and he fell from his horse prostrate on the ground. Thus perished this brave, but insatiably ambitious, commander, who had long aspired to the supreme sovereignty of the Eastern world. The death of Antigonus gave rise to a new partition of the empire of Alexander among his four great surviving captains, Ptolemy, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Seleucus; who, by mutual consent, added to their respective governments, those portions of the vast domain usurped by Antigonus, which lay most contiguous and convenient

* Plutarch, in Vita Demetrii.

to their own; and each of whom now assumed an imperial diadem, with all the other insignia and arrogant titles of Eastern royalty. Of this fourfold division, the portion enjoyed by Seleucus was by far the most extensive, comprehending not only Syria, properly so called, but all those rich provinces of the Upper Asia, which formed the ancient Persian empire; and extending from the Mediterranean, if not quite to the Indus, at least as near to the banks of that river as the line of demarcation, recently agreed upon by Seleucus and Sandracottus, permitted.

The succeeding interval from the desolating horrors of war that had so long ravaged Asia, was devoted by Seleucus to the adorning of his new empire with many great and magnificent works. The city of Seleucia, situated on the western banks of the Tigris, about forty miles from Babylon, and afterwards the rival of that vast metropolis in splendour and population; the still more renowned city of Antioch on the Orontes, so resplendent in beauty, grandeur, and wealth, as to be called for ages the *Queen of the East*, together with many other noble cities, the marts of commerce, and the seats of science, while the dynasty of the Seleucidæ flourished, were erected during this period. Seleucus, indeed, as far as the distractions of the times in which he lived would permit him, was a munificent patron of all the liberal arts and sciences. He was endowed not less with those amiable qualities that form the beneficent sovereign, than those that constitute the great general, and can alone be exerted amidst the turbulence of war. With a firm hand he held on high the balance of impartial justice, and with a jealous eye guarded the sanctities of religion. His deep political cast of character, and his thirst for useful knowledge, were evident in his sending Megasthenes to reside so long as his ambassador at the court of Sandracottus, to penetrate into the views and projects of that formidable usurper, to explore so distant and celebrated a region, and learn the natural and civil history of the country. Undoubtedly all this Megasthenes

diligently performed, and hence he was enabled to compose a history of India; of which, to the irreparable loss of posterity, since it contained many curious and authentic, though mixed with some romantic, facts, only a few scattered fragments are to be found in Arrian, Strabo, and other classical writers, who afterwards treated of Indian subjects. In this work, though it is acknowledged, that much of the marvellous abounds, especially in those parts that regard its natural history, yet his description of the customs and manners of the Brahmins and other inhabitants of the great city of Palibothra, and the geographical limits of the country, has been, for the most part, verified by the investigation and experience of the moderns; and in fact, though both Arrian and Strabo occasionally find vehement fault with Megasthenes, for his deviations from the line of probability, yet they both contain very large quotations from his writings. Of the singular customs, manners, laws, government, and geography of the country, and particularly of the famous metropolis just mentioned, with its prodigious fosse Εξαπλεθρον, or *of six acres*, its sixty-five gates, and its five hundred and seventy towers, very ample accounts may be found in the Indian Antiquities, which therefore need not be repeated in this place. With respect to Sandracottus himself, Megasthenes, as cited by his transcribers, has a few remarks,* which place his character in a very exalted point of view, when we consider the violent methods taken by him to obtain the empire of Hindostan, though he was certainly of the blood royal of India, and no son of a mean artificer. To the strictest discipline throughout his army, he added the most rigid economy in the expenditure of the public treasures. Though at the head of so vast an army, in obedience to the established laws and customs of his country, he meditated no offensive wars against his peaceable neighbours, no ambitious enlargement of the hereditary dominions of the Indian sovereigns

* Arrian in Indicis.

beyond the ancient limit of the river Arbis. We have read, also, in the Sanscreet accounts already cited, that he was "a prince of great justice and equity, and reigned many years, adored by his subjects." His empire too, must have been of far greater extent than that of his predecessors on the throne of India; since it comprehended not only many rich provinces lying on the east of the Ganges, but others stretching along the west bank of the Indus. Northwards it was bounded only by the Caucasian range; but how far its limits extended southward, at this early period, it is impossible to ascertain, as the Rajahs of the Peninsula probably still retained their independence in those mountain fortresses which covered the summits of the Gauts.

Let us now examine another assertion of Megasthenes, preserved, by Arrian, viz. that from Bacchus to Sandracottus, the Indians counted one hundred and fifty-three monarchs in regular descent, and that they reigned during a period of six thousand and forty-two years.* The Sanscreet records go so far towards a confirmation of this position, as to declare that Nanda, the father of Sandracottus, was originally king of Maghada, or South Bahar, *which had been in the possession of his ancestors ever since the days of Creeshna*, who, in fact, was the Indian Bacchus; but then the whole number of kings of the solar dynasty, from Deshwacu, or Cush, down to Nanda, according to Sir William Jones's list, scarcely exceeds one hundred, and the years can only be calculated from the deluge of Menu.† Hence, however, it is evident, that the royal line was continued unbroken to Chandra-Gupta, and that, though the youngest son of Nanda, and somewhat debased by birth, on the maternal side, he mounted the throne by the claim of blood.

Let us now return to the successors of Alexander, and having traced the progress of Seleucus, as well in glory as degradation, I mean, both in India and out of it, let us advert, for a moment, to

* Arrian in Indicis, cap. ix. † See this History, Vol. II. p. 58.

that illustrious character in antiquity, Ptolemy Lagus, who following up to maturity the vast plans of his master, in founding Alexandria, had rapidly advanced that capital, and indeed the whole kingdom, to a point of permanent grandeur and prosperity to which none of his competitors in fame, even ultimately, attained. The basis of that grandeur was more deeply laid, and more vigourously supported: equally great in the peaceful cabinet and on the warlike plain, skilful to project, and daring to execute, the genius of Ptolemy trampled on every difficulty, which nature and situation opposed to making Alexandria the mart of the universe; and, while he successfully combated his ambitious rivals on foreign ground, he relaxed not a moment in the prosecution at home of the great objects which he felt it equally a pleasure and a duty to perfect. In a desert of sand vast marble cisterns were formed, and canals sunk to convey and distribute the waters of the Nile. A double port, a stupendous mole, and a Pharos, the wonder of the world, rose amidst the din and distraction of arms. Edifices the most superb, a museum, a public library, a palace truly royal, and temples worthy of the gods, were erected with a celerity dictated by a generous love of science, and an ardent zeal for religion. In fine, all that an Alexander could wish, a Ptolemy faithfully accomplished. While the governments of his other captains were the seat and centre of revolutions, in Egypt there was stability and security: this circumstance, added to his wise and equitable administration of public affairs, induced all foreigners of merit, learned men and artificers; in particular those skilled in architecture or maritime affairs, who were most wanted and liberally rewarded, to resort in crouds to Egypt.

With the contests of the Ptolemies for dominion, by land, this history has little concern; those of Seleucus were noticed, because he was, for a time, the reputed sovereign of India, and seems never to have wholly relinquished his title to a tribute from that country. With the efforts of the former to wrest from the Phœnicians the

dominion of the sea, and with their commercial projects the Indian history of this period is particularly connected. One of the first objects of Ptolemy was to have a considerable maritime force, to promote and to protect the commerce which he resolved, by various channels, should flow into Egypt, but of that of India, as the most valuable, he was especially desirous. While Seleucus, therefore, was bartering away, for a train of stately elephants, his right to the territory of India, Ptolemy was assiduously labouring to secure to Egypt the productions of its soil. In this he partly succeeded, during his long, though troublesome, reign of thirty-nine years; but the honour of completing the undertaking was reserved for his successor.

Ptolemy Lagus died at the advanced age of eighty-four, and was succeeded by a son not less ardently desirous to fulfil the intentions of his wise father, than to carry to the highest degree of perfection the extensive plans of Alexander. To do this effectually, as far as lay in his power, and with a view to make the trade of Europe and Asia centre in the new capital of Alexandria, early in his reign Ptolemy Philadelphus undertook to cut a new canal one hundred cubits in breadth, and thirty in depth, between Arsinoe, situated on the most southern extremity of the Red Sea, near the site of the modern Suez, and the Pelusian branch of the Nile. A similar intention of uniting the Red Sea and the Nile formed a part of the ambitious projects for aggrandizing and enriching his nation, of a far more ancient sovereign of Egypt, Pharaoh Necho, in which, however, he was violently opposed by the whole order of the priesthood. For those sages were not only induced, by their theology, to dread the defilement of their sacred river by the waters of the Erythræan Sea, but, from their geographical knowledge, were filled with alarm, lest the whole country of Egypt, towards the Mediterranean, should be overwhelmed and turned into a stagnant lake, by the irruption of the former sea, which they conceived to roll on a more elevated bed. Necho, however, persevered in spite of all their remonstrances,

till seven years ineffectual toil, and the loss of 100,000 men, in that attempt, proved the impracticability of it. It remained in this unfinished state till the reign of Darius, of the Persian dynasty of Egyptian kings, who ordered it to be completed, but did not live to accomplish it; a task left for the superior vigour and industry of Philadelphus. Notwithstanding it is said, by Strabo,* to have been sufficiently broad for two vessels, of three ranks of oars, to sail abreast on it; to have had a commodious lock for keeping up the water to a proper height; and the length of it to be only an easy navigation of four days; for some reason or other the canal came into disuse, and the vast labour and expense of cutting through the isthmus of Suez were thrown away, since, in the time of Cleopatra, who, on the point of losing life and empire, would have gladly fled by this cut into the Arabian Gulph, it was found to be utterly impassable, even by light galleys. The labour of so many sovereigns, to complete this vast undertaking, has occasioned the canal itself to be called by geographers, and designated in our maps, THE CANAL OF THE KINGS.

Failing in this magnificent project, yet still resolved, if possible, to fix for ever to Alexandria the lucrative trade now vigorously carrying on between Egypt, the two Arabias, and India, Philadelphus immediately embarked in two other important and successful undertakings; the one was the building of a more powerful fleet than Egypt had ever yet been mistress of, and the other the opening a new road of communication from the Nile, directly across the desert to a part of the Red Sea, whence ships might pass, by a safe and short navigation, to the mouth of the gulf. For the numerous rocks and shoals that abound in the upper, or northern, part of that dangerous sea, added to the tempestuous and variable winds that agitate its surface, had, from the earliest periods, filled the bosom of the mariner with terror and alarms: as he descended down the gulf,

* Vide Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 753.

danger and death seemed to encompass him on every side; it contained no friendly port to shelter him from the storm, nor was a pilot within call, to whom he might, with safety, trust the direction of his bark; on one hand he saw the perfidious Arab, and on the other, the savage Æthiop; the former impatient for his treasures, the latter athirst for his blood.

With the multiplied dangers of this navigation, the nautical skill, the long experience, and the daring intrepidity, that marked all the maritime enterprizes of the Phœnicians, were hitherto alone equal to contend, and it was in consequence of this, that they were so long in possession of the advantageous traffic carried on, by this route, to the coasts of the Happy Arabia, and India, exclusively of all other nations of the west. To remove this obstacle to an open commerce between Europe and Asia, as well as to secure a deep, safe, and commodious port, so greatly wanted on its western shore, were objects that long occupied the thoughts of this able prince, and it was the result of the most deliberate caution, as well as the profoundest policy, that he at length resolved on opening this new road of communication, not in a part of Egypt where the passage between the Red Sea and the Nile was shortest, for, in some places, the breadth scarcely exceeds one hundred miles, which, in particular, is about the distance between the modern town of Kene, on the Nile, and the port of Cossier, the present route of the caravans, but where a safe, though circuitous, journey, by land, superseded the necessity of a perilous navigation on a stormy sea. By consulting a map of Egypt, the reader will observe, that the Nile, after leaving the cataracts, bends its course towards Lybia, in the same direction with the mountains; but, repelled by that eternal barrier, it soon after takes an easterly course, and approaches towards the Arabian Gulf. Near its banks in this quarter, on an eminence, stood the ancient city of Coptos, distant from Alexandria three hundred and three miles; and on this city, which, though not situated immediately upon the

shore of that river, communicated with it by a canal of such considerable breadth and depth, as to bear vessels of the largest burthen then in use, Ptolemy fixed, as a central inland emporium between the last named city and another which he built on the coast of the Red Sea, nearly under the tropic, and named, after his mother, Berenice. This city was erected on the side of a promontory, which there shoots out into the gulf, and in a situation far advanced towards its mouth, so that neither peril nor delay attended the passage of vessels bound thither from this port. It was connected with a spacious haven, protected by that promontory, where a numerous fleet might safely ride at anchor, and its founder spared neither labour nor treasure to make it the grand emporium of all the trade carried on, on that side of his dominion, with India, Persia, and Arabia; a trade so long enjoyed, and productive of such unbounded wealth to the adventurous race of Tyre and Carthage. Its capacious port, its noble caravanseras for the accommodation of foreigners of every nation, the spacious structures intended as magazines of the richest manufactures of the East, the immunities which the merchant enjoyed, and the powerful arm that protected his property, led to Berenice traders from the remotest parts of the southern and Asiatic continents. The Sabæan Arabians brought thither spices, frankincense, and the richest drugs; the swarthy Æthiopian, gold, ebony, and ivory; the luxurious Persian, silks, brocades, and carpets; the hardy Tartar brought down the Indus, from his native mountains, Thibetian musk, Siberian rhubarb, and the choicest ermines; and the delicate Indian, cotton, aromatics, and gems. Its crowded exchange exhibited, in one vast assemblage, all the various nations; and its glittering bazar, in one grand display, all the taste, genius, and splendour of the Oriental world.

A considerable portion of that species of commerce, which was peculiar to the tropical regions of Asia, commenced and terminated here, and the merchants, paying the moderate duties of the port,

retired, with the articles for which they had bartered their country wares, to their respective homes. Those who came for European commodities, waited the arrival of the caravans from Coptos, which city was distant from Berenice, according to Pliny, two hundred and fifty-eight miles, across the desert of Thebais. As this writer and Strabo, though flourishing at a far later period than that which engages our present consideration, have given us so particular an account of the mode, and the exact route, by which this new commerce was carried on, I have little more to do in this part than to present the reader with a correct version of what they have recorded concerning it.

Strabo, who lived when the Alexandrian commerce with India was in its highest vigour, speaking of Coptos, says, this city is inhabited partly by Egyptians and partly by Arabians. Ptolemy Philadelphus was the first Egyptian prince who, with his army, made a road between this city and Berenice, across the great desert without water, throughout the whole course of which he erected, at proper intervals, caravanseras, with every necessary accommodation, as well for travellers on foot, as on camels. The danger attending the navigation of the northern extremities of the Red Sea was the occasion of this arduous undertaking, the benefits resulting from which to commerce fully demonstrate the utility of the project. The productions of Arabia, India, and Æthiopia, were, soon after its completion, transported, by the way of the Arabian Gulph, to Coptos, and this city still remains the emporium of the merchants of the East. They no longer unlade their vessels at Berenice, where the road is grown shallow and unsafe, but at the port of Mias Hormus, which is not very remote, and where a fleet of observation is constantly kept. It was formerly the custom to travel this district on camels by night, (on account of the scorching heat, from its lying so near the line,) at which time, travellers directed their course over the desert, like mariners, by observing the stars;

they were also compelled to take with them provision and water sufficient for six or seven days journey; at present they are supplied with water from deep wells and cisterns, excavated for the purpose. There are mines of emeralds and other precious stones dispersed in the isthmus which they traverse, for which the Arabians industriously search.*

Pliny, after declaring that the Romans in his time annually sent a European fleet to India, containing commodities and bullion to the amount of fifty millions of sesterces, (somewhat more than four hundred thousand pounds of our money,) and that the profits on the articles thus exported, after all the vast expenses of so long a voyage were defrayed, returned those mercantile adventurers, in the Roman market, a profit of cent. per cent. presents us with the following minute details:

The cargo of this annual fleet, thus fitted out by the merchants of Rome, being arrived at Alexandria, was conveyed thence to Juliopolis, two miles distant; there it was embarked on the Nile, and carried up that river to Coptos, distant three hundred and three miles. If the Etesian winds blew favourably, this voyage was generally performed in twelve days. At Coptos the vessels were unloaded, and the goods transported on the backs of camels, in twelve days to Berenice, at the distance of two hundred and fifty-eight miles, where they remained in warehouses till the proper season of the year for continuing the voyage, which was about the rising of the dog-star, or Midsummer. When the goods were embarked for the last time, the vessels steered directly for the Arabian coast, and in thirty days arrived at Ocelis, the modern port of Gella, at the mouth of the Arabian Gulph. Sometimes the fleet steered to Cane, called by the moderns Cape Fartaque, and belonging to Saba, the country of incense; and sometimes to Merza, another port of Arabia Felix, but principally frequented by the merchants of the

* Strabonis Geograph. lib. xvii. p. 472; edit. Steph.

country with whom they trafficked for Arabian frankincense, drugs, and spices, and gave them, in exchange, arms, knives, and toys, of various kinds. Thence they pursue their voyage, and in forty days reach Musiris, the first mart of consequence in India. The port of Musiris, however, the modern Meerzaw, is described, by Pliny, as inaccessible to ships of any considerable burthen, and the neighbourhood of it as greatly infested by pirates. Of Barace, or Barcelore, he speaks in terms of more praise; and specifies a great inland town of the name of Madusa, to which geographers have found none in modern India immediately correspondent; though in his Cotona, or the region so abundant in the production of pepper, we immediately recognize Cotonara on that coast, a district still celebrated for the same commodity. This little digression of our author is closed with an account of the time of the return of the Roman fleet from India, which, he informs us, was either in the beginning of the month of December, answering to the month Thibi of the Egyptians, or, at the farthest, before the sixth day of the Egyptian month Mechiris, that is, before the ides of January; and then, pursuing the same route back again, they reach Alexandria in three months, and arrive in Italy about the end of a complete year from their first setting out. The several places that lay in the route from Alexandria to India, and their distances from each other, when the journey was performed by land, may be summarily and usefully exhibited in the following table:

	Miles.	Days.
From Alexandria to Juliopolis - - -	2	
From Juliopolis to Coptos - - - -	303	12
From Coptos to Berenice, over the deserts -	258	12
The voyage from Berenice to Ocelis required -		30
From Ocelis to Musiris - - - -		40
Length of the journey across Egypt - -	563 Miles.	
Time of the whole voyage to India - - - -		94 Days.

Speaking of the returns of the fleet from India to Egypt, Pliny informs us, that on its first sailing from India, it had the benefit of the north-east wind, Vulturnus; and that, when it entered the Arabian Gulf, a south or south-west wind carried it directly on to Berenice. We may reasonably infer from this account, that the mariners, principally Arabians, navigating the Erythræan and Indian oceans, must have had a knowledge of the trade-winds long before the Greek Hippalus ventured to quit the tardy and timid navigation by the coast of Arabia and Persia, and boldly launching on the wide ocean, found a new and rapid path to India by the aid of the wind, on which grateful posterity afterwards conferred his name.*

We are farther informed by Pliny, that in order to obtain every possible information concerning the internal state of India, the geographical situation of its great trading towns, its various productions, and its extensive commerce, Philadelphus, early in his reign, sent over thither Dionysius, a great mathematician and astronomer of that age, and greatly profited by the exact relations which he brought back with him of the singular customs and wise policy which prevailed in that country.†

To secure the vast commerce, thus newly acquired, from the depredations of the Arabian pirates, that, in all ages, infested the coast of the Red Sea, Philadelphus constantly kept a large fleet stationed in that part of the gulf which was nearest to Berenice; while, in the Mediterranean, a fleet of still superior magnitude was ever ready to protect from insult the port of Alexandria, and the trade of the West, now beginning to centre in that magnificent metropolis. Of the number of vessels employed on the former station, we meet in ancient writers with no regular detail; but, of those employed in the Mediterranean, we find a very exact list in Strabo, and, according to him, it consisted of two ships of thirty oars on a side, one of

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 23, ubi supra. † Ib. lib. vi. cap. 7.

twenty, four of fourteen, two of twelve, fourteen of eleven, thirty of nine, thirty-seven of seven, five of six, seventeen of five, and, besides these, of an incredible number of vessels with four oars and three oars on a side. With these fleets he not only maintained and protected the Indian trade through Egypt, but also kept in subjection, during his whole life, most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor.* It was not only on the Arabian Gulf and its neighbourhood, that this politic monarch erected cities and established ports: with a view, perhaps, entirely to ruin the small remaining trade of Tyre, he built, lower down the Mediterranean, on the coast of Palestine, and in the vicinity of Tyre, a new and splendid city, which he called, after his own name, Ptolemais, and adorned it with a spacious haven, that for several centuries continued a celebrated emporium, and furnished Syria, and all the adjoining regions of Asia, with the commodities of Europe. Ptolemais lay on the west side of Palestine; but, to secure every channel by which the productions of the western world might find a passage to the Higher Asia, and to India, he likewise erected, on the eastern verge of Palestine, another city, long of considerable note in those parts, which, after his surname, he denominated Philadelphia. Thus was Ptolemy in complete possession of the two great avenues of Eastern commerce, that of the caravans over land, carried on through Tadmor in the desert, by the permission of the Seleucidæ, to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf; and that through the heart of his own dominions, by way of Coptos and Berenice. Commercial projects of this vast extent, by sea and land, demanded fleets and armies as proportionably powerful to protect and mature them; and, in consequence, we are assured, by ancient classical writers, that the whole number of ships of war, which formed the navy of Egypt, in his reign, amounted to fifteen hundred, with a thousand transport-vessels to attend them; while the army constantly maintained by that prince

* Strabonis Geograph. lib. xvii. p. 805; and also Athenæus, lib. v. p. 203.

consisted of three hundred thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, two thousand armed chariots, and three hundred elephants. Of these arduous and magnificent undertakings of the Ptolemies the reward was both splendid and ample; and Alexandria, in a comparatively short period, became the grand treasure-house of the universe.

Such was the commencement of the new and extensive commerce carried on between India and Egypt. We shall mark its gradual progress and expansion, and in a future page specify the commodities that formed the more immediate objects of barter between the two nations: it is sufficient, for the present, that we have noticed the enterprizing spirit of the two first Ptolemies, and the dawnings of an immediate intercourse, through Egypt, with the states of Europe, the greatest part of which vast continent was at this period plunged in the profoundest barbarism. Let us return to contemplate the farther proceedings of the Seleucidæ with the Indian nation; and the first establishment of the Parthian and Bactrian dynasties on its frontiers.

CHAPTER III.

Sandracottus and Seleucus continue united in strict Friendship.—The Greek Dynasty of Pattala extends its Power.—Account of Tagara and Pluthana, ancient Cities of the Deccan.—The vast Commerce carried on by the Greeks with Northern Asia and Europe.—Strange Mistakes of the Ancients concerning the Caspian Sea.—The different Routes of the Caravans through Northern Asia, and the Objects of Barter described.—The History of the Seleucidæ resumed.—Seleucus assassinated.—Sandracottus dies—succeeded by his Son Allitrochades.—Native Accounts of that Monarch and his immediate Successors on the Throne of India, compared with the scanty Fragments, relative to them, to be found in Greek classical Authors of that Period.

SENSIBLE of the sterling value of the friendship of Sandracottus, Seleucus appears, during the remainder of their respective lives, diligently to have cultivated, both by his ambassadors, and the mutual interchange of good offices, that pacific disposition which mutual prudence had dictated, and in some degree rendered necessary, to those sovereigns. The conjecture is extremely probable, though, I own, not absolutely justified, by any thing contained in the few historians of the period, that he continued at intervals to receive fresh supplies for his army of those elephants in which he took so much delight; and that, in fact, a *tribute* under the softened name of a present, for the undisturbed possession of the Indian throne, was annually transmitted to the founder of the Syro-Macedonian dynasty. Nor was it only by presents of a military nature that Sandracottus cultivated the friendship of Seleucus; for Phylarchus, in

Athenæus, reports, that he contributed towards the improvement of the voluptuous pleasures of his seraglio, by sending him also certain drugs and roots of a nature tending *ad incendendam libidinem*, for thus Bayer, I conceive, justly translates the words δυναμεις ϛυτικας; possibly *genseng*, or the more celebrated *eringo* root.*

In the mean time the dynasty of Greek princes, whom I have presumed to have been settled at, or near, Pattala, seem to have possessed great power in that region, and from the increasing commerce carried on by their subjects with Egypt, Arabia, and Persia, on the one hand, and with the whole region of the Peninsula, beyond the Ballagaut mountains, and even to the Ganges itself, on the other, were daily deriving an immense revenue. The commerce indeed carried on from Barygaza, or Baroach, with the interior of the Peninsula, seems eventually to have opened the way to a partial conquest of its provinces, since, as we learn from the authorities cited in the history of the Greek kings of Bactria, by the learned Bayer, that, at a period not very distant, a prince named Menander, possibly one of this dynasty of Greek sovereigns, was able to force his way through the heart of India, quite to the northern range, to pass that part of the Caucasus which separates India from Bactria, to penetrate to the very capital of the Bactrian princes, and form a junction of the southern Greek empire with that of Bactria. After this conquest of Menander, the two kingdoms, though at such a vast distance, became in a great degree united. To these, according to Strabo,† shortly after was added *Sigertidis regnum*, the kingdom of *Siger*, situated considerably lower than the mouths of the Indus, according to Rennell, on the northern part of the Malabar coast, and afterwards a considerable emporium for Arabian and Egyptian merchandize.‡

* Bayer Hist. Regni Grec. Bact. p. 38; and Athenæus, p. 18.

† Strabo, lib. ii. p. 496, edit. 1649.

‡ Bayer Hist. Regni Grec. Bact. p. 76.

The author of the Periplus is one of those writers who asserts that Alexander had penetrated to the Ganges, and after mentioning the drachmæ found at Barygaza, bearing the effigies of Menander, takes notice of the city of Ozene, in the eastern quarter of India, as having, long before his time, been a royal residence, and visited by the Greeks. Ozene is also mentioned by Ptolemy, and, as Rennell observes, both in name and position appears to be Ougein, the capital of Malva. When Ougein, therefore, is said, in Ferishta, as will be noticed hereafter, to have been built by Bickermajit, near the commencement of our æra, the author must have meant that he rebuilt and beautified that city, after, perhaps, expelling the remains of a Greek colony.* Seleucus too is also asserted, by Pliny, at a later period, to have reached the Ganges, and even the mouth of that river; but both these accounts are extremely improbable, and, if true, could only be true of some of the more daring of the Bactrian princes or generals, who might have penetrated the interior from their western domain, near the mouths of the Indus.†

At the time referred to by the former of these authors, Tagara and Pluthana were the cities most celebrated for commerce in the southern districts of India; and the following is the substance of Mr. Wilford's interesting strictures in regard to that commerce, and those cities. Tagara, he says, is synonymous with Deoghir, a place of high antiquity, famous throughout all India, on account of the neighbouring pagodas of Elora, and now called *Dowlet-abad.* The term Pluthana is retained in the modern appellation of Pultanah, situated on the southern bank of the Godavery, about 217 miles south of Baroach (Barygaza). Tagara was the capital of a province known to the Greeks by the name of Ariaca, now Aurengabad.

According to Arrian, it was a very large city; and the produce of the country at that early period, consisted chiefly of coarse dungarees *(othonium vulgare)*, of which vast quantities were exported;

* Periplus Maris Erythræi, p. 27. † Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 17.

muslins of all sorts *(sindones omnis generis)*, and a kind of cotton stuff dyed of a whitish purple, and very much of the colour of the flowers of mallows, whence called Molochyna.

All kinds of mercantile goods, throughout the Deccan, were brought to Tagara, and from thence conveyed to Barygaza.

It was about ten days journey to the eastward of Pluthana; and Pluthana was twenty days journey to the southward of Baroach. The road to it lay through the Ballagaut mountains, over which their commodities were transported in carts, that travelled about the rate of five coss, or eleven British miles per day, the usual rate of travelling with heavy loaded carts; and the twenty days during which they are said to have been going that distance, according to that rate, gives the number of miles mentioned above. Onyx and other precious stones abounded in its neighbourhood, being washed by torrents from the hills. Tagara being stated by Arrian, as about ten days journey distant from Pluthana, we may conclude the journey to have been somewhat more than 100 miles. Half way between these two celebrated marts was placed Paithana, now Pattan, mentioned by Greek writers as the imperial residence of Rajah Salbahan, and thought, by Mr. Wilford, to be the same with the Siripolemæus of Ptolemy. Tagara, or Deoghir, continued the metropolis of that part of India till towards the latter end of the eleventh century.

It may appear astonishing, observes Mr. Wilford, that though the Rajah of Tagara was possessed of a large tract on the sea coast, yet that all the trade should be carried on by land; but formerly it was not so: on the arrival of the Greeks into the Deccan, goods were brought to Callian near Bombay, and then shipped off. However a Rajah of Larikeh, or Lar, called Sandanes, according to Arrian, would no longer allow the Greeks to trade either at Callian or at the harbours belonging to him on that coast, except Baroach; and, whenever any of them were found at Callian or in the neighbourhood, they were confined and sent to Baroach under a strong

guard. Arrian, being a Greek himself, has not thought proper to inform us, what could induce the Rajah to behave in this manner to the Greeks; but his silence is a convincing proof that they had behaved amiss; and it is likely enough they had attempted to make a settlement in the island of Salset, in order to render themselves independent, and facilitate their conquests in the Deccan.

The fears of the Rajah were not groundless; for the Greek kings of Bactriana were possessed of the Panjab, Cabul, &c. in the north of India.

There were other harbours to the south of Callian, belonging to the Rajah of Tagara, but they were not frequented, on account of pirates.*

Such were the good effects of the spirited and politic exertions of Ptolemy Philadelphus, to establish a permanent commerce between Egypt and the Peninsula of India; a commerce to which, from situation, the king of Syria seemed to possess a better title, had he chosen to make as vigorous efforts to secure it.

But although Seleucus, with such apparent imprudence, abandoned to Ptolemy and the Greeks of Egypt the whole commerce of the southern districts of India, he was by no means indifferent to that of the Northern Asia, then carried on by the Oxus and the Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea, along whose confines many powerful and warlike nations were then established, many opulent cities flourished, and into whose bosom many great and navigable rivers discharged their waters. A strange misconception, in regard to this sea, seems to have very generally prevailed among the ancients. Some imagined that it formed an immediate part of the great Northern ocean, of which it was a large bay, like the Persian and Arabian Gulfs; others, that it had a connection with that ocean by means of the Euxine; and others again, that it had a communication with the ocean that washes India on the east. Alexander

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 374.

himself, as we are informed by Arrian,* ever attentive to geographical concerns, was anxious fully to investigate this disputed matter, and, a short period before his death, had given orders to fell a great quantity of timber in the forests of Hyrcania, for the purpose of preparing a fleet, in which he intended personally to explore that mighty bed of congregated waters, without, to this day, any apparent efflux. He had already sailed into the Persian Gulf through the mouth of the Euphrates, and into the Eastern Ocean through that of the Indus; and he had probably formed a similar project of launching out into the Northern Ocean through the Streights, by which it was supposed to be connected with the Caspian. The execution of his design was alone prevented by his premature death; but Seleucus, to whose lot, after the destruction of Antigonus, fell the entire and uncontrolled sovereignty of the higher Asia, assiduously endeavoured to perfect the plan thus judiciously formed, and vigorously commenced. The fleet for exploring its winding shores and vast extent (above six hundred miles in length and three hundred in breadth), was expeditiously completed, and a partial survey took place during his reign; that portion of it explored by the fleets of this sovereign bearing, for many ages, the name of the Seleucidian Sea; while the remaining portion afterwards explored, with the same motives, by Antiochus the Great, was denominated the Sea of Antiochus.† The views of both these princes were to open an immediate passage for the costly articles of Indian and Persian commerce, through that sea and the Northern Ocean, of which they still considered it to be a vast bay, or by its conjectured connection with the Euxine, into Europe. Seleucus, indeed, towards the close of his reign, a reign cut short by the dagger of an assassin, seems to have been convinced of the error of both opinions; and, we are informed by Pliny,‡ had absolutely resolved on the arduous undertaking of cutting a canal from the Caspian to the Euxine Sea, for the purpose

* Arrian, lib. vii. cap. 16. † Pliny, lib. ii. cap. 64. ‡ Ib. lib. vi. cap. 11.

of more widely expanding the commerce of the North, and transporting the commodities of the provinces stretching along the most eastern confines of the one sea, to those lying on the most western shores of the other.

It may seem strange that Seleucus, so desirous of naval distinction, and an extensive commerce, should have thus wholly relinquished to the Ptolemies the lucrative trade carried on between Egypt and the cities which, lying near the mouth of the Indus, bordered so closely upon the Persian territories, and to which, by Alexander's removal of the cataracts at the efflux of the Euphrates into the Persian Gulf, a passage was so short and easy. But it has before been observed, that the ancient race of Persians were equally restrained by the precepts of religion and policy, from engaging in maritime expeditions; that the element of water, not less than that of fire, was the object of their superstitious veneration, and while that superstition made them shudder at the idea of polluting it themselves, by any species of filth, thrown from vessels, the dread of invasion from a quarter in which they were so defenceless, induced them to prohibit the entrance of foreigners into their dominions, by any maritime inlet, under penalties extremely rigorous; and that, in fact, to render invasion impossible by the channel of their two great rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, they effectually dammed up the mouths of those rivers with immense engines; to remove which cost Alexander, when his fleet, under the command of Nearchus, sailed, by the route of the Persian Gulf, into Mesopotamia, no small portion of time and labour.

When sentiments so avowedly hostile to a great project, sentiments at once sanctioned by the precepts of religion, and the laws of policy, have taken such deep root in the minds of a bigotted people, it is no easy matter to erase them. Though Alexander had removed the cataracts from the Euphrates, neither he nor his successor could divert from its ancient course the current of popular

prejudice, and the Persians, with every temptation to engage in them, still remained a race averse from maritime adventure. They were content with the ancient mode of obtaining the rich productions of India by a tedious land carriage in ponderous wains, and on the backs of camels, through the southern provinces of that empire. Indeed it is more than probable that, constantly apprehensive of invasion from that dreaded quarter, shortly after Alexander's death the Persians replaced the cataracts that dammed up the mouths of their two great rivers; at all events, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, those cataracts were remaining there in the reign of the emperor Julian, when that prince, attended by the historian himself, made his irruption into Persia, about the middle of the fourth century.* The Persians had, in fact, constructed a port near the entrance of the Euphrates, for the purpose of receiving foreign commodities, from the Indian, Arabian, and Alexandrian merchants who traded thither; and between the Euphrates and the fort of *Spasinus* in the Persian Gulf, the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea has placed an emporium, which he entitles *Apologus*, and mentions another of still greater celebrity and resort in the same quarter, of the name of *Omana*, which is confirmed by Pliny, who supposes it of such high antiquity as to have been one of the cities built by Semiramis in Carmania.† This I cannot but consider as very strong testimony of the assertion of some learned geographers, that there anciently existed two cities of the latter name, for by this description he certainly cannot allude to the ancient capital of Arabia Felix, situated in the heart of that country, and which formerly gave its name to the whole of it. To these great trading cities, expressly said to have been situated on the Persian shore, the former of these authors adds, the eastern merchants brought from Barygaza (Baroach), in ships of considerable magnitude, various costly articles both of

* Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxiv. p. 281.

† Periplus Maris Erythræi, p. 86; and Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 28.

Indian and Arabian growth and manufacture, lapis calaminaris, various kinds of precious woods, and incense, the produce of Cana in Arabia; consequently it could not be to the Arabian Oman that they brought them. The Omanians, who are described as making use, in their coasting navigations, of little boats of pliant wood, tied and sewed together with thongs made of the sinews of beasts, are expressly said, in the Periplus, to have carried back to Barygaza, *and to Arabia*, pearls, purple, rich Babylonian vests, wine, dates, and slaves. The more northern provinces of Persia were abundantly supplied with all the luxuries of India and China, by the unwearied labours of that powerful and patient animal, the camel, and the great navigable rivers, the Oxus, the Cyrus, the Jaxartes, and others by which they were every where intersected, but of these we shall have repeated occasion to speak more at large hereafter.

In discussing this apparent reluctance of the Syrian sovereigns to take the utmost advantage of their near neighbourhood, in the southern districts of their empire, to the great established marts of Indian commerce, it should not be forgotten, that, independent of their vast power by land, the Ptolemies rapidly succeeded in their efforts to procure a most powerful fleet, with which it was impossible for Seleucus to contend; for, in confirmation of what has been previously stated relative to their naval strength, Athenæus tells us, that besides six score ships, with oars, of uncommon magnitude, above four thousand other ships of different kinds, were employed in the service of the Egyptian government.* This prodigious maritime force was indeed necessary to Philadelphus in the zenith of his glory, when he possessed not only the whole sea coast of Syria, but, as we learn from Theocritus, who wrote his seventeenth Idyllium in honour of this prince, had extended his dominion beyond that sea to Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades, and reigned supreme over almost four thousand cities.† The successors

* Athenæus lib. v. p. 203. † Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. line 90.

of the two first Ptolemies, fully aware of the immense wealth which their monopoly of the southern trade of India produced them, constantly kept up a great proportion of this vast armament during all the periods of their reign in Egypt. It was equally, therefore, a matter of policy and of necessity, that the Syrian monarchs turned their attention towards the improving commerce of the northern provinces, and the Caspian Sea, whither the productions of the southern regions of India, destined for those provinces and Europe, were brought as to a central mart; being conveyed from the banks of the Indus to the Oxus on the backs of camels, down the stream of that river to the shores of the Caspian, and thence by the Cyrus, the modern Kur, into the Black Sea, whence they were diffused through Armenia, as well as those parts of Europe, which began to indulge a rising predilection for the rich produce and elegant manufactures of India. In ages long posterior, according to Bishop Huetius,* an attempt was made by the Genoese, to recover this route for eastern commodities, and a proposition submitted, in the time of Pope Leo the Tenth, to the Czar Basil, that Indian wares might be brought to Astracan, an emporium of Russia bordering on the Caspian, to be carried thence down the great river Volga, the ancient Rha, to Moscow; from Moscow down the river of the same name and the Duna, or Dwina, to Riga in Livonia, and from Riga into the heart of Europe by the Baltic and German Oceans. The proposition, however, was rejected by that politic prince, who thought it opened too easy an ingress to foreign nations into the centre of his remote dominions, and might be the means of ultimately depriving his subjects of a most lucrative commerce which, in propriety, belonged exclusively to them. Pliny has given us the following particular detail of this northern route, and the distances of the stages, as carried on at the period, about 200 years after the reign of Seleucus, of Pompey's march against Mithridates, the reigning king of Pontus.

* History of the Commerce of the Ancients, p. 33.

He says that it was only a journey of seven days from the frontiers of India, through the country of the Bactrians, to the river Icarus, which falls into the Oxus, down which stream the commodities of India were transported into the Caspian Sea. Thence, they were carried up the river Cyrus, to a place within five days journey over land to Phasis, the capital of Colchis, situated in the eastern extremity of the Pontus Euxinus, and renowned in Grecian fable for its golden fleece, which, in all probability, was nothing more than the golden produce of India, which the Argonauts secured by opening the commerce of the Black Sea.* At this day, the Oxus no longer flows into the Caspian, the miserable policy of the modern Tartars having induced them to divert its course, as well as that of the Jaxartes; and these two noble rivers are now lost and swallowed up in the sands of that boundless desert.

Of the thirty-six great generals who survived Alexander, and divided his empire among them, from their insatiable ambition, their continued and bloody contests, and we may surely add, without superstition, from the just judgment of Providence that followed them, for their heinous offences against God and man, in the forty-third year after his decease only two remained alive; Seleucus and Lysimachus. These mighty warriors were at that moment preparing for a dreadful battle, which was to constitute one or the other the uncontrolled sovereign of Asia. Seleucus ultimately proved the conqueror, the surviving conqueror of all the heroes trained in the school of Alexander, and this circumstance, added to many previous victories, has induced historians to distinguish him from other sovereigns of this dynasty by the name of NICATOR. He did not long enjoy the glory that redounded to him from this last important victory, being barbarously and ungratefully assassinated by a cowardly stab in the back by Ptolemy Ceraunus, on whom he had heaped innumerable kindnesses, as he was triumphantly entering

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 17.

into Macedon, about seven months after he had gained that kingdom from Lysimachus, with intent to make its capital his future residence.* He perished, according to Justin's statement, in the seventy-third year of his age, in the thirty-second of the æra that bears his name, and in the year before Christ 280.

So little of the domestic history of India respecting this period is as yet known, and so little have even the most important transactions in that country been arranged in any regular chronological manner, that I am unable to fix the exact period of the death of Sandracottus. It is certain, however, that he died some time previous to Seleucus, since Daimachus is recorded to have been sent ambassador from the former to the court of Allitrochades, his son, and to have also composed, from information and observations made there, some interesting memorials, in part cited by Athenæus, concerning India; † but they have long ago perished. Although Daimachus's account of India be severely condemned by Strabo, who styles the whole a romance, yet let it be remembered, that great geographer unites with his name those of Megasthenes, Onesicritus, and Nearchus, whose relations have in various instances, proved the most authentic sources of intelligence regarding interior India among the ancients, and have been confirmed by the most recent modern details. With respect to their supposed fabulous accounts of men with such long ears that they could cover themselves with them, of others with a single eye, without mouths, or noses, with long feet, the toes of which were turned backwards, and of others whose heads were formed in the shape of a wedge, and of a small race of people only three spans in height, &c. &c. these grotesque symbolical representations they doubtless had contemplated with astonishment, engraved and sculptured on the walls of the Indian pagodas; but these in fact were nothing more than the mythological designs of Avatars and other Devatas, in whose forms were combined, as in Egypt still

* Justin. lib. xxvii. cap. 2. † Athenæus, lib. ix. cap. 11.

more anciently, the human and bestial character and features, colossal Cynocephali, or Veeshnu with the *boar's head*, so nearly resembling the Canis Anubis of Egypt, the large mountain satyrs of the Peninsula, that attended the army of Ram to Ceylon, and of the dwarf figures representing Veeshnu in the Bali Avatar, so frequently occurring in the Elephanta, and other sacred caverns. These were mistaken, in that remote region of the world, at whose extremities every thing monstrous, every thing prodigious, "and worse than fables yet have feigned, or fear conceived," was supposed to be engendered, for actual existing similitudes of real life. I can conceive no other possible source of such egregious deviations, in description, from the line of historical truth, and this their mistake of imaginary for real beings, appears, to my mind, a sufficient vindication of these writers from the charge of gross and direct misrepresentation.

Allitrochades is by the Greeks sometimes called Amitrochades, and, on this word, Mr. Wilford, our best guide through this dark æra, observes: "The son of Chandra-Gupta is called Allitrochades and Amitrocades by the Greek historians. Seleucus sent an ambassador to him; and after his death, the same good intelligence was maintained by Antiochus, the son or the grandson of Seleucus. This son of Chandra-Gupta is called Varisára in the Puránas; according to Parasara, his name was Dasaratha; but neither the one nor the other bear any affinity to Amitrocades: this name appears, however, to be derived from the Sanscreet Mitra-Gupta, which signifies saved by Mitra, or the Sun, and therefore, probably, was only a surname."*

In reverting to Ferishta's Indian history of this period, we find still less consonance in the names of the princes said to have reigned in the period immediately succeeding Alexander's irruption. The detail of their actions, however, though brief, in general corresponds. I shall first present the reader with what that author has slightly

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. V. p. 194.

recorded of Sandracottus and his son and grandson, and then proceed to the relation of the Greek accounts of the remaining transactions carried on between the Syrian and Indian sovereigns, till the final establishment of the Parthian and Bactrian empires.

Sinsarchund, says Ferishtah, the same whom the Greeks call Sandracottus, assumed the imperial dignity after the death of Phoor, and in a short time regulated the discomposed concerns of the empire. He neglected not, in the mean time, to remit the *customary tribute to the Grecian captains*, who possessed Persia under, and after the death of, Alexander. Sinsarchund, and his son after him, possessed the empire of India seventy years. When the grandson of Sinsarchund acceded to the throne, a prince named Jona, who is said to have been a grandnephew of Phoor, though that circumstance is not well attested, aspiring to the throne, rose in arms against the reigning prince, and deposed him.

Jona was an excellent prince, endued with many great and good qualities. He took great pains in peopling and in cultivating the waste parts of Hindostan, and his indefatigable attention to the police of the country procured him a lasting reputation for justice and benevolence. Jona acceded to the throne of India little more than two hundred and sixty years before the commencement of the Christian æra; and, not many years after, Ardeshir, whom the Greeks call Arsaces, possessing himself of the eastern provinces of Persia, expelled the successors of Alexander, and founded the Parthian, or second Persian empire. Arsaces assumed the name of king about two hundred and fifty-six years before Christ, according to the writers of Greece, which perfectly agrees with the accounts of the Brahmins. Ardeshir, or Arsaces, claimed and established the right of Persia, to a tribute from the empire of India; and Jona, fearing his arms, made him a present of elephants and a vast quantity of gold and jewels. Jona reigned long after this transaction, in

great tranquillity, at Canouge; and he and his posterity possessed the throne peaceably, during the space of ninety years.*

Chandra, or Chundra, as it is sometimes written, signifies the moon; we have, therefore, in this Persian writer, and in the final termination of Sinsarchund, at least, a relic of the Sanscreet appellative. This account seems to prove what we before intimated, that the elephants delivered to Seleucus were considered rather as a tribute than as a present. Again, the seventy years allotted very reasonably to the reigns of Sandracottus and his sons will carry us down through the reigns of Antiochus Soter and Theos, successors to Seleucus in Syria, to near the termination of that of the latter, and the epoch of the revolt of the Parthian and Bactrian empires, which took place about the year before Christ 255. During the reigns of the two princes, Seleucus Callinicus and Ceraunus, India is scarcely mentioned by the Greek historians, except in the history of the Greek kings of Bactria, into the details of which we shall presently enter. It is evident from the passage above cited, from Ferishtah, in which Jona, though represented as a powerful prince, and raised solely by the vigour of his arms to imperial distinction, is stated to have been compelled to acknowledge the Persian monarch as his superior, that the Arsacides also continued to receive a tribute from India, on the ground of the ancient right to it of the Persian monarchs of the Caianan dynasty. The publication, in 1631, by Leo Ateatius, at Rome, of the inscription on the *Monumentum Adulitanum*, or marble of Aduli, has rendered the literary world more extensively acquainted with the conquests made in Syria and the higher Asia, by Ptolemy Evergetes, in the reign of Antiochus Theos, than historians previously were from any other attainable source of information. According to that inscription, he conquered all the countries between Mount Taurus and Bactria, and seems even to have entered the frontier provinces of the Indian empire. If such were the fact,

* Ferishtah, Vol. I. p. 11.

however, there are no particulars on record, by either native or foreign writers, on the subject.

In the reign of Antiochus the Great, the affairs of India again become conspicuously prominent in the page of Asiatic history, and the renewed compact of that monarch with Sophagasenus, in the year before Christ 204, confirmed by the tribute of elephants, is an additional testimony of the dependence of India, at least of its western regions, on the more powerful sovereign of Persia. Jona and his posterity are said to have retained peaceable possession of the Indian throne during a period of ninety years, which, added to the seventy years, during which Sandracottus and his descendants reigned over it, will bring us down to the year, or about the year, (for to no certainty can we attain at this obscure period of the Indian chronology) 100 before Christ; at which time the Bactrian kingdom of India had already passed the meridian of its glory. That glory as rapidly declined as it had risen, and about thirty years afterwards set in eternal night; the empire being ravaged on one side by the Parthians, and on the other inundated by the torrent of barbarians, that kept rolling on from the borders of the Caspian, and the shores of the Jaxartes.

It was during the ninety years in which this latter dynasty sat on the throne of India, that Antiochus the Great, after granting peace and an independent crown to Euthydemus, the Bactrian, made his irruption into that region, and Sophagasenus must have been one of the descendants of this race, but there are no Indian records, as yet discovered, that throw any light upon this darkest æra of its annals, and little more can be collected from the Greek historians of that period, particularly Polybius, who simply records the fact of Antiochus having crossed Paropamisus with his army, of his renewing his alliance with the Indian sovereign, and of his obtaining from him a tribute of elephants, which, added to those he had already procured in Bactria, made the whole number amount

to one hundred and fifty. He is also said, by the same author, to have received a considerable quantity of grain for the consumption of the army, and to have left behind him Androsthenes, of Cyzicus, to collect the tribute promised in money.*

After Jona's posterity had become extinct, Callian Chund, a warlike and sanguinary prince, is said to have reigned over Hindostan, that is, the eastern districts, of which Canouge was then the capital, and to have been driven, on account of his tyranny, from the throne, by a general insurrection of the rajahs dependent upon his authority. With him the regular empire of India on the Ganges seems, for a time at least, to have been at an end; since after this event many years of discord and anarchy ensued, and each more powerful rajah became alternately a competitor for the supreme authority.

The next emperor of India mentioned in Ferishtah, and noticed by Sir William Jones, as of any superior talents and distinction, is the celebrated Bickermajit, or Vicramaditya, who, by a series of bold exertions and great exploits, as well in the political as military field, arrived at the supreme sovereignty of Hindostan, according to the last author's corrected chronology,† in the 56th year before Christ. Of him a most magnificent account is given in all the accessible Indian histories. He is recorded to have been unequalled by any former king of that country in the science of jurisprudence, governing, in fortitude, in justice, and wisdom; and to have travelled, in the habit of a mendicant, over a great part of the East, in order to acquire the arts, learning, and policy of foreign nations, and transplant them into his own. He was even thought to have taken up arms by the divine command, as Rama of old, to purge the empire of vice and tyranny, and he exalted aloft, in the centre of the land, the standard of equity, and the banners of religion. He rapidly subdued the kingdoms of Malva and Guzzerat, and rendered all the other great feudatories dependent upon his sovereign will. Both

* Vide Polyb. lib. xi. p. 592, edit. Casaubon. † See Vol. II. of this Work, p. 92.

poets and historians are uniform in their praise of this great and just man; the former, wishing to impress us with an adequate idea of his inflexible justice, in the Oriental style, affirm that the MAGNET, without his permission, dared not exert its power upon iron, nor AMBER upon the chaff of the field; and the latter add, that such was his temperance and contempt of grandeur, he slept upon a mat, and reduced the furniture of his apartment to an earthen pot, filled with water from the spring.

He was also a munificent patron of learning, and the poet and philosopher Calidas, who flourished in his reign, was particularly protected by him. The latter was considered as the chief of fourteen learned Brahmins, whom Bickermajit invited to his court from different parts of Hindostan, and who were denominated the fourteen jewels of his crown. While he was thus engaged in patronizing literature, he was by no means inattentive to the promotion of the more sacred concerns of religion; and to animate, in this respect, the zeal of the inferior classes, always most powerfully operated upon by external objects, he set up the great image of Maha-cali, or Time, in the city of Ugein, which he built, while he himself worshipped only the infinite and invisible God.

The Hindoos retain such a respect for the memory of Bickermajit, that most of them, to this day, calculate their civil time from the period of his inauguration. The famous Sapor, king of Persia, is placed, in the Indian chronology, as cotemporary with this renowned king of Malva. He was slain in his old age, about the commencement of the Christian æra, in a battle against a confederacy of the princes of the Deccan.* The Hindoos have also another famous epoch, commencing from the death of a prince, third in succession from him, as some report, but his immediate successor, according to others, named Salbahan. Concerning his history, however, we have as yet obtained no particulars, except that by the

* Ferishtah, Vol. I. p. 13.

latter he is recorded to have headed the insurgents of the Deccan who deprived Bickermajit of his throne and life, and that he for a time transferred the seat of the empire in the Deccan from Tagara, Deogur, to Paithana, or Pattan, his proper rajahship; though Tagara afterwards recovered its dignity as the imperial city of the Southern India.* Undoubtedly more full and interesting details concerning these great characters on the field of Indian transactions, as well as of many other mighty potentates and legislators, enumerated in the long catalogue of Maghada princes, from Chandra-Gupta down to Chandrabijia, if they all actually existed in the character of sovereign princes, a matter which I hold extremely dubious, will gradually come to light, and be transmitted to Europe, as the members of the Asiatic Society continue to extend their researches. In the interim let us attend to those of the Bactrian and Parthian sovereigns, as detailed by Greek and Persian writers, on the western frontiers of that mighty empire.

* Ferishtah, Vol. I. p. 13; and Mr. Wilford, Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 373; London, quarto edit.

CHAPTER IV.

The History of the Origin, Progress, and final Establishment of the Kingdom founded in BACTRIANA *and Western Hindostan, by the Greek Successors of Alexander.—Geographical Survey of Bactriana.—its delightful Climate and luxurious Productions.—Conquered by Alexander.—The Macedonian Garrison revolts.—Bactriana rent from the Syrian Empire, and erected into a separate Monarchy by* THEODOTUS.—PARTHIA *about the same Period becomes independent under* ARSACES.—*The revolted Kingdoms strengthen themselves by a close Confederacy against the Power of the Syrian Monarchs.—Theodotus the Second driven from his Throne by Euthydemus, who usurps the Bactrian Sceptre.—The History of the Syrian Dynasty, as connected with the Bactrian and Indian Empires resumed.—Antiochus the Great makes War on the Parthian and Bactrian Monarchs, and marches an Army into India—he receives a Tribute of Elephants from Sophagasenus, its Sovereign, and returns to Babylon.—Euthydemus succeeded on the Bactrian Throne by Menander.*

BACTRIANA, the modern CHORASAN, of whose sovereigns of Greek extraction I am now to give, from very scanty materials, the concise history, was bounded on the north by the great river Oxus, the modern Gihon, which separates it from Sogdiana. On its southern border rise, as a mighty barrier, the lofty summits of Paropamisus, a part of the great Tauric range, which separates Bactriana from India, and to which the soldiers of Alexander, to flatter the vanity of that prince, vauntingly assigned the name of Caucasus. It is the Hindoo-Ko of modern maps. Margiana formed its western

boundary; and along its eastern confines stretched the vast regions of Asiatic Scythia, and the Massagetæ; * Bactria its capital, by its Oriental name of Balkh, has been already repeatedly noticed in this work and the Indian Antiquities, as the principal residence of Zerdusht, where his proudest pyræum was erected, and the most splendid rites of fire-worship were celebrated; and whence that renowned theologue, in company with his patron, Darius Hystaspes, visited the Brachmans in their woody recesses amidst the mountains of Superior India.† Its glory had greatly decayed, and the sacred fires in its temples burned with but a faint glimmer, from the general decay of the Sabian superstition in Chorasan, or the *province of the Sun*, when visited by Alexander, who, it has been already observed, left within its walls a considerable force, and to overawe his Bactrian and Sogdian subjects, built in its neighbourhood the Paropamisan Alexandria, doubtless the modern Candahar, and furnished it with a still stronger garrison.

Besides its noble capital, Bactriana, and the territory dependent upon it, had many rich and beautiful cities, though the names of few except Drapsica, and Eucratidia, built by Eucratides, one of its later sovereigns, have descended to posterity. Justin, indeed, informs us, that Theodotus, its first independent sovereign, of Greek origin, had no less than a thousand cities under his command.‡ Its delightful climate, for Balkh, according to Ulug Beg's Astronomical Tables, is situated in latitude 36° 41′, its various and abundant

* Cellarii Geograph. Antiq. Vol. II. p. 507.

† Consult Vol. II. p. 533, of this history and preceding chapters, with respect to what has occurred concerning Balkh and the ancient monarchies of IRAN and TURAN, and the contest of their kings, with the history of which this chapter is connected. Indeed as we pursue the stream of events, we shall find even to the latest period of Mahommedan glory, that these contests are the basis of all modern Eastern history: it is still Iran and Turan, under the various names of Persians, Scythians, and Moguls, contending for the sovereignty of this part of Asia.

‡ Justin lib. xli. cap. 4.

productions, its luxurious pastures filled with innumerable herds of the finest and largest species of cattle, and fertilized throughout its whole extent by the majestic river Oxus, down whose stream were wafted into the Caspian the richest articles of Oriental commerce, rendered it the most envied region of Asia. No wonder therefore, can be excited by the perpetual struggles of its governors to become independent of its rightful sovereigns; the kings of Syria, which they finally effected so far as to become their rivals in the extent of empire and in military glory.

Strabo indeed, expressly says, that so great was the power of the Greeks who possessed Bactriana, and on account of the excellency of its climate and productions, such numbers crowded thither, that its sovereigns were enabled to subject to their yoke both Aria and India; and in the latter country particularly, according to Apollodorus of Adramyttium, more and greater nations than even Alexander himself: but chiefly Menander, who passing the Hypanis, the boundary of Alexander's incursion, pressed on to the farthest limits of the East. Part of this vast empire was possessed by himself, and part by Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians; and he adds, that they not only possessed the Pattalene, but also a great part of the adjoining maritime tract, which is called Tessariosti and the kingdom of Sigertis, or part of Malabar. But neither did the remotest frontier of Aria and Bactriana bound their vast dominion, which extended even to the Seres and Phryni,* or Sacæ, their powerful neighbours to the east and north of Bactriana. They had for their principal cities Bactra, Darapsa, Eucratidia, founded as before observed, by Eucratides, and many others.† But from this

* In the original the words are Συρων και Φαυνων, the Syrians, and adopting the emendation of Casaubon, who, for the latter term, would substitute Φοινικων, the Phœnicians, which is nearly tautology. Bayer greatly commends, and adopts another emendation by Valens, who would substitute Σηρων και Φρυνων, which is much more consonant to sense and history, and is therefore inserted in the text.

† Strabo, lib. ii. p. 496; edit. Basil.

general survey of the power and splendour of the Bactrian princes, and the riches and population of the country, let us proceed to particular details, and mark the progress by which those princes gradually ascended to that formidable point of greatness and strength which enabled them to defy all the power of the Seleucidæ, the lords paramount of Asia, vigorously called forth and directed against their empire by Antiochus the Great, next to Seleucus the most warlike sovereign of that renowned dynasty.

Alexander had scarcely entered India when, as we are informed by Curtius,* an insurrection of the garrison left in Bactriana took place, under a chief named Athenodorus, who had usurped the title of king, not so much, adds this author, from ambitious views, as under this assumed authority, to collect together and command a strong body of Greeks anxious and determined to revisit their native country. The beginning of this defection was occasioned by a quarrel among themselves, in which several of their comrades were slain, and the dread of punishment from Alexander on his return, urged the stronger party to the desperate measure of seizing upon the ill-guarded citadel of Bactra, and uniting themselves in a close confederacy with the barbarians. Circumstances, in some degree similar to these, I make not the least doubt, occurred in most of the distant garrisons left by Alexander in Asia, and gave rise, as I conceive was the case at Pattala, to an infinite number of small kingdoms or satrapies, dispersed over his immense empire. But to proceed to other particulars of the Bactrian revolt. Athenodorus was not permitted to retain long or undisturbed possession of his regal elevation; for one Bicon, an equally adventurous Greek officer, who seems to have been second in command, inflamed with envy at his sudden exaltation, secretly conspired against him, and caused him to be murdered, at an entertainment to which he had invited him, by the hands of Boxus, a native of Maceria. On the ensuing

* Quintus Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 7.

day, a general assembly being convened to investigate this dark affair, Bicon had the address to persuade the majority of them that he only acted thus in self-defence, for that Athenodorus had concerted a plan for his certain destruction, which he could alone render abortive by striking the first blow. Though the greater part of the assembly were pacified by this representation, applauded the conduct of Bicon, and even placed him on the vacant throne, yet there remained no inconsiderable body of soldiers who reprobated the perfidy, and, flying to arms, would have instantly sacrificed him to the manes of their murdered general. They were, however, restrained from venting their fury on him by the vigorous exertion of those who favoured the cause of Bicon, and were, in all probability, partners in his treachery. The serpent which they had thus fondly cherished, in a short time aimed to spend its venom on its deliverers, and resolved to arrive at complete despotism, by the utter extirpation of those who had conferred at once life and sovereignty. The base intention was, however, discovered in time, and both Bicon, and the assassin Boxus, were seized: the latter was instantly put to death; but to perish by lingering torments, was the destiny assigned by an enraged soldiery, to the deeper and more complicated guilt of Bicon.. Fortune again befriended the culprit; for while they were preparing to stretch on the rack his naked and trembling limbs, a sudden and violent tumult, from some unknown cause, spread through the whole army, assembled to witness the execution; every body rushed to arms, as if an enemy were at hand; the tormentors were terrified from proceeding in their dreadful business; and Bicon taking advantage of the general confusion, in that humiliating and defenceless condition, flew from rank to rank, earnestly implored the compassion, and a second time obtained the forgiveness of the army. This desperate and sanguinary monster ultimately was suffered to head the bands who, disgusted with that remote station, in a short period

afterwards, returned from Bactria to their native country. Such is Curtius's account of the first Greek insurrection in Bactria.*

After the death of Alexander, and on the second division of the empire among his generals, Bactria and Sogdiana, according to Arrian in Photius,† was assigned to Stasanor of Soli; Aria, and Drangiana to Stasander, which from the similarity of the names, and the proximity of the countries allotted, has, by some commentators, been thought to be only a corruption of the former appellative, and certainly Aria and Bactria afterwards formed but one kingdom. To Philip, finally, was allotted the government of Bactria, by Antipater, in the year before Christ 321,‡ and by his able management of public affairs in that province, was probably laid the basis of its future greatness. During the turbulent period that succeeded, he probably, as well as the other governors in the remote northern regions of Asia, aspired at independence, and amidst the conflicts that distracted Asia, in a degree acquired it; but when Seleucus, victorious over his rival Antigonus, had again established himself at Babylon, he is expressly said to have reconquered Media, Bactria, Hyrcania, and all the provinces on the west of the Indus, formerly subjected by Alexander to the Macedonian yoke.§ It was after these conquests that he recrossed the Indus and entered into that stipulation with Sandracottus, of which we have before given the particulars, as far as they can be collected. Bactria, during the remainder of the vigorous reign of that great military chieftian, probably remained in peaceable obedience to the imperial authority afterwards assumed by him in Asia, and we hear little more concerning this province till the year before Christ 255, at which precise period, according to Bayer's Chronological Table

* Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 7. † Arriani Excerpta apud Photium, p. 223.

‡ Usserii Annales, p. 404. § Justin. lib. xv. cap. 4. Appian in Syriacis, p. 130. and Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxiii.

of the Bactrian kings, and of the principal æras and events of their empire, the second great insurrection broke out, that for ever rent Bactria from the crown of Syria, and the yoke of the Seleucidæ.*

At what precise point of time THEODOTUS, at first the governor, and then the sovereign of this new-formed kingdom, was appointed to the præfecture, is uncertain; that he was a Greek, but not by birth a Macedonian, is a point better established. This aspiring Greek finding Antiochus Soter, the son of Seleucus, engaged in a long, distant, and sanguinary contest with Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, by which his power was weakened, and his treasury exhausted, seized the opportunity which the relaxed state of government in the Eastern provinces afforded, of declaring himself independent.

Concerning Theodotus and his exploits, little more can be collected from classical authors of that period in which he flourished, than that he firmly established the empire which he had successfully founded; that he widely extended its boundaries, as well over the Massagetæ and other tribes northward, as down the stream of the Indus; reducing to their former tributary dependence on their Grecian conquerors, the nations inhabiting its shores; and thus marking out the line of future conquests, which his more daring successors were to fill up by penetrating into the interior of that rich empire, the object of the perpetual envy and avarice of every new adventurer on the field of Asiatic warfare. In this field, however, no small share of glory fell to Theodotus himself, since he is recorded by Justin, to have had no less than a thousand cities under his command in Bactria and its dependencies.†

Nearly about this period also, or, to mark so important an æra with the utmost precision, in the year in which L. Manlius Vulso and M. Attilius Regulus were consuls, which is coincident with the fourteenth year of the first Punic war, and corresponds to the year

* Bayer Hist. Regni Græc. Bact. p. 38. † Justin. lib. xli. cap. 4.

before Christ 250,* ARSACES, a prince, according to Strabo, of Scythian origin, of the tribe of Dahæ, and the first monarch of the celebrated dynasty denominated from him Arsacidæ, aspired to independence in Parthia.† Roused to revenge by a grievous insult offered to his family by the base præfect Agathocles, appointed by Antiochus Theos to govern the provinces beyond the Euphrates, and also additionally encouraged by the similar motives that influenced the insurrection of Theodotus, the debility that pervaded every part of the Syrian empire, this daring chief as rapidly accomplished, what he had so boldly planned, and after putting to deserved death the iniquitous governor and his associates in guilt, seized upon that province and Hyrcania, drove out the Macedonians from the whole of that district, and erected, at Hecatompylos, a standard at which all Asia was shortly after doomed to tremble, and which Rome herself beheld with dismay. This new and formidable empire, which for many centuries survived the Bactrian, will engage a considerable portion of the readers attention in the future pages of this history; and its commencement at this period is, therefore, thus accurately and decisively marked.

Towards the close of the short reign of about twelve years of Theodotus, over independent Bactria, some differences seem to have arisen between these illustrious founders of two mighty empires; and Arsaces, we are told by Bayer's authorities, was preparing to invade Bactria; but his son and successor, Theodotus *the Second*, found means to avert the impending storm, and prevent the rupture of two kingdoms, newly freed from a foreign yoke; kingdoms, which firmly united in friendly alliance, might be deemed invincible, but, at variance, must necessarily be at the mercy of their common foe.

Having presented the reader with a short geographical sketch, from Oriental sources, of the country styled Bactriana by the

* Usserii Annales, p. 490. † Strabo, lib. ii. p. 515.

ancients, before we proceed to the few particulars that marked the reign of the second king of Bactria, we shall endeavour to impress his mind with the just conception of what they mean by Parthia. The province properly called Parthia, is described by Sir William Jones to be the same with the Persian Irak* of the moderns, and is also called Cuhistan, *or the mountainous country*, because incircled by mountains, which form its strong barrier on every quarter. It had Media on the west; Hyrcania on the north; on the east Aria; and the desart Carmania on the south. In the early periods of the Persian, and even Macedonian, empires, it was not considered of importance sufficient to be made a province of, but was included in Hyrcania. Its capital was Hecatompylos, or the city *with an hundred gates*, the name evidently Greek, but whether the city itself was of Greek fabrication has not been satisfactorily ascertained. The modern city of Ispahan is supposed to have been founded on its ruins. Such were the contracted limits of the first Parthian monarchs who, notwithstanding temporary repulses, and occasional defeats, even of the most serious nature, soon enlarged them, rapidly conquering from their Asiatic rivals, Media, Persia, and Babylon, and in the reign of Mithridates, only the fifth in succession, giving supreme law to all the nations inhabiting from the Euphrates to Mount Caucasus. It will be our business occasionally to mark their progress, and detail their triumphs.

Theodotus succeeded his father in the year before Christ 243, and, as was before observed, immediately set about regaining for his empire the forfeited friendship of Arsaces, which he happily effected, and had the policy to enter into a close alliance with that monarch, for their mutual defence against foreign assault. In the mean time Antiochus Theos having perished by poison administered to him by his wife Laodice, in order to secure the succession to her son Seleucus Callinicus, in opposition to his offspring by Berenice,

* Short History of Persia, p. 13.

the daughter of Ptolemy; the consequences of this flagitious act were such as to convulse all Asia, by bringing her brother Ptolemy Euergetes, who had now succeeded to the throne of Egypt, at the head of an immense army into Syria, to revenge the cause of his sister and her son, both afterwards inhumanly murdered at the castle of Daphne, whither they had fled for shelter from his fury. The signal vengeance exacted, for this threefold murder, on the execrable assassins, the immense plunder carried back to Egypt by the conqueror, and in particular the two thousand five hundred pictures and statues, representing the mythology and the deities of Egypt, which Cambyses, when he ravaged that country, had carried into Persia, and for the restoration of which to their ancient and hallowed temples, the grateful Egyptians conferred on him the title of Euergetes, or the *benefactor*, are subjects that more properly belong to the history of Egypt and Syria, than the present. The vast extent of his triumphs too in Asia, which were but obscurely known from a single passage in Appian,* till the discovery of the Adulitic marble and its inscription, by Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the sixth century, and since that period extensively commented upon by many learned writers, would be foreign to our subject, did not that inscription positively affirm that Bactria was *not* among the conquered countries. That information is highly important, since it demonstrates the great power and resources of the Bactrian prince, whose well fortified dominions probably opposed a firm barrier to his further conquests; and therefore that part of it so connected with our history is inserted below.

Ptolemy Euergetes having received from his father the sovereignty of Egypt, Lybia, Syria, Phœnice, Cyprus, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades, assembled a mighty army of horse and foot, with a great fleet, and elephants, collected out of Troglodytica and Æthiopia, some of which had been taken by his father, and by

* Appian in Syriacis, p. 130, edit. Steph. Genevæ, 1592.

himself, and brought to Egypt, where they were trained for military service. With these forces he sailed for Asia, and having conquered all the provinces which lie on this side the Euphrates, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Ionia, the Hellespont, and Thrace, he crossed that river with all the forces of the conquered countries, and the kings of those nations, and reduced Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susiana, Persia, Media, and all the country *as far as Bactria*.*

Parthia, therefore, and Bactria remained unmolested by Ptolemy, and that apparently for two reasons; first, because they were strongly fortified by brave and skilful princes; and, secondly, because those princes were, from their recent revolt, in a state of direct hostility with their rightful sovereign, the sole object of his vengeance. After the retreat of Ptolemy to Egypt, Seleucus Callinicus and his brother, Antiochus Hierax, or the *Hawk*, so denominated from his insatiate rapacity, by their rival contests for dominion, completed the devastation of the Syrian empire. Those contests were long and furious, and it was during their continuance, that Arsaces and Theodotus found an opportunity greatly to strengthen themselves in their respective kingdoms, and widely to extend their limits over the adjoining districts. While the eastern provinces of the empire were thus curtailed in their extent by these enterprising princes, Eumenes and Attalus, successive kings of Pergamus, were making terrible inroads upon the western provinces, and had already seized upon the greatest part of Asia Minor. Yet could not the ensanguined rage of the contending brothers be restrained either by a sense of decency, or the dictates of policy.

After suffering various vicissitudes in the field, Seleucus, at length, had the good fortune to drive Antiochus from the bounds of Asia, and compel him to seek shelter in Egypt, where he was betrayed and murdered. This triumph over his antagonist, gave the former full

* Cosmas Indicopleustes apud Montfaucon, in Collect. Patrum, p. 140.

leisure to attend to the internal affairs of the empire, to the restoration of public order and tranquillity, as well as to the rectifying of many flagrant abuses, which from the long want of an active and vigorous system of policy, had invaded every department of government. It would have been prudent in a prince whose progress in military life had been only marked by one decisive victory, if he had confined his exertions to the wise domestic administration of the affairs of those parts of his empire that yet remained unmutilated, rather than have made that precipitate attack, which he immediately commenced upon Arsaces, with a view to recover Parthia from the grasp of that formidable usurper. The consequences were disgrace and defeat to himself, and a powerful consolidation of the power of his adversary, who was probably assisted in this contest by his Bactrian ally. Disdaining to learn a lesson from past misfortunes, this rash prince again advanced to the unequal conflict, maintained by resolute bands of hardy mountaineers, determined to be free, against enervated and ill disciplined, though numerous, troops. Arsaces on this occasion, united the consummate skill with the undaunted valour of a great commander, for affecting, according to Justin, to fly northward among the Aspadani,* he led his army into the inhospitable countries that border on Caucasus and the Caspian Sea, where they perished by famine and the arrows of the Parthians, who, as they fled, discharged them in torrents on the pursuing foe. Then, seizing a proper opportunity, they rushed furiously upon their disordered ranks, put them to total rout, and made the incautious monarch himself prisoner. The day on which this fatal engagement took place, was ever after holden as a most solemn festival in every period of the Parthian empire, as the joyful æra of their complete emancipation from the yoke of Syria. With respect to the captured prince himself, he was carried back in that degraded state to the

* From Aspa, the modern Ispahan. Justin, xli. cap. 5.

metropolis of Parthia, and detained a prisoner at the court of Arsaces, where he was treated with regal distinction till his death, which happened about four years afterwards.

This, therefore, is the true, the grand epoch of the Parthian empire, considered on its more extended scale; as this decisive victory immediately put Arsaces in possession of all that part of the captured sovereign's dominions which he thought it prudent to occupy, or had ability to retain; and in fact, during that period, he must be considered as invested with all the power, though not holding the sceptre, of the kings of Syria. He certainly deserved that high distinction with far more justice than the pageant of royalty who now reigned under the assumed name of Ceraunus, or *the thunderer*, without a gleam of intellect to plan, or the smallest nerve to execute, the bold designs which the exigency of the times imperiously required. During that short imbecil reign of three years, nothing great or splendid was undertaken, or effected, at least in which the Greater Asia was materially concerned; but the premature death, which befel this prince in the 225th year before Christ, opened the way for scenes of the highest interest and glory on the great theatre of Asia, and called early into action the heroic spirit and renowned military talents of his brother Antiochus, afterwards, from a series of brilliant successes, justly surnamed *the Great*. But previously to our entering upon the detail of them, so far as may be necessary to the illustration of the transactions carried on in Parthia, Bactria, and India, whose history about this period becomes inseparably blended, we must revert to the affairs of the second of those empires, and notice a revolution of considerable magnitude, that greatly affected its internal tranquillity, and finally subverted its existing dynasty of Greek princes.

Theodotus the Second, apparently firmly seated on his throne, and strengthened by his alliance with Arsaces, is suddenly, during the minority of Antiochus, attacked by a great army, headed by one

Euthydemus, of Magnesia, and called by historians, his brother, but certainly of no very near affinity, if of any, as must be evident from the words of his embassy, afterwards sent to treat for peace with Antiochus, and without any adequate cause assigned, after being defeated in a great battle, is driven from it by the victor, who usurps his seat upon it. This event is stated by Bayer, with tolerable probability, to have taken place in the year 220 before Christ; and the same author is of opinion that, as he is said to have been of Magnesia, a city so warmly attached to the cause of Callinicus, as to have entered into a treaty with Smyrna to support his cause by their utmost exertions; a treaty still existing in legible Greek capitals on a column preserved among the Arundel marbles at Oxford; he most probably was employed as the general of the king of Syria, to recover this province, and that he employed in this service the imperial forces; but that, deluded by ambition and infatuated by the lust of power, he appropriated to himself what, in justice, he ought inviolably to have preserved for his lawful sovereign, in whose cause he had fought. This, though the most plausible, account of the matter, is still by no means satisfactory, since it is in direct contradiction to the message above alluded to, in which Euthydemus acknowledges no claim of obedience due from himself to the Syrian monarchs; whereas by this act his allegiance had been very grossly and very flagitiously violated. It is possible, however, that Euthydemus might only have made use of a pretext of this kind to induce the friends and adherents of the royal party to enlist under his standard, without the least idea of ever resigning the sovereignty, if successful in the attainment of it; that he was a Greek is evident from his name, and to his military talents his present and future conduct bear abundant testimony.

Whatever might have been the cause, and whatever the circumstances of this invasion, for the particulars are very little known, the revolution was complete. Theodotus, utterly routed in battle,

was ignominiously driven from his throne, and Euthydemus ascending it, governed his new subjects with equal wisdom and justice, happily tempered a necessary rigour with a salutary clemency, still more widely extended the glory of the Bactrian name, and deeper fixed the foundations of her growing empire. In the undisturbed possession of that throne we shall, for the present, leave him, and return to Antiochus.

Antiochus succeeded to the throne of Syria, and was crowned at Antioch, at the early age of fifteen, in the year 225 before Christ. Achæus, the steady friend to the fortunes of his family, the avenger of the death of the late king, and the preserver of the crown, first offered to himself, for the lawful heir, guided him with his counsels, and fired his tender mind with the love of glory. No kingdom was ever more involved in difficulties than that to which Antiochus succeeded; never were vigorous counsels and measures more necessary. Achæus himself was not inactive in the field; and being appointed governor of Asia Minor, soon recovered that part of it which had been wrested from the empire by the daring invader Attalus, whom he drove back within the limits of his own kingdom of Pergamus. Molo and Alexander, two noblemen high in the young king's favour, were appointed governors, the one of Media, the other of Persia, with orders to rescue the other provinces of the higher Asia from the grasp of usurpation. But these noblemen, despising the youth of the king, and aspiring at independence, seized upon the provinces committed to their care, and assumed the honours of sovereignty. A considerable force was immediately sent against them, but was defeated on the banks of the Tigris; and by this means the rebel prefects were enabled to add to their usurped domain, the rich provinces of Babylonia and Mesopotamia. The young king himself was occupied in an attempt to recover Cœlo-Syria from Ptolemy Euergetes, who had conquered it in the preceding reign of Callinicus, and still kept possession of it. The cautious

vigilance, however, of the Egyptian governor, having strongly fortified and filled with troops, all the passes of the mountains in that region, and little hopes of success attending the enterprize, while the distracted affairs of the east required the most vigorous exertions, he, for the present, relinquished it, and commenced his march for the Euphrates, trusting that his personal appearance there at the head of a powerful army, would either awe the insurgents to spontaneous obedience, or in a general engagement, must inevitably secure victory to the rightful sovereign of Asia. He was not deceived in his expectation: as the two armies approached each other, a considerable desertion took place among the rebel troops, and, after a conflict of no great obstinacy or duration, the latter were put to a total rout, while their chiefs, after in vain seeking safety in precipitate flight, in the phrenzy of desperation, with their own hands, on themselves and on their families, avenged the crime of their disloyalty.*

Antiochus, thus triumphant in the eastern quarter of his empire, and resolved, if practicable, to restore to that empire its ancient extended limits, as it flourished in the time of Seleucus Nicator, its great founder, now meditated the subjugation of all the revolted kingdoms, and of Parthia and Bactria among the rest; but for the present confined his military operations to the chieftains, barbarian or Greek, who had established themselves in the neighbouring provinces, and particularly in that part of Media called Atropatia, still retained by the posterity of the governor of that name, who had been appointed to superintend the province by Alexander himself; but who, after his death, amidst the dissentions of the Macedonian generals, had made himself independent in it; and assumed the name of king. In this expedition also, he was completely successful.

With the celebrated but unfortunate battle fought by this prince

* Polybius, lib. v. p. 400.

with Ptolemy Philopater, at Raphia, with the unexpected revolt and consequent destruction of Achæus in Asia Minor, this history has no other concern, than merely to notice those facts as affording Antiochus leisure to pursue the great object which he had nearest his heart, the reduction of the revolted provinces of Parthia and Bactria. To obtain this object, he had now a fresh incitement; for Arsaces, king of the former, and son of that Arsaces who founded the empire, had taken advantage of his long absence during the protracted campaigns in the west against Ptolemy and Achæus, to enter Media with a large army, and annex that province to his other usurped dominions. Enraged at this insolence, Antiochus immediately commenced the most active preparations to avenge it, and placed himself at the head of all his troops. A vast desart was to be passed before the royal army could arrive at the frontiers of Media, and Arsaces, in hopes of destroying his enemy toiling over its sands, by the pangs of thirst, gave orders that the springs of water should every where be stopt and the wells polluted; but the sagacious forethought of Antiochus had provided against this danger, previously dispatching some squadrons of horse to scour the desart and guard from injury the fountains and wells. It was the maxim of the Parthians to avoid, as far as possible in war, a pitched battle, as inconsistent with their mode of fighting; and they are said ever to have been far more terrible in their retreat than in their onset. It is probable that on this occasion, Arsaces did not deviate from the usual practice of his nation, and that his flight first into Parthia, and then into the rugged mountainous defiles of Hyrcania, were at least as much the effect of finesse, as of fear. Antiochus, determined in his object, intrepidly pursued the fugitive monarch, dislodged his troops from their hilly fortresses, pursued them through the narrow defiles, and finally collecting in the plains of Hyrcania his scattered army, marched to Syringis, its capital, which he invested with all his forces.

Syringis was neither built to maintain a siege, nor could long sustain the vigorous attacks of the army of Antiochus. It quickly capitulated; and he now became master of the capital, but by no means of the valiant usurper of the kingdom of Hyrcania, who having by this time, collected together from all the countries through which he had retreated, an immense army, consisting of no less than an hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, began now to display a formidable front, and to make a bold stand against the invading army. Several partial and bloody conflicts, but no general battle, took place, in which the Parthians had the superiority; and Antiochus, whose army was perpetually harrassed, without gaining any decisive advantage, becoming at length wearied out with this procrastination of a war, to which he saw no prospect of a speedy or fortunate termination, was induced to listen to proposals for a settlement of their differences; proposals which the former was as happy to offer, as the latter was eager to accept. The terms of pacification were very concise, and withal, extremely favourable to Arsaces, viz. that he should continue to possess the kingdoms of Parthia and Hyrcania, subordinate to the imperial house, and assist Antiochus with his army in the recovery of its other eastern domains, revolted from its authority.*

This object accomplished, his army powerfully reinforced by the troops of Arsaces, whose alliance with the Bactrian sovereigns might have ceased with the exiled dynasty of Theodotus, the Syrian monarch pursued his march towards that province, or rather now established empire. Euthydemus was by no means unprepared for this sudden and formidable invasion; and, on the banks of the Arius, a river of Aria, had advantageously stationed a body of ten thousand horse to harrass their march and watch their motions, while he himself lay encamped with the body of his army at Taguria, a city of the same province not far distant, but whose precise situation

* Polyb. lib. ii. p. 651. Justin, lib. xli. cap. 5. Bayer, p. 69.

Bayer has in vain laboured to fix*. Antiochus having learned this intelligence from his scouts, when only about the distance of three days journey from the river, immediately hastened his progress thither. When arrived within one day's march of it, on the evening preceding that day, having also received intelligence that the cavalry which kept guard on the banks of the river, during the day, were accustomed, at night, to retire into a certain city in that neighbourhood, distant about twenty stadia, he issued peremptory orders that the army and baggage should be in readiness to move forward on the first dawn of day, and left ample directions with his generals for their conduct in the course of it. He himself, after short refreshment, taking with him the whole body of horse and light armed troops, immediately pushed rapidly on to the banks of the Arius, which they reached unperceived, amid the dead silence and darkness of the night. By day-break, all had completely passed the intervening stream; and Antiochus, whose impetuous courage seems to have hurried him on to the attack considerably before the main body, suddenly found himself with the advanced battalions that formed his body guard, close in with the adverse army, which, in consequence of signals displayed on the city towers, that the enemy was at hand, was already drawn up to oppose him in battle array.

Observing himself thus circumstanced, and determined to strike terror into the enemy by an effort of bravery, worthy of so great a commander, at the head of these advanced troops, which did not exceed two thousand men, he furiously attacked the whole ten thousand of the Bactrian cavalry. By the impetuosity of the onset, the first division was quickly thrown into disorder and routed; but the second and third division coming up, fresh and vigorous, to their relief, severely revenged the defeat of their comrades, and the king and the brave bands that fought by his side were nearly surrounded

* Bayer Hist. Reg. Græc. Bact. p. 69.

by their superior numbers, when fortunately, and almost in the last extremity, his general, Paneatolus, arrived with the remainder of the Syrian cavalry, rescued the wounded monarch, who, during the engagement having had his horse killed under him, was bravely combating on foot with a host of foes, put the Bactrians to total rout, and pursued them even to the distant camp of Euthydemus. Euthydemus, after this disaster, did not think it prudent to risque all in a general engagement with troops flushed with victory, but retired to Zariaspe, (synonymous with Bactra,) in order to consolidate his strength, and protect his capital. The victorious troops that night returned to the river, where they were joined by the grand army, and whence they soon commenced their march towards the capital of the fugitive prince. The wound received by Antiochus was a severe one in the mouth, several of his teeth being beat out by the blows, but no dangerous consequences resulted from it.*

Polybius, to whom we are indebted for the above account of the transactions of Antiochus in the Northern Asia, has favoured us with no farther particulars of the very extended campaign carried on with Euthydemus for the recovery of Bactria, than that wearied out with its prolongation, owing to the intrepid courage and masterly manœuvres of that warlike prince, Antiochus, in the present, as in the former, instance, was at length induced to listen to terms of accommodation. For this purpose Euthydemus sent to him one Tineas, in quality of ambassador, who modestly, but firmly, urged, in behalf of his sovereign, that it was the extreme of injustice in Antiochus, thus obstinately to persevere in carrying on a devastating war against a sovereign prince who owed him no allegiance, but held the kingdom of Bactria by right of conquest over those who had long ago rendered themselves independent of the Syrian empire, but whose descendants he had vanquished in battle, and driven from the throne; that of whatever offence *they* might have been

* Vide Polybius, lib. x. p. 563. edit. Casaubon.

guilty, from *him* Antiochus had certainly received no cause of provocation, and that, in fact, the title of the Syrian kings to their empire was not better founded than his own to Bactria, since it was only the just reward of valour, purchased amid the accumulated toils and hazards of many a bloody field. Tineas farther represented to Antiochus, that a sense of mutual prudence ought to induce either party instantly to sheathe the destroying sword, for that numerous hordes of Scythians were collecting on the northern frontiers of Bactria, determined to take the utmost advantage of that fierce and long continued warfare, by which they had equally debilitated themselves and convulsed the kingdom, and were ready at a moment's warning, to pour into its bosom, their barbarous myriads, and rend the prize which they so ardently desired, from the contentious grasp of both.*

By these representations, strengthened by his own zealous wishes, on terms not entirely degrading to his honour and dignity, to put a period to a war at once so fruitless and so protracted, Antiochus was persuaded to listen to proposals for a speedy accommodation of their differences; the leading article in which seems to have been, that Euthydemus should surrender to Antiochus all his train of elephants, and, in return for that tributary homage, should, like Arsaces, still retain both the title and power of sovereign, subordinate to the Syrian monarch, the lord paramount of Asia. For the purpose of ratifying this treaty, as well as with a view to cultivate the esteem of Antiochus, the Bactrian king sent his son Demetrius to the camp of the former, who, admiring the majesty, beauty, and matured understanding of the youth, pronounced him worthy to be the son of a king, and the heir of a great kingdom; he, consequently confirmed and publicly acknowledged his father's title to that of Bactria, and more closely to cement the alliance, gave the young prince his daughter in marriage. The remaining articles that

* Polybii Hist. lib. xi. p. 591. idem edit.

related to the compact entered into between the two kings, were then separately discussed and agreed to, and the whole finally ratified by the most solemn oaths. This memorable event is placed by Bayer in the year 205 before Christ, and 51 of the æra of the Bactrian princes.*

Shortly after, having received the elephants agreed to be surrendered, and bestowed considerable largesses upon his soldiers, out of the ample presents sent him by Euthydemus, he led his army over the Indian Caucasus, and paid that visit to, and entered into that treaty with, Sophagasenes, the particulars of which, as briefly recorded by Polybius, have been presented to the reader in the preceding chapter. Antiochus, as there observed, having increased the number of his elephants to one hundred and fifty, recrossed the Indus, and marching through Arachosia and Drangiana, where the distracted state of public affairs equally required his presence for the restoration of order and tranquillity, passed the winter in Carmania. Early in the ensuing spring, he recommenced his march back through Persia, Babylon, and Mesopotamia, and reached Antioch after an absence of seven years, and an expedition in which he had covered himself with that true glory which results from the exertion of heroic fortitude directed by concurrent wisdom, and success used with moderation. Happy would it have been for him, if in his latter career, and amidst his long and disastrous conflicts with the Romans, he had observed the same cautious conduct, and been guided by similar wise counsels. To record those, is fortunately not our province; we return to the history of the Greek princes of Bactria.

Of Euthydemus little is known, more than that, firmly established on his throne, according to Bayer's probable conjecture, he turned his arms first against the Scythian Nomades, who had in the late war threatened his kingdom with invasion, and then having

* Polybii Hist. lib. xi. p. 592.

repressed the insolence of those barbarians, passed the remainder of his life in the enlargement of his Indian territories. In this latter expedition, however, he seems to have been unfortunate, but we know nothing certain of him after this period, nor has the Oriental historian, by the most elaborate research into the classical writers of that day, been enabled to discover in what manner, or at what precise æra, he terminated his life or reign. The highly-favoured Demetrius having never succeeded to the throne of Bactria, is a circumstance very corroborative of the supposition, that they both were ultimately compelled to bow before the superior might of MENANDER, upon whose history we are about to enter, and who is expressly styled by Bayer's authorities, king of India and Bactria.*

* Bayer, ubi supra, p. 42.

CHAPTER V.

Continuing the History of the Bactrian and Parthian Empires as connected with India.—MENANDER, *fourth Sovereign of Bactria—his extensive Conquests, and elevated Character.*—DEMETRIUS, *his Nephew, succeeds to his Dominions in Western India.*—EUCRATIDES, *the fifth Sovereign, ascends the vacant Throne—his Capital attacked by a Scythian Army—the Scythians repulsed by the Aid of* MITHRIDATES, *King of Parthia.—The Parthian History resumed.—That Empire exalted to its highest Pitch of Glory by Mithridates—aided in his ambitious Projects by Eucratides, in whose Absence his Capital is beseiged by Demetrius.—The Defeat and Death of Demetrius—his Indian Territories seized upon and divided between the confederated Monarchs.—Eucratides assassinated by his Son of the same Name, who ascends his Throne, but after an inglorious Reign of twelve Years, being attacked on one Side by the Parthians, and on the other, by the Scythians, miserably perishes, and the Bactrian Empire becomes extinct.—Summary History of the Scythian or Tartar Tribes inhabiting the immense Regions of Northern Asia, and of the Train of important Events which combined to render them Masters of the Empire of Bactria.*

MENANDER, by some writers asserted to have been the brother, and by others, only a relation, of Euthydemus, by whatever means, seems to have been firmly seated on the throne of Bactria about ten years after the departure of Antiochus, or in the year before Christ 195. He appears rather to have been one of those Greek princes whose valour had enabled them to establish themselves in the southern districts of India, and possibly, as was before observed, the

very Menander mentioned above, in an extract from the Periplus, with whose name and titles the drachmæ found near Barygaza were inscribed. He is said to have subdued more nations of India than even Alexander himself, and to have extended his empire on the one hand to Pattala and Zizerus, on the Malabar coast, and quite to Bactra and Drapsa on the other.* He is recorded to have possessed this immense domain, united with Demetrius; partem ipse, partem Demetrius Euthydemi Bactriorum regis filius; which words of Strabo are, in my humble opinion, so decisive, as almost to subvert the argument of Bayer, that Demetrius did not succeed at least, to a portion of his father's kingdom, though the whole passage be cited by that writer, expressly to prove the contrary of the position.† Whatever may be the genuine fact, no name more renowned, in virtue or in valour, appears in the catalogue of the Bactrian kings, than that of Menander, though the usual obscurity of the period hangs over the general transactions of his glorious reign of about fifteen years. After having widely extended his conquests in India, and raised to its highest point of elevation the glory of the Greek princes of Bactria, he was seized with a violent fever, which terminated his life, just at the period when he was meditating to retort on the Syrian monarchy, at this time utterly debilitated and exhausted by its unfortunate contests with Rome, the former invasion of the Bactrian kingdom by Antiochus, now succeeded by Seleucus, surnamed Philopater, a prince not destitute of courage or abilities, but absolutely restricted from exerting them, by the circumstances attendant on his father's disgraceful defeat on the fatal field of Magnesia. Plutarch has given us the noblest idea of the character of Menander, by recording the following fact, viz. that so highly was he revered by his subjects, for the love of justice and the moderate use of

* Strabonis Geograph. p. 355, 356.

† Bayer, p. 75. Demetrium, he asserts, neque successisse Menandro, neque omnino Bactriorum fuisse regem. He probably succeeded to his Indian domains.

almost unbounded power, that many cities of his empire contended with violence for the honour of having his body deposited among them, and that no other method could be found of allaying the contentions excited on this account, than by burning the body, and distributing among them equal portions of the ashes of the deceased prince. These ashes were deposited in magnificent monuments erected to his honour in almost every city of the vast empire of Bactriana.*

Though Demetrius be not numbered by Bayer among the Greek kings of Bactria, yet, for the reasons above stated, I think we ought not wholly to exclude him from that dynasty, especially as he seems, after the death of Menander, to have attained the sovereign sway not only over the regions of India immediately bordering upon the Bactrian territory, but over all the immense district conquered by Menander, as far as the mouth of the Indus, and the coast of Malabar.† Bayer quotes Isidore of Charax, who wrote the history of the Parthian dynasties, as mentioning a city called Demetrius, the metropolis of Arachosia, which province, we before remarked, formed a part of the Bactrian empire, and he observes, was probably so called from this Demetrius. He remarks also, in Ptolemy's Geography, a city situated between the Hydaspes and the Indus, but nearer to the Indus than the former river, called Euthydemia, which, with great probability, he supposes to have been built by Demetrius, in honour of his father Euthydemus.‡ He bears the character of a wise and just prince, and was by no means inferior in valour and policy to his martial ancestors. If Demetrius cannot justly be ranked among the princes who regularly succeeded and actually reigned on the throne of Bactria, yet still his extensive domain in India, and his descent from those princes, at least

* Plutarchi Opera, p. 821. Arrian. Peripl. p. 32.

† Bayer, p. 86. Menandro autem mortuo Demetrius potuerit invito Eucratide *totam Indiam*, quæ Menandri fuerat, in potestatem redigere. ‡ Ib. p. 84.

entitle him to a distinguished place in these pages. After enjoying his Indian Sovereignty in undisturbed tranquillity during a long series of years, and penetrating, as is positively asserted by Bayer, even beyond the Ganges,* with a Greek army; after having been thus honoured in his youth by Antiochus, and passed his riper years with unequalled renown on the embattled plain, this great man was unfortunate enough to have the close of his life covered with defeat and shame, and to perish in disgraceful exile, as will be more particularly noticed in the history of the following reign.

Previously, however, to that history, it is necessary that the reader's attention should, for a short period, be again directed to the affairs of the Parthian empire, which we have seen, at the commencement of the revolt which exalted them to the rank of independent kingdoms, were so intimately blended with those of Bactria. The alliance between the two sovereigns, naturally ceased at the period of the attack of Antiochus on Bactria, assisted, according to compact, by a portion of the army of the valiant but perfidious Arsaces the Second. This latter sovereign had been succeeded by Priapatius, though he is frequently denominated Arsaces, a name common to all the kings of that illustrious line. Priapatius, however, was no great honour to it, being a prince who possessed no spark of ambition nor spirit of enterprize, and whose decease, after an inglorious reign of fifteen years, made way for his son Phrahates.† This monarch obtained a very considerable portion of celebrity, by the conquest of the Mardi, a fierce tribe of barbarians, inhabiting the mountains of Media in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea, who had never been subdued till the invasion of Alexander, and then with extreme difficulty. The sceptre of Parthia was bequeathed, in violation of the right of his children, who were numerous, but young, to his brother Mithridates, a prince of the

* Demetrius non modo regiones eas (Menandri) obtinuit, sed arma quoque ultra Gangem circumtulit. Bayer, p. 89. † Justin. lib. xlvi. cap. 5.

most elevated talents; renowned for wisdom, valour, and probity. Under this august sovereign, the Parthian empire rose beyond all former reigns in glory, and by his arms, not less than his sagacious policy, he held in a kind of tributary subjection, nearly all the kingdoms of the Greater Asia. Having by degrees torn from the Syrian empire its richest præfectures, he was assiduously preparing, from his immense resources, the means of wresting the remainder from the weak hand of Seleucus Nicator, the reigning king of Syria; but who, sunk in boundless debauchery, at Antioch, or engaged in incessant contests with rebel chieftains in the west, possessed neither inclination nor leisure, at that time, to attend to the involved concerns of his Eastern provinces.

There still remained, however, on the plains of Asia one intrepid warrior, the Demetrius just mentioned, at that time equally unconquered in mind as in person. Bending with years, yet with a firm hand he grasped the sabre that defended the Indian frontier, on the same spot on which Porus defied to battle the first Greek invader of that envied region of the earth. Happy would it have been for Demetrius, had he ever continued solely on the defensive; but as it was the artful policy of Mithridates, to gain over by alliance and kindness, those whom he despaired of subjugating by harsh means, he had made a proffer of his services to Eucratides, the reigning king of Bactria, against the Scythians, then in arms against the latter, and the avowed implacable enemy of both potentates. An intimate friendship between the Parthian and Bactrian princes, was the result of the gratuitous aid thus afforded by the former in the moment of extreme peril, and which, by the vigorous exertion of their united forces terminated not only in the complete success of that enterprize, but at a future period in the ruin of Demetrius and the partition of the Indian empire between those mighty princes.

Eucratides, the first of the name, is said to have been the son of this very Demetrius, though that fact is justly combated by Bayer,

and subsequent circumstances apparently prove his conjectures to be well founded; for, though among the unprincipled and sanguinary chieftains of Greek origin, who succeeded Alexander in his Asiatic dominions, the ties of nature and the bonds of duty, were frequently trampled upon, yet the perpetual and obstinate jealousy, the conflicts and determined spirit of revenge that existed between Eucratides and Demetrius, during the whole of their respective reigns, without the least relaxation or attempt to compromise their differences, as might naturally be expected to take place between father and son, render all idea of such near affinity absolutely incredible. His immediate descent, therefore, and the exact period of his ascending the throne, are alike involved in obscurity, though it may be collected from a passage in Justin, that he began to reign in Bactria, nearly about the same time that Mithridates succeeded to the Parthian sceptre.* Bayer fixes the succession of Eucratides to the Bactrian throne, to the year 181 before Christ; but, at that time Phrahates certainly sate on that of Parthia, and there must at least have been five years difference between the commencement of their respective reigns. At whatever time, and by whatever means, whether by violence or by hereditary claims, he acceded to that distinguished station, the early part of his long reign seems to have been totally absorbed in perpetual and bloody conflicts with the barbarous hordes of Scythians, who kept constantly hovering over the northern frontiers of his empire, impatient to seize, as eventually was the case, under the weaker government of his son and successor, upon that beautiful and abundant country. The provinces of Sogdiana and Drangiana, that seem to have formed a part of the Bactrian empire, are particularly mentioned by Justin, as having risen in arms against him,† effectually to quell

* Justin, lib. xli. cap. 6. Eodem ferme tempore, sicuti in Parthis Mithridates, ita in Bactris Eucratides, magni uterque viri, regna ineunt.

† Justin, ibid. By the Drangaritani in Justin, can be meant no other than the inhabitants of Drangiana, a province bordering on Arachosia.

whom, he called in the aid of the Parthians, to whom the Macedonian Greeks, from equal terror and detestation of their oppressive tyranny, ever bore an inveterate hatred.

His victory over them, though retarded, was complete; and it is extremely probable, that in return for the assistance of the Parthian troops on this occasion, Eucratides lent his army and his talents to the Bactrian prince, in support of those ambitious projects that exalted him to greater power than was possessed, even by the Syrian monarch himself. This continued attachment to the Parthian interest, and close alliance with its sovereign, was looked upon by the high-minded Greeks, as a degradation, and little better than a feudal dependence upon that monarch, and yet every action in the reign of Eucratides, which was a series of glorious events, proved that he himself possessed a mind too lofty and impracticable to be the dupe of the insidious policy, or the inordinate ambition of another. This connection with the Parthian sovereign, if he were an usurper, was possibly necessary to the support of his assumed authority over the refractory Greeks; if a legitimate prince, it was a measure of judicious caution against the invading Scythians. During, however, this prolonged absence, from his capital, the nobles and principal Greeks of that city invited the son of their old and most beloved monarch, to come and reign over them, promising him their utmost assistance towards placing him on the throne of his father. Demetrius lost no time in obeying the summons; and soon after his return from the Sogdian war, crowned with glory indeed, but with forces greatly reduced by its length, and a treasury nearly exhausted, Eucratides found himself closely besieged in his capital by an army of sixty thousand men, with Demetrius, in this place expressly called by Justin, KING OF INDIA,* at their head.

Concerning this siege, we have no farther particulaas, than what we learn from the same concise author, that it lasted five months,

* Justin, lib. xli. cap. 6.

and finally terminated disgracefully to the Indian sovereign, who was so harassed by the frequent and daring incursions of the enemy's cavalry, from their flying camp without the walls, that after that period had elapsed, he was compelled to abandon the enterprize. And now Eucratides, having recruited his army and his coffers, from being the assailed, became the assailant, and with the co-operation of his Parthian ally, forcing Demetrius back beyond the Indian frontier, gained from him all the conquests which he had successively made in those vast regions, and finally drove him, at the advanced age of seventy-eight years, from a throne in which he had triumphed for so extended a period, in the plenitude of power and glory. The expression so frequently occurring in Bayer, of the princes of this line having conquered ALL INDIA, must, in general, be understood in a far more limited acceptation, as implying the kingdoms of Taxiles, Porus, and the countries on each side the Indus, to Pattala; an immense tract indeed, extending in length above a thousand miles, but that is, after all, a very inferior portion of the immense region of India, considered by the ancients as the third part of the habitable world. Demetrius, however, must in the course of his long reign, have obtained the sovereignty of the more eastern provinces of India, if not over the Gangaridæ themselves, and the districts bordering on the mouth of the river from which their name is derived; for we find, on the division of the empire of Demetrius between the two invading princes, that Mithridates had the provinces lying between the Hydaspes and the Indus assigned to him, and Eucratides all the remainder on the east and south quarter of his Indian possessions.* Mithridates, a few years afterwards, when Eucratides was treacherously murdered by his son, certainly extended his conquests more easterly; for that mighty and politic prince, who carried to its highest point of elevation, the power and magnificence of the Parthian monarchy, had, as already observed, added to his

* Bayer and his authorities, p. 90, 91.

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dominions, most of the great provinces of Higher Asia bordering on the Indus, which properly formed a part of the Syrian empire. When the fortune of war had thrown that prince into his power, he seized upon all the other provinces lying between the Indus and the Euphrates; Persia, Media, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia. The death of Eucratides, with whom he was in alliance, but with whose son he was soon involved in a bloody war, opened an easy ingress into the more eastern provinces which the former possessed in India, which he doubtless secured by the means usual in those turbulent times, so that not even the Ganges itself formed the distant boundary of the astonishing empire which that great warrior as ably governed as he had valiantly obtained. Thus, in fact, was the Parthian king sovereign of India, in as strict a sense as ever the Bactrian monarch could be said to have been; a circumstance which, I trust, will fully justify the extended account of that dynasty in the present chapter. Their sovereignty, indeed, over at least that part of India, originally explored and conquered by the Macedonian Greeks, seems to have continued, in a greater or less degree, till the subversion of the power of the Arsacidæ, about two hundred years after Christ, by Ardeshir, or Artaxares, the head of that of Sassan.

Concerning the death of Demetrius, we find no particulars among the scattered fragments that remain to us, relative to this obscure portion of Greek history. With respect to Eucratides having thus united, in his own person, the sovereignty of the two kingdoms, on his return to Bactria he assumed, and ever after impressed upon his coins, the name of Βασιλευς Μεγαλος, or the Great King, which he indeed well merited. During his absence, and even in the midst of these brilliant victories in the *south* of Asia, the Scythian barbarians were by no means inactive; but, collecting from every quarter, committed the most dreadful ravages in the *northern* districts, and seemed to threaten the whole kingdom with destruction. By his fortitude and vigilance, however, their insolence was repressed, the

evil day was still retarded, and to overawe them, he erected, as we collect from Strabo, a great city above Bactria, which he called after his own name, Eucratidia.*

The close of the long life of Eucratides was, like that of the vanquished Demetrius, inglorious. Oppressed with years and the fatigues of a mighty empire, he had admitted his son of the same name, to a participation of its honours and its cares. But as that son detested the close connection into which his father had entered with the Parthians, he seized an opportunity, while they were both together in the same chariot on a journey, to put the old man to death; and without remorse, adds Justin,† saw the streaming blood, as they proceeded, run from the fatal wound through the carriage upon the ground. So far, indeed, from feeling remorse was the impious parricide, that he publicly gloried in the bloody fact; anathematized his memory as the betrayer of his country to the Parthians; and refused to his dishonoured and mangled body, the rites of decent sepulture. Thus miserably perished the first Eucratides, the most renowned and powerful of all the Bactrian sovereigns; but both the assassin who accomplished his destruction, and the nation who exulted in it, soon felt the signal vengeance of offended heaven; for, in the space of little more than twelve years, that assassin was ignominiously driven from a throne polluted with paternal blood, and the Greek Bactrian kingdom ceased to be numbered among the sovereignties of Asia.

The above event took place, according to Bayer's Table, in the year 145 before Christ, and the 110th of the Bactrian æra. In his publication may be seen an engraving of Eucratides, with the illustrious assumed title before mentioned, copied from a silver Greek medal, found in the neighbourhood of Astrachan, and preserved in the imperial cabinet of St. Petersburg. Impressions of this and some other heads of distinguished chieftains, whose exploits are recorded

* Strabonis Geograph. p. 356. † Justin, lib. xli. cap. 6.

in the course of this history, shall hereafter be collectively presented on one plate to the curious reader. Let us, for the present, mark the closing scene of the Bactrian glory, doomed to premature extinction by the combined madness and presumption of a cruel and ambitious sovereign.

Eucratides the Second was no sooner solely and firmly seated on the throne, than he zealously entered into the closest alliance with Demetrius Nicator, king of Syria; an alliance which had for its basis and avowed object, the utter subversion of the power of the Parthian monarch, and in which most of the neighbouring provinces, particularly the Persians, Medes, and Elymæans, joined. These, accustomed to the mild and enlightened government of the Macedonian Greeks, had long reluctantly submitted to the tyranny and barbarous pride of the Arsacidæ, who were originally of the ruder Scythian stock. Demetrius, in the vain confidence of conquering his eastern provinces from the power that had so long usurped them, now expeditiously commenced his march for the Higher Asia, and having crossed the Euphrates at the head of a vast army, more formidable for their numbers than valour, multitudes of brave Greeks from all quarters enlisted under the Syrian banner. By their assistance, he at first gained several battles against the enemy, but that enemy proved eventually too wary, too alert, and too sagacious for a prince so inexperienced in intricate warfare, and from long debauchery, so enervated both in body and mind, as was Demetrius. The Parthian general, fighting in the usual desultory way of that nation, kept his harrassed soldiers in a perpetual state of exertion and alarm; and, after wearying them out with marches of excessive length through mountainous and barren districts, would often fall upon them in this exhausted state, and make the most dreadful slaughter of them. At length, under colour of entering into negotiation with him for the termination of the war, he deluded the Syrian king into the fatal error of a personal conference, the

army of the latter being at the same time encamped in such a situation, as rendered them an easy prey to the impetuous assailing enemy. The consequence was, that by this perfidious Parthian manœuvre, Demetrius himself was taken prisoner, and that army entirely dispersed or destroyed.

The unfortunate monarch was sent guarded by a strong division of the victorious army, to the court of Mithridates, who, in this degraded and abject state, carried him with him round the several provinces which had revolted; causing every where to be exposed to the terrified inhabitants, in disgraceful bonds, their expected deliverer of the proud race of the Seleucidæ from the Parthian yoke. After this politic but barbarous triumph, he sent him, with an establishment not unworthy of his high rank, into Hyrcania, whose remote and rugged mountains were thus destined, a second time, to behold a monarch of Syria reluctantly drag through their solitudes the chains of captivity.*

Eucratides, who with a small remnant of the Bactrian army had escaped the general slaughter, now felt the storm which he had been the principal means of exciting, roll back upon himself and his kingdom. On one side Mithridates with an innumerable army, the flower of Parthia, attacked his ill-defended capital; while like ravening vultures, ferocious bands of Scythians, from the neighbourhood of Caucasus and the Jaxartes, successively poured in with irresistable fury upon his northern and eastern frontier. Among the invading Scythians, Strabo particularly mentions the tribes whom he denominates *Pasiani*, *Tochari*, and *Sacæ*.† The Asii of Strabo are doubtless the same as the Asiani of Justin, and in Bayer's opinion, this term is only a corruption of the Persian word *Aksai*, *ob Oxo fluvio*, those who dwelt beyond the Oxus.‡ The Pasiani, or Aspasiacæ, were a tribe inhabiting the region situated still farther northward,

* Justin, lib. xxxviii. cap. 9. Vide etiam Josephi Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 5. sect. 11.

† Strabonis Geograph. p. 292. edit. Gronovii. ‡ Bayer, p. 97.

between the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes. The Tochari, were situated not remote from them on the latter river, and have given their name to the country at present called Tocharestan, to the east of Balkh. The Sacæ, a powerful and most numerous tribe, dwelt beyond the Jaxartes, and their name was by the ancient Persians indiscriminately applied to the whole race of eastern Scythians. Major Rennel has very well observed on this word, that its frequent recurrence, as a *radical* in the names of so many countries of Asia, not only proves them to have been a great nation, but demonstrates the extent of their conquests and the variety of their establishments.* This inundation of barbarians rolling on, like the tempestuous billows of their native Caspian, one black wave over another, drove the Greeks before them, into the southern and western districts of the empire, where they fell into the jaws of the merciless Parthians, and were successively exterminated. Eucratides himself, in a fruitless endeavour to rally his fugitive subjects, and make one bold stand to save his expiring kingdom, was cut to pieces at the head of them, and perished in the mighty ruins.

Mithridates eagerly embraced the opportunity which now occurred, of gratifying his ambition to the height, and seizing, not only the fairest and richest portion of the Bactrian empire, but all the extensive Indian domains of the fallen monarch on this side, and even beyond, the Ganges; and it is highly probable, that they continued in subjection to the power of this mighty sovereign till his decease. But soon after that period, the Parthians themselves also had strenuously to contend with swarms of barbarians pouring in upon them from the North, whom they sometimes repelled, and to whom they were at others compelled to submit. A foe too, still more daring and formidable in the disciplined Romans, was gradually advancing upon their western frontier, with whom they were engaged for a long series of years in the most hard-fought and

* Rennel's Geography of Herodotus, p. 221.

bloody contests ever beheld in Asia. The issue of these was alternately marked by disaster and by triumph. The Parthian triumphs over the Romans, however, were of no lasting value or importance; for, if at Carrhæ, under a misguided and precipitate leader, victory for once utterly deserted the Roman eagles, the foul disgrace was afterwards severely revenged by Ventidius, the general of Antony; it was amply repaired by the bloodless triumph of Augustus, in the recovery of the ravished standards, the terror of whose name in this instance, accomplished more than embattled legions; and, finally obliterated, by the exterminating sword of Trajan.

The account of the catastrophe of this mighty empire, as above presented to the reader, from Strabo and other classical writers, is in a remarkable manner, confirmed by the Chinese historians of the period, who relate, that about one hundred and twenty-six years before Christ, an immense migration of Tartar hordes from the overflowing regions bordering on China, took place towards the western and southern regions of Asia.* As this migration of Scythians, or Tartars, as we should rather denominate them, continued constantly to increase, and proved eventually productive of the most important consequences to the whole of Southern Asia, giving a race of new lords to its thrones, and new codes of laws to its inhabitants, it will be necessary minutely to investigate the remote cause of the inrush of such an inundation of barbarians into its fertile bosom; and on this task I shall chearfully enter, after a few concluding reflections naturally resulting from the subject that has so long engaged our consideration.

Thus, we see, rapidly rose, and as rapidly became extinct, the Greek empire of Bactria, after it had flourished, under various sovereigns, with as various fortune, during a period of nearly a century and an half; that is to say, from the year before Christ 255, when it was first founded by Theodotus, to the year 126 previous to the

* See M. De Guigne's in Les Memoires de Literat. Tom. XXV. p. 17.

commencement of that æra. If ever we should be in possession, which is a circumstance extremely doubtful, of any more particular details than have at present appeared in Asia or Europe, of the domestic history of India, and the reigns of her native princes during that period, much light must undoubtedly be reflected from it upon the obscure æra which my humble efforts, aided by M. Bayer, have attempted to illumine. If the accounts above presented to the reader, from classical authority, be true, India, to the west of Ganges, could never have been wholly free from Bactrian or Parthian controul, and under the more daring princes of those dynasties, who penetrated beyond Ganges, all India must have been shaken to its very centre. By the striking parallel particulars, which the laborious industry of our countrymen in that region have recently discovered, in the history of Chandragupta, and the Greek Sandracottus, the truth of the classical accounts of India is highly corroborated, and a due degree of credit ought, therefore, to be given to those accounts, though not yet authenticated by similar discoveries. Most cordially do I agree with a truly respectable writer of the present age, that, as our first genuine knowledge of India came to us from the Greeks, to Grecian historians we must still refer for authentic information, in respect to those periods and events at least, the records of which have not yet been presented to us from a genuine source.* The splendid feats of deities enrolled in their romantic mythology seem to have engrossed the recording pen of the brahmins; and, if they ever engaged in historical details, it was with a view to blazon the exploits of their heroes, and advance the glory of their race. Such were those of Sandracottus, triumphant over the expelled Macedonians; but, let it be remembered, that few people are forward to record their own defeats, and perpetuate the national disgrace.

* Dr. Vincent, Periplus, p. 9.

A SUCCINCT HISTORY OF THE PRINCIPAL TRIBES INHABITING GRAND TARTARY, AS WELL FROM CLASSICAL AS NATIVE AUTHORS.

In a former volume of this history * some account has been given of preceding irruptions into the more southern regions of Asia, by the ancient Scythian, or, to use a more modern term, Tartar tribes, inhabiting the vast but little explored, regions extending between what at present constitute the domains of the Czar of Muscovy on the one hand, and those of the emperor of China on the other. That of Oghuz Khan, as recorded by Abulghazi, the Tartar historian, in particular, claimed our attention, because it appears to have been the first invasion of the Indian provinces by the people of that nation, and though attended by no permanent establishment of a Tartar sovereignty in India, yet it well accounts for that considerable mixture of Tartarian manners and customs which diligent observers have not failed to trace in the former country, especially among the war tribes.† The other great irruptions into Southern Asia, of this barbarous race in the time of Cyaxares, the plunder of its finest provinces, and the massacre and expulsion of them after a desolating reign of twenty-eight years, was likewise as particularly noticed, on account of the dispersion of great bodies of them, after their expulsion from Media over all the adjacent regions; and I then took occasion to observe, that, although we have no express authority, from Sanscreet writers, for affirming that any considerable portion of this routed army settled in the Indian provinces, yet, from what we know of a race of Nomades, actually called *Nomurdy*, who at this time inhabit many of the western banks of the Indus, and travel after the old Scythian method, in their wooden houses, from place

* Vol. II. chap. vi. p. 217.

† See Abulghazi Bahadur's Geographical History of the Tatars (Tartars), Vol. I. page 18.

to place, as pasturage is more or less abundant; as we know the whole tract in question was anciently denominated Indo-Scythia; and as the Massagetæ, who inhabited the more northern districts adjoining India, not only ranked among the noblest tribes of the Scythians, but are known to be the ancestors of the Getes, a formidable race of robbers, situated, when Timur invaded India, in the very heart of that country, and from whom the modern Jauts are sprung; from all these circumstances combined, we must be convinced that India, in its western frontier, at least, if not in its internal domain, severely felt the shock of this repulse of the Scythians. That violent contests had long subsisted between the Indians and the Huns, the most savage of the Scythian tribes, who were originally inhabitants of Asiatic Sarmatia, is farther evident from an inscription, in the most ancient Sanscreet dialect, found on a pillar near Buddal, translated by Mr. Wilkins;* and to which that gentleman could not assign a date less early than that engraved on the copper-plate found at Mongueer, which was twenty-three years before Christ; an inscription in which, among the exploits of the mighty monarch to whom it was erected, and whose kingdom is said to have extended from the Cow's Mouth to Ceylone, are particularly mentioned the defeat and humiliation of that ferocious tribe. The passage is here given verbatim, together with the explanatory notes of the translator:

"Trusting to his wisdom, the king of Gowr† for a long time enjoyed the country of the eradicated race of Ootkal,‡ of the HUNS‖ OF HUMBLED PRIDE, of the kings of Draveer§ and Goorjar¶, whose glory was reduced, and the universal sea-girt throne."

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 136.

† The kingdom of Gowr anciently included all the countries which now form the kingdom of Bengal on this side the Brahampootra, except Mongueer.

‡ Orixa. ‖ Huns. § A country to the south of the Carnatic. ¶ Guzzurat.

These previous successful irruptions into provinces so much more beautiful and fertile than their own sandy desarts, were doubtless one cause of animating barbarians, at all times ardently bent on plunder, to renew their atrocities in civilized Asia. The discipline, however, and determined valour of the armed Greeks who guarded the frontiers of Bactria, had hitherto constantly prevailed in repelling their reiterated assaults; but the invasion of it by the Parthians, and the subsequent death of Eucratides, laid the centre of that empire open to their predatory incursions; and previous to this period, a circumstance had occurred on the distant frontier of their empire, towards China, which contributed to swell the numbers of the invaders, and render them a phalanx equally terrible from their strength, and irresistible from their numbers. I must, therefore, request the company of the reader on a short excursion towards regions and nations rather remote from the immediate field of Indian history, but whose influence upon the present and future transactions carried on in that field, proved by no means of a transient or unimportant nature.

The immense plains of Asiatic Tartary, if we may use a term comparatively modern, seem, from the remotest ages, to have been tenanted as at the present day, by innumerable tribes of a race devoted to pasturage and the chase, and from frequent conflicts as well between themselves, as with their neighbours on the south and west, inured to arms. By ancient classical authors, they are divided into eight great nations, of which the principal were the tribe specifically called by Herodotus, the Royal Tribe,* whom he places on the banks of the Tanais, which river divided them from Asiatic Sarmatia, the original country of the savage Huns; the tribe properly called Scythian Nomades, adjoining to the former, and inhabitants of the north-western district of the Caspian Sea; the Alani Scythæ, situated north of Mount Caucasus; the Massagetæ,

* Herodotus, lib. iv. cap. 56.

already mentioned, extending from the north-eastern shores of the Caspian, almost to the frontiers of India; the sanguinary race who sacrificed to Diana, the miserable victims ship-wrecked on their inhospitable coast, and inhabited the Tauric Khersonese and the present Crim Tartary; the Budini, who regaled on the horrid banquet of human blood, were also of Sarmatian origin. These were the ancestors of the still more numerous tribes of Tartars of modern times, which, according to the history of that people above alluded to, are divided into three great branches, and subdivided into an almost infinite variety of smaller ones. These three branches consist of, 1. the Tartars, properly so called, who inhabit the regions of Asia situated to the north-west of the Caspian Sea; 2. the Calmucks, who possess the whole middle districts of the Northern Asia; 3. the Monguls, or as we call them, Moguls, whose empire extends over its eastern confines, and is bounded by the great Oriental Ocean. Of the one or the other of these, the Uzbeck, the Nogai, the Zagatai, the Kipzak or Cossack, the Manchew, and other inferior tribes are only subordinate branches.*

In this geographical sketch, the vast region of Turkestan, which anciently gave its name to the nations of the Northern Asia before the Turkmans were expelled by the Tartar tribes under Zengis Khan, should be mentioned as the proper Turan of the Persian historians, a name which will so frequently occur in the future pages of this history, and supposed to be derived from Tur, the son of Feridan, one of the earliest of the ancient Pishdadian dynasty of kings, as that of Turkestan itself is from Turk, whom the vanity of Mohammedan writers exalts as the eldest son of Japhet, and celebrates as the founder of that ancient nation. Undoubtedly, both from tradition and history, sacred and profane, it is evident that this immense region of the earth was first peopled by the Japhetic tribes; and whether we believe or not, all the romantic relations of

* Abulghazi Bahadur's Hist. Tartars, Vol. II. p. 389.

Arabian fablers concerning their fancied Yajuj and Majuj, our Gog and Magog, yet as the latter name is recorded in Scripture as belonging to the second son of Japhet, we may with safety, I think, agree with those writers who deduce the appellation of Mogul from Mogli, or Magogli, the sons of Magog.

With respect to the term Tatar, corruptly by us called Tartar, but so generally adopted at this day, that it would appear like affectation in an historian not to adopt the latter mode of writing it, the royal author himself, derives this general name of his nation from Tatar Khan, sixth in descent from Japhet, and the twin brother of Mogul, between whom, says the history, the whole northern region of Asia was anciently divided. The perpetual contests of their descendants for its sole sovereignty, swell the fabulous volume of the early history of both nations; and, among other incredible tales, it is related, that in a general battle which took place between them, the whole race of Moguls, except two families of the royal line, were utterly cut off, and these for security, retiring into a deep but delicious valley, on every side inclosed by vast mountains, accessible only by one steep narrow path, there dwelt secluded from the other nations of Asia, for the space of four hundred years. During their stay in this terrestrial paradise, for such it is described to have been,* their numbers, by intermarriages, are said to have so prodigiously increased, that fertile and extensive as was the *happy valley*, it no longer produced sufficient aliment for their support. Yet all egress from it seemed to be barred by the almost insuperable height of the mountains of Irgana Khan, for by that name they distinguished their retreat; Irgana, in the Mogul language, signifying a valley, and Khan a precipice, and it was only by one of those stupendous efforts sometimes to be found in the pages of romance, that they finally effected their liberation. Of the narrow path by which the two original families had entered the valley, owing to the

* Hist. Tart. Vol. I. p. 27.

growth of woods and other causes, no trace was now to be found; while precipices frightfully piled upon each other, whose summits were lost in the clouds, menaced them with eternal incarceration, aggravated by all the horrors of approaching famine. It occurred, at length, to one who followed the occupation of a farrier, that in one place the mountain appeared less steep and thick than in others, and that it consisted entirely of iron ore. He proposed, therefore, to dissolve that part of it by means of fire, and thus to force an opening through its sides, large enough for themselves and their cattle to emigrate. The proposal was listened to with exultation. Every individual chearfully loaded himself with wood and charcoal, which was deposited at the foot of the mountain, one stratum of wood on another of coal to a great height, and to this mass of fuel set on flame was applied, records the legend, the powerful operation of seventy leathern bellows. The intended effect was, after some time, produced; the molten ore rushed down in torrents; and a road was excavated large enough for the passage of a loaded camel. By this road they all joyfully effected their escape; and in memory of this their miraculous deliverance, the Moguls to this day are said to celebrate an anniversary festival attended with the following solemnity: an immense fire is kindled, into which a piece of iron of proportionable magnitude is thrown, and, when red hot, is first struck with a hammer by the Grand Khan, next by all the other Khans in succession, and finally, by all the individuals of the assembly. Abulghazi asserts that this festival continues to be observed through the whole extent of the empire of the Moguls, and some great national deliverance may well be supposed to be thus commemorated, though the fact be, as usual, blended with Oriental fabling.*

Having thus liberated themselves from the iron mountain, the Moguls immediately went in pursuit of their old determined foes of the Tartar nation, whom, though far superior in number, they

* Hist. of the Tartars, Vol. I. p. 28.

utterly defeated in a general engagement, sacrificing both the young and the aged to their implacable revenge. The powerful ascendancy gained by this victory, the former kept for a series of ages, till the reign of Jenghis Khan, who restored the glory of the Tartar name, and indeed, carried it to such a height, that the name of Mogul was absorbed in it, and, under the denomination of Tartary, are comprehended both the nations and the country of the whole northern continent. With this corrupted name too, the Greeks and Romans were well acquainted, since they applied it to describe the region of darkness and horror, situated at the extremity of the earth, and beyond civilized nature, conceiving of it ideas nearly similar to what we now entertain of Siberia, which in fact forms no inconsiderable portion of it.

The Mogul tribes, it has been already observed, were principally dispersed over the eastern extremity of Northern Asia, confining on the vast empire of the Chinese, whom some writers, particularly M. de Pauw, have supposed originally to have been of Tartar extraction, and to have descended at some remote period in wild clans, from the steeps of Imaus into the fertile plains of that more genial region of Asia. In support of their argument, they refer us to the apparent similitude between the two nations in point of feature and other striking circumstances; their *thin beards, small eyes,* and *flat noses.* Whether this hypothesis, or that of the late Sir William Jones, who asserts the Chinese to be an ancient race of emigrated Indians, be more just, is not the subject of our present inquiry; and indeed, while the early history of a nation is involved in such profound obscurity as that of China, either from the defect of regular records, or the mixture with those records of absurd legends, every inquiry must terminate in uncertainty. One fact, however, is certain, that the ferocious and predatory Moguls were for ever making inroads upon their quiet and civilized neighbours, and that with a view to repel their reiterated attacks, the emperor SHI-WHANG-TI,

one of the most renowned and powerful that ever filled the throne, and second sovereign of the fourth dynasty, called TSING, caused to be erected by the united labour of a mighty nation, according to the history of Martinius, in the year 215 before Christ,* but by Du Halde and others, referred to a far more ancient date, that vast rampart, the most stupendous work of its kind in the world, carried over the loftiest mountains, by means of immense arches across the broadest rivers, along the ridges of the most rugged precipices, and through the deepest vallies, for an extent of fifteen hundred miles, that is, from the ocean that washes the province of Pe-chi-lee on the east, to the extremities of that of Shensi on the west. In the bed of that ocean, and close adjoining to the shore, the emperor ordered several ships loaded with iron to be sunk, to form a firm foundation for the massy pile of masonry to be erected upon it; and one-third of all the males of adult age throughout the empire, were summoned to assist in the construction of this formidable barrier. The rampart itself, for its common appellation of a *wall* is too degrading a term for a work of such prodigious labour and extent, is of the height of from twenty to twenty-five feet, and of sufficient breadth for six horsemen to ride abreast upon; it was fortified with three thousand towers, and during the period of the glory of the ancient Chinese emperors, was guarded by not less than a million of soldiers.† The mind contemplates with amazement, a work of this nature, which proves at once the high advance in mechanic science of the people, who raised it two thousand years ago with such architectural skill, that at this day it remains entire, while it evinces the despotic power of the prince, who thus compelled a whole nation to labour in the construction of

* Martinii Hist. Sin. p. 239; and Du Halde's China, Vol. II. p. 172.

† Travels of Ysbrant Ides from Moscow to China, p. 61. A very accurate description of the dimensions and other particulars of this fortification, may be perused in Lord Macartney's Embassy to China, Vol. II. p. 190.

it. In respect, indeed, to the despotism of Shi-whang-ti, that point is otherwise sufficiently attested, for he is reported in the Chinese annals, to have been the savage Omar of that country, by whose command, uttered in the phrenzy of wild ambition to become himself the sole object of future admiration, all the books of science of every kind throughout the empire, and the history of all the emperor's reigns preceding his own were burned, and the learned men who attempted to protect any of those sacred treasures of ancient glory, from the devouring flame, were cruelly massacred.*

This fortification was abundantly sufficient to repel invaders, armed principally with the sabre, and bows and arrows; and by this means the peace of the empire seems to have been inviolably secured for above seventy years, till the reign of the powerful prince Vu-ti, fifth emperor of the respectable dynasty of Han, who is recorded to have gained over the Tartars four great and successive victories, to have pursued their flying bands far into the Southern Asia, and to have subjected Pegu, Siam, Kambaya, and even Bengal to his controul. Omnium primo, says Martinius, Tartaros subegit ac domuit, eorumque terras ingressus omnia longe lateque vastavit. Sinico etiam imperio vicinam INDIAM, eam præcipue quæ ad Libycum vergit, a Gange clausam, ad Bengalam usque regnum occupavit.† The vigorous repulse received from this prince by the Mogul Tartars, who were established in the regions nearest to the great rampart, obliging them to fall back on their western and southern neighbours through the whole extent of that division of the higher Asia, proved the cause of bringing down upon the terrified inhabitants the inexhaustible swarms of the great Scythian hive; a scourge under which they long groaned, and valiantly, but ineffectually, struggled to avert. Other splendid victories over the Moguls are also recorded by the Chinese historians whom Martini quotes, and,

* Du Halde, Vol. I. p. 172. † Martinii Hist. Sin. p. 345, and Du Halde, Vol. II. p. 177.

consequently, there being no passage eastward for their overflowing legions, by degrees those terrible marauders became possessed of the finest provinces of Southern Asia, driving continually before them, or subjecting to their fierce controul, the nations situated nearer to the Indian and Mediterranean seas. The unoffending race of Hindoos were among the earliest victims of their savage ferocity. The Persians were next compelled to submit to their galling and degrading yoke. The genius of declining Rome reluctantly bowed its head beneath the reiterated assaults of their Vandal brethren. The sanguinary chieftains of Arabia, who propagated with the sword through Asia, the doctrine of their master, found in these northern warriors, a race equally delighting in blood. At length the Tartars themselves having embraced the Mahommedan faith, and zealously fighting in its cause, were beheld with astonishment passing the distant limits of Asia; and planting their standards on the ramparts of Byzantium, and the palaces of Alexandria.

CHAPTER VI.

The Parthian and Syrian History, as connected with that of India, resumed and concluded.—The Parthian Empire being harrassed and almost overwhelmed, by repeated Irruptions of the barbarous Scythians, Pachorus, its Sovereign, applies to the Romans for Succour, which proves the Means of introducing the Armies of that Nation into the more eastern Districts of Asia, and to an Acquaintance with India.—Antiochus Asiaticus dethroned by Pompey, and Syria finally added to the Number of the Roman Provinces.—An Embassy dispatched by Porus, King of Western India, to solicit the Friendship of AUGUSTUS, *and an Alliance with the Romans.—*ZARMANOCHAGAS *burns himself at Athens.—Observations on the above Embassy, and that of* PANDION *to the same Prince.—Account of the Voyage of* IAMBULUS *to the Southern Coast of India.—The Visit paid by* APOLLONIUS TYANÆUS *to Phraotes, a Prince of Western India.—Of the Embassy sent to* CLAUDIUS *by a Sovereign of Ceylone.—Of the Roman Commerce carried on with India, as stated by Pliny and the Author of the Periplus, and of various Embassies sent at different Times to Trajan and other succeeding Roman Emperors.—The Travels into India of* COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES.—*The internal State of India at the Period of the Commencement of the* MAHOMMEDAN ÆRA.

THE great military talents, and the numerous and disciplined armies kept up by Mithridates, seem not only to have preserved, during his life, his own Parthian dominions, but also his immediate Indian conquests secure from the usurpation of the invading Scythians; but that monarch's decease, which took place after a reign

of thirty-seven years marked by felicity and glory, afforded too favourable an opportunity to those northern freebooters for the wider extension of their ravages, to be neglected. They were not precipitate, but waited for a favourable moment. Mithridates was succeeded by his son Phrahates, the second of that name, who soon after his ascending the throne, was attacked by an immense army raised by Antiochus Sidetes, the reigning prince of Syria, for the purpose of liberating his brother Demetrius Nicator, still a captive in the Parthian dominions. The event was, that Phrahates was defeated in no less than three great battles; the fairest portion of his father's extensive conquests was wrested from him; and he himself disgracefully driven back within the contracted limits of the Parthian kingdom, when first erected into an independent sovereignty. By a rapid reverse of fortune, however, owing to the intolerable insolence and oppression of the victorious Syrians while dispersed in winter quarters throughout that region of Asia, Sidetes and the whole army were risen upon by the enraged inhabitants, and being from their prodigious numbers obliged to be quartered in divisions, separated by so great a distance from each other, as to be unable, on any sudden emergency, to rally in one collective body to defend themselves against the assailants, were all in one day, without distinction, massacred.* Their melancholy catastrophe filled every province of Syria with tears and lamentations, there being few families that were not deprived, by this tragedy, of a son or a brother. Demetrius, in the mean time, had effected his escape from confinement, and resumed the crown worn, during the period of his captivity, by his slaughtered brother; but, in resuming that crown, he resumed none of the glories of the first Nicator; the future years of his reign exhibiting only a series of disgraceful defeats, and he perished miserably by assassination at Tyre, in the year 124 before Christ.

* Justin, lib. xxxviii. cap. 10. Josephi Antiquit. lib. xiii. cap. 16.

It happened that Phrahates, driven almost to despair by defeat in three general engagements, had himself, previously to the massacre of the Syrian prince and army, been under the necessity of applying to the Scythians situated nearest his kingdom, for their assistance against the invaders. Anxious, or rather impatient, to be employed in scenes of blood and spoliation, innumerable legions soon assembled on his frontiers; but the work of death having been effected by his own Parthians, in combination with the irritated inhabitants of the newly conquered provinces, that assistance became unnecessary, and the imprudent king refused to gratify their demands of retribution for services, for which they were engaged, but which were never performed. Incensed at his refusal, their savage bands poured down upon his territories, and committed in them every species of outrage and devastation. To repel their barbarous aggression, Phrahates enlisted under his banner all the dispersed Greeks who were either exiles from Bactria, or languished in captivity under Parthian oppression in the adjoining provinces. These brave, but unfortunate people, smarting with recent wrongs, as soon as they had obtained arms, went over in a body to the Scythians, joined in the general pillage, put the Parthians every where to death without mercy, and finally, sacrificing to their vengeance the weak prince who had embodied them, marched off, like the Scythians, to their respective countries, loaded with the plunder of ravaged Asia. Not long after the first army of Scythians had retreated, a second hurried thither, to glean the remaining spoil. These Scythians, who are expressly said by Justin to be of the nation of Thogarians, (that is, Scythians of Tocharestan, mentioned above) completed the work of desolation, having slain in a bloody battle the new monarch, Artabanus, uncle to the last.* These irruptions inflicted a terrible blow on the Parthian empire, and possibly proved the occasion of Pacorus the First, the succeeding monarch, sending to Sylla, then in Asia, a

* Justin, lib. xlii. cap. 1.

splendid embassy, and, through his means, soliciting the friendship and alliance of the Roman people, of the renown of whose name, and of the valour of whose arms, the Parthians about this time first began to be informed. Sylla, who was at that time only prætor, felt his vanity highly gratified, in being the first Roman to whom so potent a sovereign as the Parthian monarch should apply, to be admitted to an alliance with his nation, and received the embassy in Cappadocia, the distracted affairs of which province he was settling, with all the pomp and magnificence becoming the dignity of the Roman people. It would have been fortunate, perhaps, for both nations, if this embassy had never been sent or received, since the annals of no ancient nation whatever, record such a long and dreadful series of obstinate and sanguinary conflicts, as, at a future period, took place between Rome and Parthia, from the fatal day of Carrhæ, when one of the finest and most gallant armies that ever left Rome, was almost annihilated by the arrows of the Parthians, till the subjugation of that nation, and their being made tributary to Rome, by the valour of the emperor Trajan; or, to speak more properly, since their fierce and indomitable spirit led them in a few years to burst that yoke asunder, till the final subversion of the dynasty of the Arsacidæ by that of Sassan, about 200 years after Christ. With the Parthian history of that period, however, so deeply connected with the Roman, that of India has but little concern, and the events of it are only glanced at here, on account of the splendour of the Roman name, having, by means of those conflicts, first come to the knowledge of the Indians, who are said in consequence, to have sent an embassy to Augustus, the circumstances of which we shall presently consider.

With the remaining sovereigns also of the dynasty of the Seleucidæ, from the time of Demetrius, to the period in which Antiochus Asiaticus, the last of the turbulent family of Seleucus was dethroned, and Syria added to the number of the Roman provinces, by Pompey,

in the year before Christ 65, this history has as little connection. Both these princes, and the descendants of Ptolemy Lagus, who latterly reigned in Egypt, had their courts at too great a distance, and were besides, too much engaged in defending their invaded dominions against the Romans to allow of their interruption of the repose of India from those quarters. True, indeed, even under barbarous foreign controul, the inhabitants dwelling on the two shores of the Indus, and at the mouths of that river, by the permission of their Indo-Scythian conquerors, and probably by the payment of exorbitant duties, seem to have carried on with the Egyptians a considerable traffic, which in some degree kept up an intercourse between the two nations; but still it was merely a commercial intercourse, precarious in its issue, and unprotected from the rapacious grasp of a race who, engaged in a Nomadic life, were regardless of commerce, and utter strangers to navigation. The resident Greeks, who had fled from Bactria into the cities of the Peninsula where they were secure from Tartar depredation, with vigour, and to greater extent, from the numerous emporia of Malabar, continued to trade with their brethren at Alexandria, for to the Alexandrian Greeks alone was that trade confined; the native Egyptians, to the last degree luxurious and indolent, being content to adorn themselves by the naval toil of their victors, with the gorgeous silks and the costly gems of India. The conquest of Egypt by Augustus, was the occasion of no obstruction to this flourishing commerce, that had been so vigorously carried on between the Indians and Egyptians, from the time of the great Philadelphus. On the contrary, it gave an increased impulse to its expanding sail, and opened in imperial Rome, a new and vast emporium for the reception of the richest commodities of both countries. I have already presented the reader, by anticipation, from Strabo and Pliny, with an account of the commencement and gradual progress of this trade, an account sufficiently extended for a work of this general nature; and the author

of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, will enable me to give with due exactness, in its proper place, the promised catalogue of the costly articles of both import and export mutually afforded by that commerce. Our more immediate concern is with the embassy sent by Porus to Augustus, a few years preceding the commencement of the Christian æra.

It is remarkable that Suetonius, in the life of that prince, speaking of this event, mentions, in the same sentence, the Scythians together with the Indians, as sending ambassadors to him, and soliciting his friendship.* The coupling of their names thus closely, seems to prove, that the predominant influence of the former over the latter subsisted even so late as the time of Augustus; and that Porus, however powerful in his own territory, was still in some degree a feudatory of that nation. Indeed, when the Scythians invaded Bactria, it can scarcely be doubted, but that they made themselves masters of all the dependencies of that empire adjoining to the Indus; if not immediately, at least after the death of the great Parthian monarch who assisted them in the subjugation of it. Whether this conjecture be true or not, the sovereign at that time reigning over the country conquered by Alexander, and whose kings, it would seem, according to the custom of Asiatic dynasties, had the name of Porus in common among them, in order to conciliate Augustus, then in Syria, settling the affairs of the Parthian empire, dispatched to that prince a numerous and splendid embassy, bearing some of the rarest productions of India, and charged with letters written upon vellum, in the Greek character, a circumstance highly deserving notice, as it strongly marks the prevalence in the Indian courts of the Grecian manners and language, three hundred years after Alexander's invasion. These letters contained an ostentatious display of the great power, wealth, and magnificence of the monarch who sent them; he informed Augustus, that he had under his controul six hundred

* Suetonius, in Octav. p. 68. edit. Bipont, 1783.

tributary princes, or rajahs; which might be true, as we cannot tell how far in the interior of India his empire extended; that the renown of the Roman victories had reached his distant realm; that he admired the valour, and respected the talents, of Augustus; that he desired nothing more fervently, than the alliance of such a nation, and the friendship of such a prince; and that they might command at all times, the zealous services both of himself and the people subject to him.* Of the ambassadors, all but three perished by the way, owing to the tedious length of the journey, and the fatigues sustained in the course of it. Those three, as well as the presents they brought with them, were seen, as Strabo informs us, by Nicolas of Damascus, at Antioch, in their way to Samos, whither Augustus had sailed; and the latter are described by the same writer, to have been borne by eight slaves so thinly clothed in the light dress of the country, as to appear almost naked, but highly perfumed, after the Indian manner, with the richest aromatic unguents. The presents consisted of tygers, to which animal, till that time, the Romans were strangers; birds of monstrous growth, and reptiles of a prodigious magnitude;† presents which, it has been judiciously observed, seemed rather calculated to deter from invasion, than to unite distant nations in the bonds of friendship.

In the train of the ambassadors was a venerable Brachman, an aged Sarman, as his name demonstrates, and as he is in fact called by Dion Cassius,‡ who was so flattered and delighted with the attention paid him by Augustus, that he followed the emperor to Athens, and either in ostentatious imitation of the conduct of Calanus, who followed Alexander into Persia, as far as Pasargadæ, and burned himself before the whole assembled army of the astonished Greeks; or else, in jealous emulation of his enthusiastic heroism, there committed his body to the flames, consigning his æthereal portion to the immortal gods!

* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 663. † Ibid. ‡ Dion Cassius, lib. liii. p. 527.

As, by strictly confining myself in the account of Alexander's expedition into India to mere historical detail, I neglected to state the circumstance of that philosopher's devoting himself a voluntary victim to the fire, yet as in a work of this kind, an occurrence so public and memorable, should not be wholly unnoticed, I here present it to the reader, as I find it related by Arrian.

Calanus was one of a body of penitents whom that prince saw and conversed with at Taxila, which has before been described as the modern Attock, situated on a branch of the Indus, to which it gives its name, and the only one whom he could prevail with to accompany his army back to Persia.* The Greeks applied the term Brachman indiscriminately to the priest who officiated in the Indian temples, and the yogee who wandered without clothes or food in the solitudes of the desart. It is difficult, however, to conceive Calanus to have been a Brahmin, as, in that case, he would scarcely have left a country, of which every spot, to the Brahmins, is consecrated ground; or have crossed a frontier river, whose very name signifies *forbidden*, i. e. to be passed by the natives of India. Soon after his arrival in Persia, being disordered with a flux, he resolutely refused the proffered assistance and prescribed regimen of a foreign race of physicians, and solicited Alexander, that a funeral pile, for the purpose of burning himself, might be erected; which that prince at first strenuously refused; but, finding him inflexible, he at length gave orders for the deathful solemnity; when every thing was prepared after a manner becoming the grandeur of so great a monarch. The funeral scaffold was built of the richest woods; cedar, cypress, and myrtle: the most costly gums and aromatics were scattered over it; and it was adorned with rich vestments and vessels of gold and silver. A litter decorated with garlands after the Indian fashion, bore to that pile the venerable sage, who all the way sang hymns of exultation and triumph in the dialect of his country. Arrived at the

* Arrian, lib. vii. p. 276, edit. Gronovii.

pile, he ordered the costly furniture of all kinds, and the golden and silver vases with which it was adorned, to be taken away and distributed among his disciples and attendants; after which he ascended the pile, and, laying himself down upon it, was consumed. The instant the pile was fired, according to his own express desire to have his funeral considered as a festival, the trumpets were sounded, and the whole army gave a shout, as in the moment of victory, being filled with equal admiration and astonishment at the sight of a man consuming to ashes without any perceptible motion; so powerful, says Arrian, are the force of habit and the effect of education.*

Zarmanochagas, however, far exceeded Calanus in the value and merit of his sacrifice, if, indeed, there could be any genuine merit in an act which a nobler system of religion, and a more enlightened philosophy than that of India, has branded with the stigma of a cowardly relinquishment of life, and a base desertion of our post in the hour of apprehended danger; yet still that act, according to their degraded system, was far more heroic in the present, than the more ancient, Sarman, since the former ascended the blazing pile, when, as he boasted to Augustus, he was yet, though somewhat advanced in years, in the perfect possession of all his mental and bodily energies, and added to that blessing, in the full and uninterrupted enjoyment of worldly prosperity, and the latter, when under the pressure of a painful disease, which he conjectured might destroy him. It was, as before observed, at Athens that he set the Grecian philosophers this imagined heroic example of indifference for life, and contempt of its most valued blessings; for, in the presence of all the learned and renowned of that celebrated city, having newly bathed and being anointed with rich unguents, as it were for a gay wedding rather than a funeral, with resolute step and smiling countenance he mounted the funeral pile, and suffered himself to be

* Arrian, lib. vii. p. 277.

gradually consumed, while the Stoics of Greece stood mute and astonished spectators of a scene equally novel and awful. The effect of that astonishment was a monument erected to his memory by the Athenians, which, according to Strabo, who flourished in the reign of Augustus, was the intimate friend of Ælius Gallus, that emperor's confidential governor for Egypt, and probably saw it, was thus inscribed: *The tomb of Zarmanochagas, the Indian, of Bargosa,* (perhaps Barygaza) *who sacrificed himself according to a custom prevailing in his country.**

Were not the Greek and Roman historians of the Augustan period so universal and decided in their assertions, that these ambassadors came from Porus, the sovereign of *Western India,* from the magnificent account contained in the letters written in the Greek character, of the greatness of his power, and the extent of his dominion, I should be inclined to think that those authors had ascribed to an inferior prince, transactions which might with more propriety be assigned to the sovereign of universal India, either to Bickermajit himself, or Salbahan, who about the commencement of the Christian æra, in Deccan, successively swayed the imperial sceptre. If, indeed, the sage Zarmanochagas were, as the inscription on his tomb seems to announce, a native of Barygaza, that circumstance too, would afford additional evidence that he came from a sovereign reigning in or near Dachanabades, as the author of the Periplus renders into Greek the native term Deccan, or the South, on the shore of which it is situated; Tagara, or Deoghir, having been, as we have seen, the occasional capital both of Bickermajit and Salbahan; I say the occasional capital, because the emperors of Hindostan seem in general to have had two capitals, (as for instance, in later times, Delhi and Agra), and the Sanscreet accounts assign to them Ugein in Malwa, the Greek Ozene, built by Bickermajit himself, as the more general residence of those monarchs.

* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 664.

To a considerable portion of the adjoining district, the Greeks gave the appellation of SERIACA, comprehending, as Mr. Wilford has informed us, the greater part of the Subah of Aurungabad, and the southern part of Concan; while the more northern part of it, including Damaun, Callian, Salset, Bombay, and other places on the coast, at that time belonged to the rajah of LARICE.* Under the denomination of LARICE, I believe, was meant to be comprehended Guzzurat in general; the native term LAR being very extensively applied, and, in particular, giving name to the town of Larry-bunder, situated about five or six leagues from the sea, and one of the branches of the Indus.† *Baleocuri-regia*, points out to us the royal residence of the BALHARA, a most potent prince in those parts, and Cambay was the port belonging to his capital. The vast tract, called by the ancient writers LIMYRICA, owned yet another lord, little inferior in splendour and power to the Balhara, whose metropolis of *Carura*, situated at some distance from the sea, is recognised by D'Anville, in the modern city of KAURI. But superior to both, in grandeur and wealth, in this southern division of India, soared the puissant sovereign, named Pandion, whose kingdom extended quite to the southern point of Comaria or Comarin, and who was probably of the ancient race of the renowned *Pandus*. He also is said about this time to have sent an embassy to Augustus, but no particulars of that embassy have descended to us. The residence of this monarch was at the great city of Madura, and the extent of his power is evident from the whole of that district being denominated from him *Pandi-Mandalam*, literally the circle or empire of Pandion. Arrian expressly says,‡ that the Indian Hercules (Crishna), worshipped at Mathura, on the Jobares (Jumna), left many sons, but only one daughter, PANDÆA, to whom he gave a vast army and kingdom, and ordered that the whole of her empire should be called by her

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 333.

† D'Anville's Ancient Geography, p. 546. Rennell's Memoir, p. 287.

‡ Arrian in Indicis, cap. viii.

name. In this and a few other instances, do the classical confirm and illustrate the native accounts.

Diodorus, who flourished in the reign of Augustus, has recorded a curious account of a voyage to the shores of India, by a person of the name of Iambulus, an Alexandrian Greek, which may with propriety be noticed here. The whole narration has been observed to have much of the air of a romance; yet still, as with many extravagant facts in this relation, are blended others apparently founded in truth and just observation, and as it for the first time, in regular history, (for the exploits of Rama in Ceylone have been already detailed at large,) introduces to the reader the celebrated island of TAPROBANA, or Ceylone, I shall insert an abridgement of it in these pages, and subjoin a few remarks on that noble appendage to the Indian continent, which, in ancient Sanscreet books, is sometimes designated by the very resembling appellation of TAPOBANA, or *the Wilderness of Prayer*, being a place frequented by Hindoo penitents, and is sometimes denominated DEVA LANCA, or *the sacred Lanca.**

According to Diodorus, Iambulus was the son of a merchant who traded to Arabia for spices, and himself having engaged in the same species of commerce, in one of his voyages to that country, was, together with another, taken prisoner by a band of robbers of that nation, but afterwards they were seized upon and conveyed away by certain Æthiopians who frequented that coast, to serve as a kind of victims at a solemn national festival holden in Æthiopia once in thirty years, in which it was a custom of a very ancient date to expose upon the ocean two strangers, set adrift in a small vessel, to the mercy of the winds and tides, as an expiation for the sins of the assembled people. The custom is not a little singular, and fully evinces what has often before been contended for in these volumes, viz. the general prevalence throughout the Asiatic world, derived from a patriarchal source, of the necessity of an expiatory sacrifice for delinquent man.

* Mr. Chambers in Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 110.

At present, however, the historical fact must alone engage our attention, and therefore it is merely necessary to state, that decorated with garlands, and supplied with abundant provisions for a voyage of six months, at the appointed time, they and their slender bark were committed, without remorse, to the perilous ocean. As the return of the victims thus exposed, was always looked upon as a malignant omen, Iambulus and his devoted comrade, were enjoined to use every effort to pursue their voyage in a southern direction, towards a certain island, which was known to the Æthopians only by vague report, but said to be inhabited by a race celebrated for benevolence and hospitality.*

After combating, for four months, with the elements, they were carried by the strong periodical winds which prevail in those seas, and are now so well known to Europeans, by the name of the *monsoon*, to the island in question, which Diodorus states to be in form almost round, and to be in compass, about five thousand stadia, or five hundred of our miles. In fact, however, that form is oblong, and its dimensions, according to more accurate modern calculations are found to be 280 miles in length, and about 150 in breadth. They were joyfully and hospitably received by the inhabitants, of whom and their customs, a most singular and extravagant description is given, and into which it is unnecessary that I should minutely enter, since from what we now know of the Ceylonese, whose manners are not likely to have materially varied, and are evidently like themselves, of Indian original, the greater part of it is evidently a fable, though grafted on historical fact: what is most worthy of notice, as most agreeable to known truth, in the narration, is the division of the natives into separate tribes, each living under the jurisdiction of its own chief; their extraordinary stature and flexibility of limbs, which is confirmed by modern observation; their adoration of the sun, moon, and heavenly host, and their consequent

* Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 138. edit. Rhodoman.

devotion to astrological inquiries; their vestments formed of the cotton tree, and dyed of a purple colour; the luxuriant fertility of the country in producing vines, olives, and especially calamus or maize, in the greatest abundance, of which they made an excellent sort of bread; the equatorial situation of the island, and consequently their enjoying days and nights of equal length; their having a number of wives in common, in this respect resembling the Nayres on the neighbouring coast of Malabar; the number and magnitude of the serpents produced in the island; and, finally, their exposing their dead on the shore, and the voluntary death to which, like Calanus and Zarmanochagas, the old and the infirm frequently devoted themselves. It must strike with astonishment, every person acquainted with the natural history of Ceylone, that a merchant, and a trader too in spices, should not, after a seven years residence on the island, have noticed among its valuable productions, the cinnamon, which has constituted, in every age, its principal object of commerce with the nations of the east; and this circumstance, as Dr. Vincent has well observed, tends more than any other to involve in doubt the reality of the whole adventure.*

In respect to what is related of the tongues of the natives, by nature divided, and said to be farther cut by art in their infancy, to the very root, by which means they were enabled to converse with two persons at once, and imitate the notes of the feathered tribe; the great birds upon whose wings their children were accustomed to fly into the air, and other similar prodigies, they must be considered as the usual embellishments of an Eastern tale. Let us attend to the sequel of the adventures of Iambulus, who seems to have been destined to wander, though not always an unpitied exile, round the shores of Afric and Asia.

A residence of seven years on this celebrated island could not, it seems, remove their rooted prejudice in favour of foreign habits and

* Dr. Vincent, Periplus, p. 22.

manners. They refused to comply with the religious and civil usages of the country, and therefore, in the same bark in which they arrived, after it had been refitted and amply stored with provisions for a long voyage, they were compelled to depart. After beating the ocean precisely for as long a period as before, they were wrecked on the shallows of the Indian coast, probably near the mouth of the Ganges. The comrade of Iambulus perished in the boisterous wave; but he himself reaching the shore in safety, was seized and hurried away by the natives, many leagues into the interior of the country, before the reigning sovereign, at Palibothra, by whom he was kindly and liberally treated, as that sovereign was partial to the Greeks and to Greek literature. As a cloud of suspicion hangs over the whole narration, and as no exact date is assigned to the event, it would be useless to inquire who this particular prince (Φιλελλης) so partial to the Greek nation might have been. During the friendly intercourse which we have seen was at intervals carried on between the Syrian monarchs and the Indian sovereigns, a fondness for Greek literature and manners may justly be conjectured to have sprung up in the courts of the princes of India, and if Philostratus may be credited, was actually the case in a very high degree, at the court which was visited by Apollonius Tyanæus, in Western India, on the consideration of which we are presently about to enter. Bickermajit was a warm patron of the sciences and of scientific men; and, flourishing about that period on the throne of India, was probably the compassionate prince who relieved the distresses of our maritime adventurer, and provided him afresh with every necessary to undertake the subsequent and final voyage, first to Persia, and thence to Greece, which he is said, by Diodorus, successfully to have effected.*

The celebrated expedition of Rama to Ceylone, amply detailed in the preceding volume, and recently referred to, has been justly

* Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 142. edit. Rhod.

humbered by me, among the ancient legendary tales of the Hindoos; yet there still remain on that island, so many evident vestiges of the conqueror of Ravan and recoverer of Sita, having been there at some very early period, as seem to prove that, in this, as in many other instances, their legends are founded on the firm basis of historical fact. The connecting chain of rocks extending to its northern shore from the continent, at this day called RAMA'S BRIDGE, is one of them; another is found in the very name of the principal city of the island, by Pliny, from the report of the freed man of Annius Plocamus, called Palesimundus, which, in the native dialect, is no other than PARASHRI-MANDALA, the circle or sovereignty of PARASHRI, the Indian Bacchus; a third in the prevailing superstitious rites paid to Bacchus, for the king is positively said by Pliny to have worshipped Bacchus, or Dionysius, a word formed by the Greeks from the Sanscreet DEO-NAHUSHA; and lastly, we find in Ptolemy DIONYSI *oppidum et promontorium*, which is only a corruption of the same term.* The Greeks in fact, observed the same ceremonies used in the temple of the Indian Rama, which in their country were appropriated to Bacchus, and as their names were nearly similar, they naturally and justly concluded them to be one and the same deity, as in truth, they were; though the Indian was by far the more ancient of the two. The stupendous temple of Ramasseram, one of the most ancient and superb in India, and situated on an island of the same name between Ceylon and the continent, should not be forgotten, as it serves farther to demonstrate, at what a remote æra, and with what fervent zeal this deity was adored. No objection will be raised here by any intelligent Indian scholar, on account of Parashri or Parasu Ram, and Ramchandra being different avatars, because the three Ramas are there generally supposed to be only three different representations of the same distinguished person; and Sir William Jones has given it as his decided opinion,

* Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 22. and Ptolemæi Geograph. ab Asia, xii.

that they all have reference to the RAMA of our Scriptures, the first great sovereign and legislator of Asia.*

From various resembling circumstances intimated above, and many others that might be pointed out, in a comparison of Mr. Knox's and other authentic European accounts of the Ceylonese with those given us of the inhabitants of the Indian Continent, no doubt, I think, can remain of that vast island, thought by Strabo to have been as large as Britain itself, having been originally colonized from it. Nor is it in their civil customs and religious rites alone, that this is apparent, but in their language, of which, if we may judge from the few specimens exhibited in the publications of Mr. Knox and the earlier Portuguese and Dutch voyagers, many words appeared to be of Sanscreet derivation, as Dio, *God;* Dio Loco, *Heaven;* Malea, the name given by Ptolemy to the mountains of the island, and corresponding to the Hindoo name of Malleam, the high country on the continent; Maha-grammum, in Ptolemy, the old name for Candi the present capital, and Mavali-Ganga, the name of the most considerable river, and which means the *Ganges of the great Bali;*† who was the Indian Hercules, and who, according to Pliny, was worshipped as well as Bacchus, by the superstitious sons of Taprobana.‡ The more full investigation of this important point must be left to abler judges in that line than myself, having never had any great predilection for the study of dead languages, and delighting rather, according to the last cited author's elegant remark, to gather the *fruit of the tree of science,* than to entangle myself with *the leaves and the branches.* Fortunate is it, however, for her interests, that there are and have been others, and in particular, that great linguist himself, who have not had the same unconquerable aversion to philological inquiries. The internal parts of the island are inhabited by a race of men to whom Knox gives the appellation

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 401. † Knox's Hist. of Ceylon, p. 108.

‡ Pliny, lib. vii. cap. 22.

of Vaddahs, a name of doubtful derivation, and many tribes of these people, hardy, brave, and ferocious in their manners, never quit their native mountains, but roam over them and the vast forests that clothe them to their lofty summits, in all the licentious wildness of uncivilized nature. The natives nearer the coast, more accustomed to associate with foreigners, and consequently of more polished manners, are said to be an ingenious and industrious, though perfidious, race; temperate in their diet, and moderate in their passions; addicted to commerce, and skilled in agriculture. They are recorded to be descended of the old race of the Chingelays, thought to have emigrated hither at some remote period from China, but neither these nor the Vaddahs appear to be that powerful aboriginal race, whose Herculean labours erected those astonishing monuments of ancient art, the pagodas that abound in this island; pagodas built in the same style, and decorated for the most part, with the same mythological designs as the oldest and most venerated temples of the continent. The numerous islands scattered around Taprobana, and known to us by the name of the Maldives, another Sanscreet appellative, amounting to many thousands, shew that some terrible convulsion in nature, either by the agency of water or fire, has at some remote period taken place in this region of Asia, a convulsion, that probably rent them from the main land, and was fatal to the primitive inhabitants. The terrible catastrophe may possibly be recorded in those *ancient writings*, which our English traveller affirms he beheld engraven on some rocks at Bandi Uda, and in the northern districts, in characters many yards in length, and cut so deep, that they will probably last to the end of the world. He says, he had inquired concerning their meaning of Hindoos, Malabars, Chingelays, and Moors, but none of those understood them.* These characters, probably Devanagari, are well worthy the attention of Indian scholars, who may now visit the island under the

* Hist. of Ceylon, p. 112.

auspices of a liberal and scientific British governor; and copies of them correctly taken, should be submitted to the literati of Asia. We shall have occasion in the approaching reign of Claudius, to revisit this noble island; at present the current of events recals us to the continent.

Such, as has been described above, was the situation of Southern India, and such were the chiefs who bore the principal sway in that country about the commencement of the Christian æra. In an early part of the first century, its shores were visited by a philosopher of very singular manners and cast of character, who, if his biographer, Philostratus, may be credited, was received with the greatest respect by its sages, and with the highest distinction by the sovereign of Western India, of the dynasty above mentioned, as well as by other princes in that quarter, of whose respective courts, of their manner of living, and the maxims by which they governed the people subject to them, we find recorded in that life, considerable and very valuable, could we be certain they were authentic, details. Throughout the whole narration, however, of the adventures of Apollonius Tyanæus in the regions of the higher Asia, there are blended so many improbable stories, as appear to give it an air of romance. In his description too of certain places said to have been visited by him, he is grossly erroneous, particularly in that part, where the writer presents us with a picture of Babylon, at the time of the philosopher's pretended residence during twenty months at that metropolis, which contradicts every other account that has descended to us from contemporary writers; the biographer representing it as then flourishing in undiminished glory,* whereas, on the contrary, the united voice of the historians of that period, truly pourtrays it as the fallen Babylon, utterly desolate and buried in its own immense ruins,† the temple of Belus, and

* Philostrati Vita Apollonii Tyanæi, lib. iii. cap. 15, 16.

† Pliny, lib. xvi. cap. 26. Dio Cassius, lib. lxviii. p. 785.

the walls alone standing, within whose ample limits ranged the wild beasts kept there for the amusement of the Parthian monarchs, when they engaged in the pleasures of the chase.

After all, Apollonius might have visited the site of Babylon, and possibly resided at some magnificent city risen from its ruins in the neighbourhood, though Philostratus, indulging a rhetorical propensity, might have drawn his description from sources of a more ancient date than the period of that visit. Of the courts of the Indian princes, he could refer to no such preceding sources of information for the very particular description inserted in his book, and I am inclined to think that, some little parade of eloquence excepted, the relation is so far correct as to intitle it to a place in this volume. The first of the sovereigns whose court he visited, after crossing the Indus, was that of Phraotes, a prince most probably of Parthian descent, since the name is not Indian, and repeatedly occurs, as we have seen, in the dynasty of the Parthian princes. By whatever means, therefore, he became possessed of the kingdom of the ancient Taxiles, as this is expressly said to have been, and the name of it to have remained to that day unchanged; or, however rigidly he might have adopted the habits and maxims of the severer classes of Indians, his affinity to the sovereigns of that line, by marriage, or otherwise, can scarcely be doubted, and the private conference which he held with Apollonius, *in the Greek language*, seems to demonstrate also the connection of his ancestors with the Greek sovereigns of Bactria, in whose courts that language was current. The noble simplicity that reigned in the palace of this prince, not only in the style of its construction, but in the ornaments that decorated it, the unaffected majesty of his deportment, the magnanimity of his sentiments, the warmth of his hospitality, the abstinence observed by him in diet, and his moderation in the use of the vast wealth and power possessed by him, exhibit indeed a sublime portrait of a wise and just king, and may possibly be a true one of the prince in

question, since many Indian princes in those elevated situations have continued rigid disciples of the Brahmins, and uncorrupted amidst all the splendour and luxury of an Eastern throne. Yet the wisdom, the temperance, the manly fortitude displayed in the character of the philosophic Phraotes, seem evidently intended as a strong contrast, which they undoubtedly afford, to the unbounded voluptuousness of other Eastern potentates; and, in particular, to what we read in Strabo and Quintus Curtius, who derived their information from sources generally current in those days, and well known to Philostratus, of the effeminacy, the profusion, and the gorgeous magnificence of Musicanus, king of Deccan. In his description of India, we trace throughout the moralizing sage of Tiana, rather than the curious Indian traveller; yet from that description, no inconsiderable portion of instruction may be gleaned by the historian.

From the detail then of what he saw, examined, and collected on the spot, we may assert, that in the first century the Higher India, or Hindostan, though not wholly free, on its Western limits, from Scythian control, yet in its interior regions continued still a vast and powerful empire, divided, as on its first foundation, into various great feudatory kingdoms, governed by their respective princes, with one supreme maharajah at their head. From Strabo also,* who flourished nearly about the same period, we learn, that India was in his time partitioned out among one hundred and eighteen great nations, each of which was governed by its own particular prince, controlled by one presiding monarch, who by the original constitution of the country, had the sole power of calling forth and directing the national vengeance against the common foe, and of summoning all the inferior rajahs to the field, at the head of the quota of troops which every separate province was compelled by ancient stipulation, to furnish. The regal honours both in the supreme and in the subordinate chiefs were hereditary, and they

* Strabonis Geograph. lib. xv. p. 719.

had the power of enacting laws, and of inflicting death in their respective districts; but were compelled, by the most tremendous obligations and the forfeiture of cast, to regulate their decision by the grand code of national institutes. By those institutes they were enjoined once a day to give public audience to the assembled people, to hear petitions, to redress grievances, and to determine differences arising among their subjects; nor could they rise from the tribunal till all were heard, and every claim adjusted. In foreign negotiations, the public faith, when once plighted in any treaty, was inviolably preserved, and the figure of an anchor, the sacred symbol of truth and stability, Philostratus acquaints us, was engraved upon the grand imperial signet, used upon those solemn occasions.*

From this general survey of the Indian empire and jurisprudence, let us descend to some interesting particulars reported by the biographer of Apollonius. Let us not be forgetful, however, of the necessary caution given above, with respect to reposing implicit belief in his statements, while we enter the palace of the particular prince of Western India, visited by that philosopher, and the chosen object of his warm panegyric.

That the reader may more fully comprehend the writer's intent in drawing this portrait, I shall present him with a previous sketch, from Strabo, of the grandeur of the court of Musicanus, and the rather, because as in the case of Calanus before stated, I omitted to state the curious particulars where they ought more properly to have been inserted. The kingdom of Musicanus extended southward, towards the mouth of the Indus and Pattala, and is judiciously conjectured by Dr. Vincent to have occupied the site of the modern SEWA.† The vast influx of wealth necessarily pouring into a region situated at the entrance of a river into which were brought from all quarters the richest articles of Eastern com-

* Philostratus, lib. iii. cap. 11. † Voyage of Nearchus, p. 220.

merce, will very sufficiently account for the super-abundant treasure possessed by this luxurious monarch, the splendour of whose court is said to have exceeded that of Persia. The front of his palace was erected on lofty columns of porphyry richly gilded, round which to the very summit, were twined artificial vines of solid gold, and amid the branches appeared the figures of Indian birds, the brilliancy of whose plumage is unrivalled, executed in jewelery. The inside of it was one continued blaze of magnificence, and abounded with whatever could gratify even to satiety the delighted ear and the astonished eye. In one apartment the stranger was soothed with the warblings of the softest music; in another, was heard the quick but measured step of the mazy dance; a third echoed with the wanton songs of the sirens of beauty; and a fourth resounded with the frantic mirth of the bacchanal. The monarch himself, who seems to have placed his chief happiness in the enjoyment of a supine and voluptuous indolence, was arrayed in a splendid vest of gold and purple, richly embroidered. He was incessantly surrounded with a train of women, who spent their whole time in perfuming his tresses and adorning his person; while their licentious conversation and gestures served as a perpetual incentive to libidinous pleasures. When he condescended to appear in public, silver censers, in which burned the richest aromatics of the East, were constantly borne before him, as if he were a god, and he lay extended on a litter of gold, the sumptuous covering of which was fringed with rows of the most costly pearl. His wives and concubines followed in litters of the same precious metal; while, whether on a march, or engaged in the chase, he was followed by an innumerable guard, as well as by subordinate officers, who carried branches echoing with the wild melody of the sweetest birds produced in the forests of India.*

Let us now reverse the portrait. Leaving the luxurious race of Southern India, let us turn our eye to her more northern progeny,

* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 666. Quintus Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 9.

and enter with Philostratus, the palace of Phraotes. There all was economy, regularity, and simplicity. Under that roof prevailed no vain parade of unnecessary pomp; no train of servants, pampered and insolent, crowding the lofty gate; no waste of treasures, better employed to great national purposes, were to be observed. The apartments of state were spacious and convenient, decently, and even elegantly, decorated; but without glare and profusion. In the hall of audience, the balance of justice was suspended on high with a steady hand, for at that tribunal the voice of adulation was unheard; the claims of individual interest unnoticed. In the interior apartments, the eye and the ear met with no object to inflame, no possible incentive to seduction; the wanton smile of the court-siren, betrayed not the unguarded youth; the song of immodesty was suppressed, and the banquet of intemperance forbidden. The whole was the residence of dignified virtue and sublime philosophy. Of the declamatory speeches that passed at this meeting between the Indian prince and the Greek philosopher, I forbear to give a literal translation, because I consider them merely as the laboured production of the pen of the biographer; but the above is the substance of them; and if there were any basis of truth for the assertions of the former, one observation escapes him, which seems to prove the dependance of Phraotes upon some foreign conqueror, for, he acquaints him, that he was accustomed, not only freely to bestow his riches on those of his friends who needed them, but even to allot a portion of his wealth to the barbarians bordering on his dominions, with the professed view both of preventing the menaced incursions of those barbarians themselves, and that they might serve as guards to keep off the invasion of still more ferocious barbarians beyond them. From this passage it appears evident, that Phraotes, whether of Parthian or Indian origin, at that period was tributary to the Sogdian or southern Scythians, whom he gladly subsidized, to defend him against the more savage northern hordes; meaning the Hunns,

who finally vanquished and drove before them, the Scythians who had seized upon the Bactrian kingdom.*

After these discourses, they enter the private garden of the palace, which contained the royal bath, and was a stadium in length. In the centre of this secluded spot was a delightful fountain, continually playing, and renewed by springs of the purest and coldest water. On each side of it extended a long avenue, in which Phraotes occasionally exercised himself, after the *Greek* fashion, in darting the javelin and throwing the discus, for he is said to have been of a muscular form, and though so rigid a philosopher, not to have exceeded twenty-seven years of age. After having bathed, they returned to the palace, and being both crowned, as was the custom, partake of a repast rather too substantial, one would be inclined to think, for such philosophic and abstemious sages, and very inconsistent with Indian, though not with Parthian, manners. Lions dressed entire, goats, boars, and thighs of tigers, are numbered among the grosser viands of this Eastern banquet; the only food of the king, however, and of Apollonius, were the herbs, fruits, and other vegetables, which it also abundantly afforded. Vast goblets of silver and gold (the only mention we here find made of those precious metals) contained the liquors served round to the company; what the beverage was it is impossible to say, as Phraotes had before declared, that he never drank wine but when *sacrificing to the sun*. The martial clangor of cymbals and fifes, played by a band of thirty musicians, saluted them while at dinner; and the air of the banqueting room was perfumed, not by artificial essences, but by branches of laurel, myrtle, and other sweet-scented plants dispersed about the apartment. After the entertainment, a number of Indian youths were introduced, who amused the company with various feats of activity, in which the suppleness of the Indian form, and the dexterity of the Indian archers, were displayed to perfection. After

* Vide Apoll. Tyan. lib. ii. cap. 11. p. 87.

our philosophers had indulged themselves in a conversation protracted till day-break, in which various topics relating to ethics, history, and metaphysics, not necessary to be here detailed, were extensively discussed, the assembly was dissolved.*

If, however, the palace of Phraotes was a fabric of such uniform simplicity of construction and decoration, far different was the superb temple of the sun, which they beheld in the great city of Taxila, on which a reverential awe of the Deity, adored in his brightest symbol, had induced the sovereign of that kingdom to bestow the utmost labour of art, and such an unbounded profusion of gold and precious stones of every kind and colour, as one might think, would have exhausted the mines of both Golconda and Pegu. The lofty walls of this solar temple were composed of red marble, resembling the fire of his own resplendent sphere, interspersed at intervals, with plates of burnished gold, broad at the base, and ending pyramidically like the rays emitted from it. On the floor, in a kind of mosaic work of jewelry, was wrought the similitude of the morning star, personified in the mythology of India, and worshipped under the name of AURUNA, the charioteer of day. No object ever yet displayed to human sight, could equal that resplendent pageant, either for richness or lustre; being wholly composed of various coloured stones, infinite in number, and exquisite in beauty, that seemed to burn upon the illumined pavement.† In this magnificent temple, and to the honour of the presiding deity, was probably performed that ancient remarkable circular dance mentioned by Lucian,‡ as peculiar to the Indian priests, who, says that writer, προς την ανατολην ςαντες, standing with their faces towards the east, worship the sun in a sacred dance imitative of the motion of his own orb. When to this we add what Sir William Jones has informed us, that the works of an ancient Indian sage, named Yavan Acharya,

* Vide Apoll. Tyan. lib. ii. cap. 11. p. 87. † Ibid.

‡ Lucian de Saltatione, in Operibus.

contain a system of the universe, founded on the principle of *attraction* and the *central position* of the sun, and farther, that the names of the planets and zodiacal stars are found in the oldest Indian records,* we can scarcely deny them, in the most ancient periods, the credit of very high advance in astronomical science.

Nor was Apollonius, though generally absorbed in more profound inquiries in the sublime speculations of mystic, or rather magic, theology, entirely inattentive to the progress of the Indians, under their Greek masters, in the liberal and polite arts; for he acquaints us, that in the same temple, he saw two colossal statues of Alexander in gold, two of the vanquished Porus in brass, and one of Ajax, whose history they had learned from the Greeks, in ivory.† In his subsequent visit to the Brachmans in their secluded mountainous recesses of upper India, where Zerdusht had visited them five hundred years before, he found them still more advanced in those abstruse sciences which, at that period, were so much in vogue throughout Asia; of which no more striking instances need be adduced, than their fabrication of artificial thunder and lightning, which they are said both by this writer and Themistius, from their towers to have played off against the assailing enemy, a circumstance which seems to demonstrate the truth of Mr. Halhed's assertion, concerning the ancient use of gunpowder in India: and the seven *mystical rings*, which were given to ward off impending evil, by the sage Brachman Jarchas, to Apollonius, and were respectively composed of the *seven metals* by which the seven planets were at once designated and symbolized. But for an account of these and various other matters, connected with the ancient arts and sciences of India, I must refer the reader to an express dissertation, in the Indian Antiquities, on the literature of India.‡

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 340.

† Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. lib. xi. p. 335; edit. Paris.

‡ Ind. Antiq. Vol. VII. p. 675.

The regular course of historical events now brings us near to the period in which an occurrence took place of the greatest importance to the commerce of the Alexandrian Greeks and the Romans with India: I mean the discovery of the MONSOON by Hippalus; for though it has been clearly proved, by Dr. Vincent, that the periodical winds in the Indian seas, bearing this name, must have been known long before to the Indian and Arabian merchants, yet the secret seems to have been inviolably preserved, till this period, in their own breasts, from all participation of foreigners, and the following accident is conjectured to have been the occasion of its promulgation to the traders of other nations. The reader, it is presumed, need scarcely be informed, that in the Indian seas, along the whole coast from Japan quite to Madagascar, those winds are called MONSOONS, which are known to blow regularly at stated seasons in a particular direction; that is, during six months of the year from the north-east, and six months from the north-west quarter. The period of the shifting of these monsoons is often a season of great danger to the navigation of those seas, being attended with terrible squalls and tempests, which require the ablest skill and most vigorous exertions of the Oriental mariner to support his foundering bark amidst the conflicting elements. By long and diligent attention to the course of the winds in question, and by correct observation of the opposite coasts, and the site of the Indian emporia, Hippalus, the captain of an Alexandrian vessel, is said, *first* of all the Greeks, to have left the former tedious course along the winding shores of Arabia and Persia, and, launching into the vast ocean, to have found a more rapid passage to Malabar by the south-west monsoon; on which afterwards the grateful Greeks conferred his name.* The fact, as related in the Periplus, is possible and even probable, but there is also another competitor for this honour, to whom it is necessary in this place to introduce the reader.

* Periplus Mar. Erythr. p. 32.

During the short period of about seventy-five years, reckoning from the conquest of Augustus to Claudius, that the Romans had established themselves in Egypt, they had extended their empire far into Arabia, and over the coasts of the Red sea; from the different ports of which, even beyond the mouth of the Straits, they exacted an annual tribute. The revenues thus received were, in the reign of Claudius, farmed by a person named Annius Plocamus, whose freedman sailing round the shore to collect it, was hurried out of his tract by the violence of the monsoon, and carried in a contrary direction, first to Carmania, on the Persian coast, and then to Hippura, a part of Taprobana. He was hospitably treated by the sovereign of the country, who made many inquiries concerning Cæsar and the Roman empire, and had his curiosity fully gratified. He is said, by Pliny, to have particularly examined the *denarii* which his guest had brought with him, and from that examination to have been impressed with an high idea of Roman justice and honour, when he discovered that those pieces of money, though coined in different mints and under the management of different persons, yet were all of the same sterling value and weight. Under this impression he resolved to send an embassy to Rome with the returning stranger, to solicit the alliance and cultivate the friendship of such a distinguished people; and to render it the more respectable, he placed at the head of it a Rajah (RACHIAS) of considerable rank in the island. After a stay of six months in Taprobana, the freedman of Plocamus obtained leave to depart, accompanied by the embassador and his train, who, on their arriving at the Roman capital, astonished that people with an account of the magnitude, wealth, fertility, and extreme populousness of their native island. They told them it contained five hundred towns; that Palesimundus, its metropolis, alone contained no less than two hundred thousand inhabitants, and that it had a noble haven; that in the interior of the island expanded a lake of such vast dimensions that two great

rivers issued from its ample bason, the largest of which discharged its waters, by three broad channels, into the haven above mentioned; that it abounded with gold and silver, and all kinds of precious gems, but particularly pearls of the rarest kind; and that its spices were the richest of the East. They added, that the crown was elective; an advanced age, an unblemished character, and a benevolent disposition, were the qualifications most sought after in conferring that exalted dignity; and they enumerated the laws by which the king was compelled to govern both himself and his subjects: but lest the crown should ever become hereditary, and the prince, of consequence, in their opinion, (taken up perhaps from dear-bought experience,) tyrannical, if he afterwards married, or begat children, he was compelled to abdicate the throne. In all affairs of importance he was assisted by a council of *thirty*, but from these there was an appeal, in criminal causes, to a tribunal of *seventy*; and if the sentence passed in the former court should be reversed by the latter, either for its injustice or any other sufficient cause, degradation and ruin to all its members were the inevitable consequence. The king himself, for enormous crimes, was subjected to capital punishment; but no human arm inflicted it; royal blood must not flow upon the sword of the subject; the hungry tiger tore to pieces the condemned monarch, or the enraged elephant trampled him to death under his feet.* Many other circumstances concerning Taprobana and its inhabitants, are recorded by Pliny; but from the incredibility of some, and the known fallacy of others, it would be useless to enumerate them.

Towards the middle and close of the first century after Christ, flourished Pliny, and the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, who bears the name of Arrian, but who certainly was not the Arrian of Nicomedia, who wrote the Indian expedition of Alexander. From their united accounts we are able to collect some very

* Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 22.

interesting particulars relative to the commerce carried on by the Romans with the Indians, and the articles in which they principally trafficked. Among those exported for the use of the luxurious sons of Rome may be numbered all the various spices and aromatics that grow in the rich and abundant soil of India; but particularly, and in large quantities, the cinnamon of Ceylon, and the pepper of Cottonara; different kinds of medical drugs of high value, unguents, odoriferous gums, spikenard, frankincense, and other costly perfumes, as well for the use of individuals, as the service of the temples; the curious productions of the Indian loom in manufactured muslins and silks, plain and embroidered; murrhin vases, ivory, ebony, and other precious woods. Among her exported gems in most esteem were the onyx, sapphires, rubies, topazes, diamonds, and pearls of extraordinary beauty and magnitude. Among articles imported were the useful metals, which their own country but scantily supplied to the Indians, and, particularly, as at the present day, *silver* in considerable quantities, coined and in ingots; the wines of Italy, Greece, and Arabia; some sorts of slight woollen cloths, and linens; coral; and glass vessels of different kinds and various dimensions.* In this productive commerce, according to Pliny, the Romans annually invested fifty millions of sesterces, about four hundred thousand pounds sterling; and the clear profit of its returns amounted to *one hundred per cent.*†

Such, according to the classical writers of Greece and Rome, was India in the first century. The native accounts, as collected in Ferishta, affirm, that after the death of Bickermajit and Salbahan, the empire fell into anarchy and confusion; that the great vassals of the crown assumed independence in their respective governments; and the very name of emperor became, in a great degree, obliterated from the minds of the people.‡ In this state it seems to have

* Periplus Maris Erythræi, p. 28 to 31; edit. Hudson.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 23.

‡ Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 13.

continued for a very extended period, since the next person mentioned, in the book just cited, is Basdeo, who, after having reduced Bengal and Bahar, is said to have assumed imperial honours, and to have erected a new kingdom at Canouge in the year 330 after Christ. During his reign, Baharam, the sovereign at that time seated on the throne of Persia, is said to have visited India in disguise, under the assumed character of a merchant.

An accident, which redounded much to the honour of Baharam, was the occasion of his being discovered. A wild elephant, in the season of lust, attacked him in the neighbourhood of Canouge, and he pierced the animal's forehead with an arrow, which acquired him such reputation, that the Emperor Basdeo ordered the merchant into his presence; where Baharam was known by an Indian nobleman, who had carried the tribute, some years before, to Persia: an evident proof that the feudal dependence of India on the sovereigns of the former kingdom still remained. Basdeo, being fully assured of the truth of this statement, affectionately embraced the royal stranger.

Baharam, being thus constrained to assume the regal character, was treated with the utmost magnificence and respect while he remained at the Indian court; where he married the daughter of Basdeo, and returned, after some time, into Persia. Basdeo and the princes, his posterity, ruled the empire in tranquillity for the space of *eighty years.**

Ramdeo, a prince of the Mahratta tribe, and the general of the imperial forces, then ascended the throne, by the united consent of the assembled nobles, and he is said to have been a valiant, wise, and generous monarch.

After a glorious reign of fifty-four years, Ramdeo yielded to the stroke of fate, but the actions of his life, says our author, have rendered his name immortal. Notwithstanding his great power, he

* Ferishtah, Vol. I. p. 13.

thought it prudent to continue the payment of the usual tribute to Feroz, the father of the great Cai-cobad, king of Persia.

After the death of Ramdeo, a dispute arose between his sons concerning the succession, which afterwards terminated in a civil war. Partab-chund, who was captain-general to the emperor Ramdeo, taking advantage of the public confusion, seized upon the vacant throne, and, to secure the possession of it, extirpated the imperial family. Partab was cruel, treacherous and tyrannical. He drew by fair, but false, promises, the princes of the empire from their respective governments, and by cutting off the most formidable, rendered the rest obedient to his commands. An uninterrupted course of success made Partab too confident of his own power. He neglected, for some years, to send the usual tribute to Persia, dismissing the ambassadors of the great Nushirvan, with empty hands, and great dishonour, from his court. A Persian invasion, however, soon convinced Partab, that it was in vain to contend with the lord paramount of his empire. He was, in short, forced to pay up his arrears, to advance the tribute of the ensuing year, and to give hostages for his future obedience.

Partab mounted the imperial throne of India about the year 500 of Christ; and though he left the empire in the possession of his family, it soon declined in their hands. The dependent princes rendered themselves absolute in their respective governments; and the titular emperor became so insignificant, with regard to power, that he gradually lost the name of Maharajah, or Supreme, and had a title of less dignity substituted in its place.

Soon after the death of Partab-chund, Annindeo, a chief of the tribe of Bice, seized upon the extensive kingdom of Malva, and, with rapidity of conquest, brought the peninsula of Guzzerat, the country of the Mahrattas, and the whole province of Berar, under his controul. Annindeo was cotemporary with Chosru Parvez, king of Persia; and he reigned over the dominions he had conquered for sixteen

years. At the same time that Annindeo broke the power of the empire, by his usurpation of the best of its provinces, one Maldeo, a man of an obscure origin, raised himself into great power, and took the city of Delhi and its territory, from the reigning family. He soon after reduced the imperial city of Canouge, which was so populous, that there were, within the walls, thirty thousand shops, in which arreca, a kind of nut, which the Indians use as Europeans do tobacco, was sold. There were also in Canouge, sixty thousand bands of musicians and singers, who paid a tax to government. Maldeo, during the space of forty years, kept possession of his conquests, but he could not transmit them to his posterity. Every petty governor and hereditary chief in Hindostan rendered themselves independent, and the name of universal empire was lost, till it was established, by the Mohammedans, on the confines of India and Persia.*

Such are the contracted, the *jejune* accounts yet presented to the public, relative to this long intervening period, in the only book that professedly treats concerning the history of India, and affirmed to be taken from the Mahabbarat. There are, indeed, to be found long lists of Indian sovereigns in the Asiatic Researches, but they are *magni nominis umbra*, imperial NAMES only! In the account of the Subahs also, in the Ayeen Akbery, there are some detached fragments of the history of their respective sovereigns, but they are of so unconnected and desultory a nature, so confined in their allusion, and withal so little instructive or interesting, being for the most part, nothing more than a detail of regal murders, that there is no possibility of working them up into any form or body of regular history. Till, therefore, authentic Sanscreet documents, if there be any, a fact extremely doubtful, illustrating this dark æra, shall have been discovered and translated, we must rest satisfied with such partial gleams of information as we may be able to procure from

* Ferishta's Indian History, Vol. I. p. 16.

the annals of the neighbouring nations, and for the present, in search of such partial intelligence, return once more to the page of Parthian and Roman history, whose sovereigns, about this time, reigned paramount lords of Asia, and possessed between them, its finest provinces. With respect to the sources of information above mentioned, whatever advantage or instruction can be obtained, either from the Ayeen Akbery relations, or the catalogues of their kings in the Asiatic Researches, by comparing them, in periods posterior to the Hegira, with the details of the exploits of the earliest Mohammedan invaders, of India, to be found in Abulfeda, Al Makin, Abulfaragius, and other Eastern historians, consulted in the succeeding book, shall not be neglected, but the fullest possible use made of both.

The commencement of the second century of the Christian æra, introduces upon the vast theatre of Asia, one of the greatest princes and ablest generals that ever sate on the imperial throne of Rome. A series of glorious exploits crowned the early youth of Trajan, and his more advanced life was rendered illustrious, by the conquest of the hardy race of Dacians, who had long braved the Roman power, and the complete, though, as it eventually proved, only temporary, subjugation of the Parthian empire, that great rival of the Roman, which perpetually exhausted her revenues, and was drenched with the blood of her bravest warriors. The fame of these mighty exploits of Trajan, having reached India, that had so long also smarted under the Parthian scourge, the sovereign of its western domain dispatched a splendid embassy to offer him his hearty congratulations, and, probably, in the dread of his proceeding to the Indian shores, the submission of himself and his subjects. These ambassadors were received with great kindness by Trajan, and treated with distinguished respect. It is evident from Dio Cassius, Eutropius, and all the authors who have discussed the events of this emperor's reign, that ardently admiring the character of Alexander the

Great, studiously desirous of imitating his conduct, and emulous of his unbounded fame, Trajan had certainly formed in his mind, the daring project of invading India; and with that view, had made diligent and minute inquiries concerning the customs, manners, population, and mode of fighting of the inhabitants. We are informed by Eutropius,* that he had actually prepared a fleet in the Red Sea, for the purpose of this invasion; but his age seems to have prevented its taking place, for, according to Dio Cassius, when pursuing his conquests along the Arabian coast, on accidentally seeing a ship about to set sail for India, he regretted that the advanced period of his life forbade him to indulge any hope of carrying his arms thither.† The Romans, however, from these repeated and submissive embassies to Augustus and Trajan, affected to consider the Indians as a subjugated nation, though it must be owned, that the word Indian, was always used by that people, with the utmost latitude of signification.

Indian ambassadors, together with others from Hyrcania and Bactria, are also said to have borne to the excellent emperor Antoninus Pius, the congratulations of their respective sovereigns; and in the splendid procession that graced the magnificent triumph of Aurelian, after his Syrian victories, consisting of captives from every region of Asia, Indians are enumerated by his biographer Vopiscus, but we have no particulars of any conflict that he ever maintained with any prince of India, and they were probably Indians serving in the army of the king of Persia, when that army hastened to the succour of Palmyra, and the unfortunate queen his ally, besieged by Aurelian, and was defeated before its walls.‡

Nothing of any more consequence, than the bare mention, in an indistinct manner, of the name and wealth of this secluded country, of whose interior, either geographically or politically, they knew so

* Eutropii Hist. Rom. lib. viii. p. 3. † Dio Cassius, lib. liv. p. 784.

‡ Consult Flav. Vopiscus in Vitâ Aureliani, p. 219.

little, occurs in classical authors, till the reign of Constantine; the fame of whose Eastern conquests had reached India, when, on his erecting the proud city that bore his name, and making it the seat of his extended empire, a splendid embassy with presents of the most rare and costly kind, was dispatched to him by a most puissant, and possibly the imperial, sovereign of India, who, according to the date of the year specified by Cedrenus, a Grecian monk of the eleventh century, 330 after Christ, should be that very founder, about the same period, of the new dynasty at Canouge, mentioned above by the name of BASDEO. The distinguished person to whose charge these magnificent presents were consigned, is called, by Cedrenus, Mitrodorus, a name like Mitra-gupta, evidently Sanscreet, with a Greek termination, and who was said to have been conversant with the Brahmins, and with Brahmin learning.*

It was impossible but that the succeeding sovereigns of so vast an empire as that which boasted Constantinople for its metropolis originally was, a city in which the commerce of Asia soon began to centre, and with such powerful fleets as they maintained in the Mediterranean and the Euxine seas, so capable of protecting or annoying the trade of either Northern or Southern Asia, should not receive the respectful obeisance of all the great trading powers of that continent; and, in consequence, we find, among others, Indian sovereigns, most probably of the Malabar coast, sending splendid embassies to the Greek emperors Theodosius, Heraclius, and Justinian. Of these the most superlatively magnificent was that dispatched to Heraclius after his triumph over the vanquished Persians, and the presents which consisted of a quantity of fine pearl and precious stones, sufficiently denote that they came from the Balhara or some prince of Southern India, most interested in the Grecian commerce with Alexandria, and the New Rome, as Constantinople was for some time denominated.† With respect to Justinian, the immediate

* Cedreni Annales, p. 242; edit. Basil, 1566. † Vopiscus in Vit. Heraclii, p. 234.

and extensive commercial intercourse kept up in his time between the Indian and Greek empires, is demonstrated by the ample digest of laws, enacted for the purpose of regulating that trade, both by himself and former emperors, but in his reign first collected into a body, and known by the name of the Justinian code. The value, as fixed by imperial decrees, or by individual traders of the different commodities that came to the market of Constantinople, and the duties paid upon each, are in that code distinctly enumerated; but the subject having been often and ably investigated by preceding writers, especially by the celebrated and very learned Bishop Huet, on the commerce of ancient nations, and by others, who have recorded the events of this period, I shall not deviate from the regular course of historical narration by entering into particulars. Concerning, however, the most precious of all commodities then brought from India, by the way of Persia, the silk of Serinda, a district in the subah of Delhi, which is expressly stated in the Ayeen Akbery to abound in silk-worms, what Procopius, the historian of the events of Justinian's reign, has recorded, is too curious to be wholly omitted; for, according to that writer, so exceedingly rare and costly was this article, having been sold, in the time of Aurelian, for its weight in gold, that the emperor and empress were tempted to stoop from their regal dignity to the fraudful monopoly of it; by which they gained immense sums, and the merchants of Constantinople, concerned in that branch of traffic, were universally reduced to beggary. Determined no longer to be obliged to obtain it from such a vast distance and by the circuitous route of Persia, a kingdom with which the Greek empire was in constant hostility, Justinian dispatched two monks to Serinda to learn all the particulars of the silk-trade, and if possible to procure and bring back with them large quantities of the worm from whose viscera it is produced, in order that he might be enabled to establish manufactories of it in the provinces of his own empire. Those monks faithfully executed

their commission, but finding it utterly impossible to bring the worm in a living state over so vast a tract of land and ocean as they had to traverse, they procured abundance of their eggs, which were carefully brought over in a hollow cane, from which, by following the Indian manner of covering them with dung, and applying to the embryo mass an artificial heat sufficient to mature the dormant vital energy, the animal was produced in numerous swarms. By this process was propagated the original brood of all the silk-worms so abundant in succeeding ages throughout the Greek islands, Italy, and the rest of Europe.*

The reign of Justinian forms an æra particularly memorable on account of an event having taken place in it, which throws some transient gleams of light upon the interior of India, the voyage thither and travels in that region of COSMAS, thence called INDICOPLEUSTES. He was a merchant of Alexandria, and in his younger days had travelled in that capacity to Ceylon and the Malabar coast, where he had carried on a considerable traffic. Being of a superstitious turn of mind, in his more advanced life he assumed the monastic habit, and in that seclusion, among other works, composed his *Christian Topography*, intended in an imagined zeal for the sacred Scriptures, which were never written to support any philosophical system at all, to oppose the prevailing, and, in his opinion, *heretical* philosophy of the times, which maintained that the earth was of a spherical figure; and to prove, on the contrary, that it was an immense oblong plane, not less than twelve thousand miles in length, and six thousand in breadth, encircled with walls of proportionable height, and covered with the firmament, as with a vast canopy or vault.† What is most remarkable is, that in consonance with the Indian system of geography, he contends, that far in the north there towers a mountain of prodigious elevation, behind which the sun

* Procopius de Bello Gothic. lib. iv. cap. 17.

† Cosmas Ægypt. apud Mountfaucon Collect. Patrum, lib. ii. p. 138.

rising or setting causes the vicissitudes of day and night. The only difference between them is, that the Indian cosmography, according to the Ayeen Akbery, places this mountain in the *centre* instead of the extremities of the earth. In the centre of Jambudweepa, according to that authentic register, stands a golden mountain, of a cylindrical form, which descends as far beneath as it rises above the surface of the earth. The summit of this mountain, whose altitude is 84,000 yojans, but, according to others, only 16,000 yojans, the Hindoos denominate Sommeir; and on that summit, and on its sides, they believe are the different degrees of paradise. In a direct line from the lofty golden mountain of Sommeir, at the extremity of the four quarters of the earth, their romantic imaginations have placed four cities, encompassed with walls built of bricks of gold, viz. Jumkote, Lanka, Siddahpore, and Roomuck, &c. &c.* The striking similitude between these descriptions seems to prove, either that Cosmas had consulted the books of the Brahmin astronomers, or that at that time the colleges of Alexandria and Benares believed and inculcated the same doctrines in this line of science.

How far Cosmas penetrated into India it is impossible to say; but he describes with great correctness the island of Ceylone, and the principal marts and various ports on the Malabar coast. In particular, he informs us that in his time, that island was divided into two great kingdoms, one of which was denominated *Hyacinthus;* the Greek mode of writing some word of resembling sound used by the natives. Its geographical situation, too, and its dimensions are given in that writer with tolerable precision; but of Ceylone enough has been previously observed. Cosmas on the coast of the continent enumerates *Sindu, Orrhotha, Calliana,* (possibly *Calicut,) Sibor,* and MALE, giving name to the whole district of Malabar; whose various emporia are enumerated, and some by names not to be found in the Periplus and Ptolemy. Undoubtedly, too, the innumerable islands in

* Ayeen Akbery, Vol. III. p. 23.

the adjoining ocean derive the name of *Maldives* from the same source. To these emporia Cosmas describes the numerous commercial vessels of Persia, as continually sailing, laden with the productions of that country for the Indian market, or bearing thence the pepper, the cinnamon, the precious gems, the fine linen, and flowered silks; the spontaneous growth of her soil, or the laboured manufacture of her looms. His religious turn of mind led our author to observe, and exult in, the number of zealous converts to that Christianity which St. Thomas had originally planted on its shores, scattered over most parts of India which he visited, but particularly abounding at Calicut, which had a regular bishop, with an establishment of priests and deacons, whence the subordinate churches were supplied. The whole of the ecclesiastical concerns of India were under the jurisdiction of the archbishop or primate of Persia, who at that time happened to be Thomas Edessenus, an intimate friend of Cosmas. This decided testimony of Cosmas to the wide diffusion of the Christian doctrines in India in the sixth century, will still farther corroborate, with the unprejudiced, the assertion of Sir W. Jones, largely commented on in the preceding volume of its ancient history, concerning the high probability of the Brahmins having seen the spurious Gospels, especially that particular Gospel throughout the East, absurdly attributed to St. Thomas himself, and their consequent interpolation of the fabulous life of Creeshna.*

The value of the work of Cosmas is greatly enhanced by his having recorded a fact which, however, has been much disputed, and the relation itself considered as the result of his ignorance of the geography of the Northern Asia, and the precise situation of its great ruling powers. Cosmas asserts, that in his day the northern parts of India were inhabited by the most populous nation of the HUNS; that the name of the sovereign then ruling over them was GOLLUS;

* See Vol. II. p. 258 and 267, of the Ancient Hist. of Hindostan; and Sir W. Jones in Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 274. London quarto edit.

that his army consisted chiefly of horse, which is extremely probable, and that of those he had a most formidable body, besides a train of two thousand elephants of war. To impress his readers with an adequate idea of their numbers, in the spirit of the times, he relates a romantic story of this prince besieging a city situated in a lake, which surrendered not till the surrounding waters had been exhausted by his cavalry and elephants.* The communication is important in this historical research into the ancient state of the Indian continent; and, setting aside the romance with which it is illustrated, merits attentive consideration.

The reader has already been informed that the Huns, (*Hunni*, corruptly so called from *Ugri*) in their origin, consisted of that more savage part of the Scythian nation which inhabited the region of Asiatic Sarmatia, confining on the Palus Mæotis, and the Tanais. He has also seen how the Massagetæ, or Getæ, anciently possessing the country lying between their southern frontier and that north of India, gradually advanced their armies into that more fertile district of Asia, and settled in the finest provinces bordering on the Indus, called from them Indo-Scythia. We have found them thus settled at the commencement of the Christian æra, and doubtless the same causes, want of room, added to the temptation of a more productive soil and genial clime, induced the former, after conquering the Massagetæ, and driving them before them in a southerly direction, to pursue the same line of victory and devastation. The Huns, however, are expressly mentioned as having been defeated by that king of India, whose exploits are recorded on the copper-plate found at Mongueer; for as those hardy nations of the arctic circle, approached nearer the tropic, their vigour and spirit seem to have decayed, and they became successively the slaves of new swarms of barbarians, whose minds were not yet relaxed by pleasure, and whose sinews were not yet unbraced. The above account of Cosmas, therefore,

* Cosmas Ægypt. lib. ii. p. 336.

though generally supposed to be founded in mistake, and on his inaccurate conception of the geography of Asia, which led him to misplace the residence of this barbarous people is most probably just, and their possession, at this period, of Northern India to have been the result of conquest and usurpation. The series of dreadful irruptions made by this people, who are the same as the Avares or Avari of the Byzantine historians, during the preceding centuries of the Christian æra, into Persia, both under the dynasty of the Arsacidæ, and of Sassan, as well as their horrible and repeated outrages and massacres committed in Thrace and throughout all the provinces of the Greek empire, often compelling its sovereigns, as in particular was the case with the Emperor Mauritius, to become tributary to their overgrown power in Asia, fully justifies this conclusion, and well accounts for that general confusion and anarchy said to have prevailed at this time in the government of Hindostan, and the deficiency of national records under the predominating influence of such an unlettered and barbarous race.

During this extended period numerous armies of the same warlike banditti were accustomed to burst into and spread their cruel ravages throughout Italy, Germany, and Gaul, or, from fatal necessity, having been hired by the pusillanimity of the Western emperors to defend their invaded territories against the still more ferocious tribes of Goths and Vandals, all of the same direful Scythian origin, sometimes basely betrayed their employers, and, at others, as under the reign of the savage and imperious Attala, trampled the majesty of both empires beneath their insulting feet. The Huns probably kept the mountainous region of India bordering on the Hindoo Caucasus in complete subjugation, till the arrival in that region of the Arabian conquerors in the eighth century, for in the convulsed state of the empire, principally brought on by their own and other Scythian irruptions, there seems to have been no other power capable of effectually opposing them. Of the Getes, or in other words the

Goths, it has been observed, there are apparent remains in the present Jauts, and in the pastoral tribe of Nomurdy, that still range with their wooden habitations on wheels along the banks of the Indus, in the district anciently denominated Indo-Scythia; but the invading Huns, whether by the united exertion of the native princes, or by the Mohammedans, seem to have been utterly extirminated; since there remains in India, no vestige, even of their name, except in the inscription alluded to, and in the above account of Cosmas. Their catastrophe was nearly similar in Europe. Devoted from their infancy to the sword, and delighting only in fields of carnage, by far the greater part of that sanguinary nation seems, in the course of ages, to have fallen the just victims of that sword. Wheresoever plunder invited, or debilitated power allured, thither they hurried, a countless, an insatiate band of harpies, to devour the spoil. Frequently repulsed and with dreadful slaughter, they still returned unwearied to the combat. Their mangled carcases, in innumerable shoals, annually floated down the great rivers, and their unburied bones covered the vast plains, of Germany. Thrace was deluged with the blood of their bravest chiefs. The wretched remains of their race are supposed to have been the ancestors of the present *Hungarians*, a compound word formed of *Hun* and *Avari*.

The death of Justinian took place in the year A. D. 565, and no event that has reference to India, occurs in the page of the Byzantine historians, till the reign of Heraclius, and after his return from that glorious expedition against Persia, in which he so effectually humbled the spirit of the haughty Cosroes, its king, who in his terrible and repeated irruptions into the Greek empire, professed to aim at nothing less than the extinction of the Roman name, and fulminated the impious vow, never to make peace with the Christians, *till they had renounced their crucified God, and adopted the ancient Solar worship of the Persians.** Complete and reiterated victory, however,

* Cedreni Annales, p. 335. edit. Basil. 1566.

attended the strenuous efforts of Heraclius, in support of his crown and his religion; while captivity and death were shortly after, the portion of the infidel blasphemer. Nor did that mighty empire, itself, thus reduced and weakened by the triumphs of Heraclius, long survive the disgrace and dissolution of one of the most renowned and powerful of its monarchs; for in A. D. 578 preceding, when the great Nushirvan sat on the throne of Persia, and Justin feebly wielded the sceptre of the Greek empire, was born at Mecca, that memorable IMPOSTOR, or rather that ambitious CHIEF, whose destroying sword, deriving from a sanguinary creed an irresistible energy, was, by the inscrutable councils of Providence, ordained to fill Asia with slaughter and desolation, and rend the diadem from the brows of her most puissant sovereigns. He did not open this pretended mission, till some time after the commencement of the reign of Heraclius, when he himself had nearly reached his fortieth year, and it was probably the distracted state of the affairs of the two greatest empires in the world, the Persian and the Greek, convulsed as they were by the violence of their mutual contests for superiority, and harrassed as they both alternately were, by the barbarous Vandal and Hunnic tribes, that gave birth in his aspiring mind, to the daring conception of a new religion and a new monarchy, to be erected on the ruin of all other religions, and all other empires upon earth. To mark their progressive advance, so far at least, as India is concerned, which it is in a most material degree, will be the principal object of the subsequent division of this work, introductory to which, the reader is presented with the following rapid sketch of India, as it existed at that period, and as correctly as it can be delineated from the few authentic documents as yet in our possession.

The whole of the Greek province, or rather reduced kingdom, of Bactria, with Candahar, Cabul, and the beautiful country of Cashmere, I consider as remaining under Scythian control; that is, of

its two leading tribes, the Massagetæ and the Huns, kept in check, and confined to that mountainous range, by the vigorous arm of the Persians, determined and prepared to oppose their further progress in Southern Asia. The frontier provinces on the west of India seem to have been, for a long time, permanently tributary to the Persian crown, but governed, as was certainly the case with Lahore and the Panjab, by its native princes; for Nushirvan, who flourished when Mohammed was born, in a public testimentary deed, preserved in Mirkhond, and addressed to his son, near the close of a life covered with glory, expressly styles himself KING OF PERSIA AND INDIA, that is, by the compelled tributary dependence of its western sovereigns; though, possibly, the monarch of even its interior region, the great Maharaja himself might not be, and in the more vigorous reigns of the warlike princes of the Sassanian dynasty, he certainly *was not free* from the payment of a considerable tribute; as its domestic history itself fully testifies, in the case of Baharam above related. But this external relation, in which he stood to Persia, though it might debilitate, had not the effect of wholly subverting the authority given him by the constitution, over the subordinate soobahdars of the empire, and the form at least remained when the substance was decayed. A particular instance of the nominal dependance, at least, of the great feudal chiefs of India on the head rajah, continuing in force even so late as the year 588 of the Hegira, or A. D. 1192, may be found in the short history added in the Ayeen Akbery, to the account of the Soobah of Delhi. There Canouge is represented, at this time, as the imperial city, and its sovereign as the maharajah, to whom all the inferior rajahs were compelled, at stated periods, to pay their personal homage; and it is recorded, that at a certain great festival, called RAISOO, celebrated at Canouge, this tribute of respect was actually paid to JYCHUND, the reigning prince, by all the rajahs of Hindostan, except by Pithowra, the rajah of Delhi, and the last of its native princes. At

this sublime festival, all the duties, even to those of the scullery, were performed by rajahs; and Pithowra, from contempt of the sovereign, not attending, "that the festival might not be incomplete," an effigy in gold of the absent rajah was formed, and by way of retorted contempt, assigned the ignoble office of porter of the gate. The rashness of Pithowra in the end, cost him his crown and his life.*

This inferior kind of sovereignty, this shadow of majesty in their respective soobahs, thus allowed them by the policy of their conquerors, on their regular payment of a fixed tribute, prevented those ancient and high-spirited chieftains from feeling so severely the galling yoke fastened by Mohammedan tyranny round their necks, while their power and influence, actively exerted in their several provinces, repressed the efforts of rising sedition. The five great princes who are said to have united their forces together to oppose the earliest invasions of Hindostan by the Mohammedans, are those of Lahore, Delhi, Ajmere, Canouge, and Callinger, and among them, doubtless, were the provinces of Superior or Northern Hindostan divided. The more southern provinces of Hindostan Proper, full of impregnable hills and castles, that as yet disdained a foreign lord, were tenanted by the daring race of Rajapouts, whose profession, from their earliest youth, was WAR, and who, if they had not been engaged and debilitated in perpetual feuds among themselves, would have been invincible by the armies of any foreign invader. The multitude of these forts wheresoever those lofty and almost perpendicular eminences of rock, or mountain, which are so common in India, allowed an opportunity for erecting them, affords sufficient evidence of the distractions, which, in ancient periods, prevailed in this country, amidst the endless contests resulting from the ambition and avarice of the more turbulent chieftains, among whom, in the most ancient annals of India, the illustrious

* Ayeen Akbery, Vol. II. p. 107.

family of the RANNA, noticed by the very same name in Ptolemy, is recorded to have been the principal. The celebrated castles and cities of Chitore, Mandu, Guallior, Rotas, Rantampoor, and others in that central region, were places of incredible strength, and in the unimproved state of the military science at that period, bade defiance to all the forces the assailants could bring against them.

The Balhara of Edrisi, and Baleocur of the classics, seems to have been the rajah of Larice, or Guzzurat; and the whole DECCAN, or *Southern India*, in which comprehensive sense the word will generally be used in these pages, as yet unviolated by foreign arms, remained in peaceable subjection to its native princes, the descendants of those who reigned there when Pliny and the author of the Periplus wrote. The mighty range of the Balagaut mountains, of height almost inaccessible, and in most places covered with impervious forests, perhaps coæval with the creation, ever afforded to its hardy bands of untamed warriors, an equally elevated and, from their remoteness, a still more secure, retreat from the invading enemy. This is abundantly proved by the innumerable, I had almost said impregnable, castles and fortified cities, if possible, still more strong by art and nature than those of Hindostan Proper, that erect their daring summits in the Peninsula, and known to us by modern names, but unalterably marked, as Rennell judiciously observes,* by their site, by the remaining monuments of Hindoo grandeur, and by other attesting circumstances, to be those renowned in the ancient history of the country. The bold and persevering efforts, in succeeding centuries, of the MOSLEM and MOGUL chiefs, to become masters of those craggy eminences, both in Hindostan, and the Deccan, the heroic feats, as well as the artful stratagems, put in practice by the intrepid and subtle Rajah race, for the purpose of repelling them, together with the final success of the former over their vanquished tribe, in both extremities of the empire

* Rennell's Memoir, p. 195. edit. 1788, being that always referred to by me.

will form the important subject of the future chapters of this history; a vast and spacious field of inquiry, or rather, shall I say, an immense ACELDAMA, *or field of blood*, covered with slaughtered millions of the human race, which the writer has not explored without the keenest anguish, nor can the humane reader contemplate without astonishment and horror.

BOOK II.

COMPREHENDING THE DETAILS OF INDIAN HISTORY, FROM THE BIRTH OF MOHAMMED, TO THE DEATH OF TIMUR BEC.

CHAPTER I.

The Eastern Authors principally cited in this Book, to illustrate the Indian History, enumerated, and some Account of themselves and their respective Works subjoined.—ABULFEDA, *his Moslem Annals and Geography.*—MIRKHOND, *the Persian Historian.*—AL MAKIN, *his Historia Saracenica.*—EBN ABDOLLATIF, *Author of the* LEB-TARIKH.—ULUG BEG, *his Epochæ Celebriores of the great Asiatic Empires, highly important for the Elucidation of their intricate Chronology.*—ABULFARAGIUS, *his Arabian Dynasties, with* POCOCK'S *Supplement to those Dynasties.*—ABULGHAZI BAHADUR, *his History of the Tartars.*—*History of Gengis Khan, compiled from* FADLALLAH, ABULCAIR, *and other Oriental Writers, by M. De Le Croix, the Elder.*—SHERIFFEDDIN *and* ARABSHAH'S *History of Timur Bec.*—EBN HAUKAL, *his Oriental Geography.*—AL EDRISI, *the Nubian Geographer.*—*Anciennes Relations of* RENAUDOT.—*Travels, in India, of* MARCO PAULO, *and others.*

HAVING in the preceding book, brought the Indian history, as far as from very scanty materials, that history could be collected, down to the commencement of the Mohammedan æra; before we enter on the present very important one, it will be proper for us to pause for a moment, and consider the sources whence, on so barren a soil

we are to derive the information which it may contain. Although in the introductory chapter to the first book, in which this subject was glanced at, I promised to avail myself of every possible advantage to be obtained from the valuable history of Mahommed Casim, Ferishtah in *Persian*, as being the only large work yet given to the public, that at all enters into any details concerning the *domestic* history of India, founded on the basis of native annals; yet as the Arabian historians of the period are not only very numerous, but sometimes circumstantial in relating the series of events that took place in the several quarters of Asia, under the dynasties of the early conquerors of that superstition, I propose invariably to compare that author, and augment and enrich his narration with what they have handed down to us concerning their progress in India, and through the regions nearest to India, in arms and in science. One of the most respectable and authentic of the Arabian writers on history and geography, consulted in the course of this book, is the celebrated Ismael Abulfeda, and of this often-cited author, together with some other authors of principal note, and their respective works, the following short account may, therefore, not be wholly unacceptable to the reader.

Ismael Abulfeda, prince of Hamah, a city in Syria, flourished in the fourteenth century, and was the author of many valuable compositions in history, jurisprudence, and philosophy; but particularly of a Treatise on Geography, and a history of the Moslem affairs, highly celebrated by the learned, both of Asia and Europe.

This geographical treatise is a judicious abstract of whatever the best Oriental authors have written upon the subject; above sixty of whom, as we are informed by Mr. Graves, are quoted in the course of this voluminous work. It is divided into tables, and has this extraordinary recommendation, that it gives the true pronunciation of the names of the cities and towns, together with their longitude and latitude; it exhibits, likewise, the names of the authors from whose

work the account of each city is taken; and, while it distinguishes the province in which it is situated, is enriched with a description of that province; not indeed extensive, but instructive and authentic. In the year 1650, Mr. Graves, at that time Savilian professor of Astronomy at Oxford, published in the original Arabic, with a Latin version subjoined, "Abulfeda's Description of Khowarazm (Charasm) and Mawaralnahr (Transoxiana,)" kingdoms whose names were, before that period, almost unknown in Europe, but which gave birth to those mighty conquerors of the Tartar race, whose arms spread terror through Asia and Europe: and who, in their imperial city of Samarcand, as we shall hereafter with astonishment behold, reigned with a splendour and magnificence unequalled in the most splendid æras of ancient Persia. Mr. Graves, likewise, left behind him a Latin translation of Abulfeda's Arabia, which was afterwards inserted, together with the original, by Mr. Gagnier, in the third volume of Dr. Hudson's "Geographiæ veteris Scriptores Græci Minores." Another Latin version of the same work was made by M. Le Croix, which was an unnecessary exertion of his great Asiatic learning; but he knew not, at the time, that Graves had already completed one. That of Le Roque had the benefit of both publications; and it is spoken of by Mr. Gagnier, with honour, in his very celebrated preface to Abulfeda's life of Mohammed. The example which Mr. Graves had set the learned, excited Mr. Gagnier, who afterwards filled the Arabic professor's chair, to issue proposals for publishing, by subscription, the complete work of Abulfeda. In this great and laudable undertaking, however, from want of proper encouragement, he failed; but the whole of Abulfeda's ANNALES MOSLEMICI, quoted so often hereafter in the pages of this work, have been since translated into Latin in a masterly manner, and recently edited by the learned M. Reiske.

The celebrated Persian historian, MIRKHOND, in the next place merits notice. He flourished in the year of the Hegira 875, of

Christ 1471, and is the author of a general history of the world, from the creation down to his own time, consisting of seven thick volumes in folio, abridged afterwards by his son Khondemir. The substance of this history has been presented to the literati of Europe, by the laborious diligence of Texeira, a learned Spaniard, and, with more accuracy, in a French publication, entitled, "Les Etats, Empires, et Principautés du Monde, Paris, 1662. An important portion of it, however, and that more particularly connected with the present period, has been recently edited, with a Latin translation, unabridged, at Vienna, under the title of of "Historia Priorum Regum Persarum post firmatum in Regno Islamismum," with ample geographical illustrations in the form of notes. In this valuable volume we have the genuine history of the two great dynasties of the Taherites and Sofferides of Persia, with the origin of the Sammanian dynasty, concerning which so many interesting particulars will occur hereafter. The Bibliotheque Orientale of M. D'Herbelot, contains, in a series of extracts under different heads, all the remaining more interesting parts of Mirkhond, that can throw any light on the subjects of this History.

Ebn Amid, more generally known to us by the name of Al Makin, flourished in Egypt, under the patronage of the Soldans of the dynasty of Jyub, (*Job,*) and compiled there, from Abu Jaffar al Tabari, and other valuable Oriental originals, who preceded him, another voluminous work on general history. But, the particular work of this author, so essentially useful in this historical research is, his Tarikh Al Moslemin, or *History of the Moslems*, of which the learned Erpenius, it is said from no very correct copy, has favoured the learned world with a Latin translation, in quarto, under the title of "Historia Saracenica." However, in some places, incorrect, a constant comparison of what is cited from Al Makin, with other works mentioned in this chapter, will prevent our being misled by any error in his text, the existence of which at all,

is greatly to be regretted in an author of such acknowledged merit.

EBN ABDOLLATIF composed in the year 1541, a brief, but valuable, history in Persian, of the Mohammedan monarchies, entitled, LEBTARIKH, which M. Golmin, a learned French Orientalist, has translated into Latin, and which is inserted in Thevenot's Collection of Voyages. The frequent quotations from this work, by Herbelot, will fully justify me in pursuing the same line of conduct in regard to it.

As Chronology is the sister of History, and as no person can be presumed better able to disentangle the perplexities of Oriental chronology, than an Oriental, and what is more, a sovereign, whose dominions included a large portion of India itself, the *Epochæ Celebriores* of the great ULUG BEG, have been frequently consulted, and with the corrections of their accurate editor, Mr. Graves, have been found of the most important use in fixing dates, as well as elucidating events. His history is concisely as follows:

Ulug Beg, the son of Shahroc, and grandson of Timur, one of the greatest monarchs, and most celebrated astronomers of the East, succeeded to the empire, established by his illustrious ancestor, in the early part of the fifteenth century, at the time when that empire flourished in the meridian of its glory. He had already, with equal spirit and prudence, for a long series of years, governed the extensive hereditary dominions allotted to his father by Timur, in the partition of his vast empire; and had not only in himself cultivated, but patronized in others, the polite and liberal sciences. Mathematics and astronomy were, however, his favourite study; and it is more than probable, that a considerable portion of the work that now bears his name, was composed and arranged before his accession to the imperial throne, on which he sat only a few, and some of those, from the discords that prevailed in the royal family, unhappy, years. The extension of his dominion seemed principally applied, by this princely philosopher, towards enlarging the boundaries of

science. To this end, having summoned to Samarcand, his metropolis, from all parts of the world, those who were most skilful in the arts he loved, and having provided them with the most perfect instruments known in that age, he observed, in company with this illustrious assemblage of scholars, the phenomena of the heavens with the utmost accuracy; and, from observations then taken, formed the astronomical tables, sanctioned by his name, so celebrated over all the Eastern world, and called the Royal Ephemerides. He erected, on this occasion, a noble observatory; and, among a number of curious and uncommon instruments, a quadrant was constructed of such dimensions as are hardly conceivable; for Mr. Graves, who published a part of this work, informs us in his preface, that when he was at Constantinople, he was assured, by some Turkish astronomers of eminence and credibility, "Ulug Begium, præter alia instrumenta exactissima, quæ paraverat, quadrantem stupendæ molis construxisse, cujus radius altitudinem summæ fornicis templi Sanctæ Sophiæ adequaret;" i. e. that Ulug Beg, besides other most exact instruments, had constructed a quadrant of such a stupendous magnitude, that its radius, in length, equalled the height of the dome of St. Sophia. Whatever exaggeration there might have been in this report, Mr. Graves observes, that very large instruments were absolutely necessary to take the height of the pole, with such accuracy as he had done at Samarcand; for he makes it $39^{\circ}\ 37'\ 23''$, whence we may infer his great precision in the rest of his observations. This book of the astronomical observations of Ulug Beg, is divided into four parts: the first treats of chronological history; the second, of geography, and the rising and setting of the stars in each country; the third, of the situation or position of the planets, of their longitudes and latitudes, and of all that is curious in the art of astronomy; the fourth shews the motions of the stars. Of these the chronological part was presented to the public, in 1650, by the learned and indefatigable Graves, and inserted afterwards in

the "Scriptores Græci Minores," under the title of "Epochæ Celebriores Chataiorum, Syro-Græcorum, Arabum, Persarum, Chorasmiorum;" all of them nations with whose history the present has a particular connection. The geographical tables, together with those of the celebrated Persian geographer, Nassir Eddin, appeared about the same period; and the tables of the longitude and latitude of the fixed stars were published at Oxford, by Dr. Hyde.

There is likewise another author, to whose learned and celebrated performance the succeeding portion of this work will be deeply indebted; I mean the History of the Arabian Dynasties, translated from Abulfaragius by Dr. Pocock, that great Eastern scholar, whom, Mr. Sale says, "no European has hitherto excelled, if equalled, in the knowledge of the Arabic tongue and writers." As I shall have frequent occasion to quote those dynasties, as well as the celebrated Abulghazi Bahadur, for the purpose of illustrating a period of history, and a portion of geography, very little known to those who have not made the Oriental histories their particular study, I must solicit the attention of the candid reader, to the following short account of two of the most illustrious ornaments of modern Asia.

Gregorius Abulfaragius, a native of Syria, and bishop of Aleppo, flourished in the thirteenth century, and published an historical work in Arabic, which may justly be called an epitome of universal history, from the creation to his own time. It consists of ten parts, and is divided into dynasties. Dr. Pocock published this work in 1663, with a Latin version, and a large supplement, containing a compendious sequel of that history with respect to the succession of the princes of the East. Mr. Bayle speaks in the highest terms of praise concerning that part which relates to the transactions of the Saracens and Mogul Tartars, and from that part principally will our extracts be made. This great historian was a singular advocate for judicial astrology; and, if we may believe his own assertion, an uncommon instance of the truth of it; for he affirmed, that he was

born when Jupiter and Saturn were in conjunction in the sign of Aquarius; that twenty years after they were again in conjunction in Libra, when he was made a bishop; that after twenty other years, these planets being in conjunction in Gemini, he was promoted to the dignity of primate; and after the space of another twenty years, they being once more in conjunction in Aquarius, he thought that the year of his death was arrived, and, according to the fatal presage, in that very year his life terminated, and he met death with cheerfulness and serenity.

Before we enter more particularly on that part of the Tartarian history, which is so intimately connected with that of India, (a period the most brilliant, and crowded with great events, of any in the Mohammedan æra,) it will also be necessary, that we should revert to the genealogical history of that nation, written in the Mogul language by Abulghazi Khan, above mentioned, and often cited, who was at once a descendant of the illustrious race whose actions he celebrates, and a powerful sovereign over a great portion of the country which his pen so accurately describes. "It is no novelty," says his editor, "in the East, to find kings among their authors, and the book before us is an instance of two, the father and the son, both Khans of Charasm." The former began, the latter finished it. Their immediate descendants at present bear imperial sway in their native country. The work itself is the only original of the kind of which we are in possession; and the mode of its introduction into Europe is not less curious than the book introduced. The manuscript was bought, about the close of the seventeenth century, by some Swedish officers, prisoners in Siberia, of a Tartar merchant who traded to Tobolski; and those officers, whose zeal for literature entitled them to a better fate, caused it to be translated into the Russian and other languages of Europe.

The royal author, in the course of the work, acquaints us with his reasons for commencing so laborious an undertaking, "which

he affirms to be the scarcity of genuine information on the subject; that no Khan before himself had taken the trouble to acquire the necessary materials, and much less to arrange them in historical order; that those materials had been chiefly collected from Fadlallah (whom he styles Khoja Rashid) and seventeen other respectable Mogul historians; and that his ardour in the prosecution of it was such, that, when labouring under a severe illness, (that severe illness which, in the end, proved fatal to him,) he continued, in the intervals of his disorder, to dictate to four secretaries, who attended for the purpose." This history is divided into nine parts, from the particular veneration which the Tartars are said to entertain for that number. The two first contain the history of the Moguls and Tartars, with an account of all their tribes, from Turk, the first founder of their nation, down to Gengis Khan; the third relates the life and actions of that great conqueror; the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth, treat of his four sons, and their successors, in the various quarters of his vast empire; and the ninth contains a particular history of the Khans, our author's predecessors, who reigned over Charasm, from its first Uzbek conqueror Shah Bakht, to the death of Abulghazi himself, in A. D. 1663.

With the assistance of this author; of the History of the Dynasties, by Abulfaragius, particularly the ninth and tenth, and Pocock's Supplement to those dynasties; together with the additional aid of Abulfeda, Al Makin, and the later Byzantine historians, constantly compared, as we proceed, with the domestic Indian History of Ferishtah, I hope to be able to give a more complete and connected narration of the events relative to India, and the provinces of Asia immediately adjoining, in the middle centuries than has yet been exhibited in one production, to the eye of the public. Still farther to illustrate this interesting period of Tartar and Indian history, (for they are about this æra inseparably blended,) I shall call frequently to my aid that rich mine of Oriental science and history, La Bibliotheque

Orientale of M. D'Herbelot, the learned Ockley's History of the Saracens, and the numerous original authors occasionally referred to, in the three first volumes of the Modern Universal History, the substance of which was principally collected from manuscripts in the Bodleian library, and those of Dr. Hunt, late professor of Hebrew and Arabic, at Oxford, and is by far the most valuable portion of that voluminous work.

However eminently useful in illustrating the history, the work of Abulgazi will be still more serviceable in elucidating the geography of a country so little known, even to the literati of Europe, as Khowarazm, or Charasm. It was, however, in the twelfth century, the principal kingdom of a mighty empire, and its capital of the same name, now called Urgens, was the imperial residence of a dynasty of kings, highly celebrated in Asiatic history, of whom the last was Gelaleddin, whose dauntless bravery, displayed at the river Indus, filled Gengis Khan himself, his determined enemy, with admiration. It is the Chorasmia of Ptolemy and Herodotus; and from this region issued that formidable band of warriors, mentioned by the historians of the Crusades, under the name of Chorasmins, who gave the Christians, in the Holy Land, about 1242, that tremendous blow, from the shock of which they never afterwards could recover. By a comparison of this book with the Chorasmia of Abulfeda, as published by Graves, that perfect idea can alone be formed of its situation and divisions, which is so necessary to the right understanding of its history. Of Gengis Khan, the account given by Abulgazi is ample, satisfactory, and will be of important service; but that given of Timur is by no means so satisfactory; nor can we wonder, when it is considered, that the inflexible conqueror, enraged at its resistance, razed its metropolis to the ground, sowed it with barley, to prevent its again becoming formidable, and inflicted many unexampled severities on the princes, our author's progenitors.

There are also some other writers, historical and geographical, deserving of respectful notice, whose works will occasionally be cited for the purpose of elucidating this portion of the Indian history.

1. The very important history of Gengis Khan the Great, by M. De Le Croix, senior, being a professed compilation from genuine Oriental sources, particularly from FADLALLAH, a famous historian of the thirteenth century, vizier to Gazan Khan, one of the successors of that conqueror on the throne of Persia; from a Turkish historical writer of eminence, named ABULCAIR, who flourished in 1540, Mirkhond, Abulfeda, and other Persian and Arabian authors has, therefore, a title to be classed in this series of original Asiatic productions. 2. SHERIFFEDDIN'S Persian life of Timur Bec, or Beg, has been already mentioned with honour, as well as that in Arabic, by AHMED EBN ARABSHAH,* both of very superior merit, and both presented to the public in an European dress, the former by M. De Le Croix, junior, and the other by M. Vatier, professor of Arabic in the University of Paris, in 1658. Sheriffeddin wrote the life composed by him at the court and by the command of Sultan Ibrahim, the grandson of Timur, in whose reign he flourished, anno 1420, from actual memoirs preserved among the state papers in the imperial cabinet, and penned by Timur's Persian and Tartar secretaries, at the instant the great exploits recorded in them, were transacted. Ebn Arabshah, wrote his some years later, and far remote from that court, on the borders of Syria. Though ranked by Golius among the most elegant productions in Arabic, the author's distance from the scene of action, and his inveterate hatred of a hero, who had risen to glory on the ruin of the Arabian sovereignties, render him as partial a narrator of events on the one side, as Sheriffeddin, probably was, on the other. The line which I have already mentioned to have been pursued by me, of correcting both by the celebrated

* See of the present volume, p. 12, containing Sir William Jones's just criticism on the respective merits of these two writers.

Institutes of Timur himself, recently published in Arabic and English, by Professor White, whence may fairly be deduced the real principles by which he acted, will perhaps be applauded, as the safest and the best. 3. Ebn Haukal, also presented to the public, in an European dress, by our own indefatigable, but ill-requited, countryman, Sir William Ouseley. This book is of considerable importance, in point, not only of geographical illustration, but local history, for he flourished in the tenth century, as his learned editor fully proves, from the internal evidence of the work itself, and visited, in person, the beautiful *Sogd of Samarcand*, and many other celebrated places which his pen so accurately describes. 4. Al Edrisi, vulgarly called the Nubian geographer, who flourished, according to D'Herbelot, on the article, about the middle of the twelfth century, and though greatly obliged, as are Abulfeda himself, and almost all the other Eastern writers on geography of later date, to Ebn Haukal, yet has much that is original and interesting of his own, especially with respect to the Indian Peninsula and Guzzurat, of whose sovereign, the Balhara, at that time reigning, and of his court, he has given a splendid description. And, 5. The "Anciennes Relations," or Travels into India, of certain Mohammedans in the ninth century, edited by the learned Renaudot; as well as those of Marco Paulo into the same country, about the middle of the thirteenth century, and others that succeeded, will farther open to us the interior of that country, preparatory to the invasion of Timur, and the incursions of the predatory Uzbecs.

Before I conclude this short prefatory chapter, I feel an irresistible impulse, and deem it an indispensable duty, to remind the studious reader that, after all, it is not historical details, however authentic, chronological calculations, however exact, nor geographical researches, however profound, that should be the only objects regarded by those who may peruse the present portion of Asiatic annals, crowded with the most splendid scenes, fertile in the most

magnificent events, and at the same time, to those who peruse history with a proper disposition of mind, fraught with the sublimest instruction. In the extensive survey of Eastern kingdoms rapidly succeeding each other, unfolded to his contemplative eye in the present book, where the varied picture, in the first instance, exhibits to view the Greek empire betrayed either by the precipitancy, or the imbecility of its enervated princes, hurrying to decay; in the second, shews us the Arabian conquerors trampling on the ruins of the Syrian, Egyptian, and Persian monarchies, and these, lastly, in their turn, trampled upon by the still more ferocious tribes of Turks and Tartars, pouring down upon them from the heights of the Northern Asia; in this comprehensive prospect, I say, a striking and memorable example is held up to future ages, how little permanent must necessarily be the most ample acquisition of territory and subjects, retained alone by the *sword* that gained them, and where a wise and liberal system of jurisprudence is wanting to regulate the counselling head, and direct the executive arm. The military maxims which alone swayed the conduct of these despotic and sanguinary dynasties of fugitive princes, might indeed inspire terror into their trembling subjects, but could never secure their attachment; there existed between them no reciprocity of kindness; there was no protection afforded on the one part, to claim the just tribute of obedience on the other; the subject was bound to the prince, whose sceptre was of iron, by no connecting tie of grateful affection; in their habits and manners too, they were as widely at variance, as in their religion; and the next invader was received with equal indifference as the former, by the abject slave who, in every successive revolution that rolled around him the storm of devastating war, experienced no amelioration of his hard lot, but, on the contrary, often had his chains more closely rivetted by the insulting victor. But while, without astonishment, we behold the ephemeral kingdoms of the East, suddenly raised to the highest point of power and grandeur, on a

far different basis from the only true one, viz. WISDOM IN THE PRINCE, AND VIRTUE IN THE PEOPLE, rushing headlong to destruction, and mourn over the incessant massacre of the human race, committed by the insane fury of ambition, with what mingled indignation and horror must we be filled, at observing the most unheard of atrocities practised, under the abused name, and by the pretended sanction, of RELIGION. Than the four succeeding centuries, the annals of the world do not display a more dark and dreadful series of perfidy, spoliation, and murder; nor does the history of the human heart exhibit any more shocking instances of rooted depravity, and callous insensibility, than are continually exemplified in the conduct of the Mussulman perpetrators of those nefarious transactions. The virtuous and reflecting mind, revolting from these abominable scenes of despotism, and superstition, retires in disgust within itself, and with increased satisfaction contemplates the blessings enjoyed under a government immutably founded on the adamantine basis of virtue and liberty, possessing the noblest code of equity, and irradiated by the beams of the purest religion.

CHAPTER II.

Birth of MOHAMMED.—*State of the Greek Empire, and of Christianity, at that Period.—Rapid Sketch of the Character and early Progress of the Arms and Religion of that Impostor.—The Arabian Generals invade Persia, in their Progress towards the Indian Frontier.—Battle of Cadesia.—Plunder of Ctesiphon.—Death of* YESDEGIRD, *the last Monarch of the Sassanian Dynasty.—The Mussulman Conquerors pass the Oxus, and subjugate Mawralnahr, or Transoxiana.—Geographical Sketch of Mawralnahr.—Concise History of the Taherian, the Soffarian, and Sammanian Dynasties.—The Dynasty of* GAZNA.—ABISTAGI.—SUBUCTAGI.—*The latter ravages the Frontiers of India, but soothed by the Submission and Presents of* JEIPAL, *the Rajah of Lahore, enters into a Treaty with him.—The Treaty violated by* JEIPAL.—SUBUCTAGI *incensed thereat attacks, and in a great Battle defeats, the confederate Princes of* HINDOSTAN; *he then renews his former Depredations, and returns, loaded with immense Wealth, to* GAZNA.

CONCERNING the exact year in which Mohammed was born, there have been great disputes, both among Mussulman and Christian divines. It is not a circumstance of any very material importance, as it is from his *flight* from Mecca, and not from his *birth*, that the celebrated Arabian epoch commences. In fixing that event, as I have done in a preceding page, to A. D. 578, as well as invariably writing his name *Mohammed*, I have adhered strictly to the text of Abulfeda,* the most celebrated and accurate of his numerous biographers. The details of his genealogy and the particular events of the early life of

* Vide Ismael Abulfeda de Vitâ Mohammedis, p. 1; edit. Gagnier, Oxon. 1723.

the impostor, are equally foreign to this history. They have been sufficiently blazoned by others. Let us proceed to considerations of more interest and moment; the state, at this period, of that religion which the new doctrines were intended to supersede, and of that mighty empire which the Mohammedan arms eventually subverted.

Amidst the daring innovations that defiled, and the endless schisms that at this important crisis convulsed, the Greek church, the genuine religion of Christ glimmered in the East but with a faint ray. At the same time, shaken to its very foundations, equally by foreign assault and domestic distractions, the power of the Cæsars was hastening rapidly to extinction. The jealous and embittered Jew had long beholden, with almost frantic impatience, the religion of the despised Galilean, in consequence of the conversion of Constantine, decorated with all the splendours, and supported by all the energies of imperial authority; and was willing heartily to join in any project for the utter extirpation of so detested a code, that did not offer gross violence to the sublime sanctity of his own. The Persian had marked with horror the sacrilegious outrages committed by the intolerant zeal of the victorious Christian against the altar of the Solar Fire, and the Pagan world in general, mourned over, and vowed revenge for, their mutilated gods and demolished temples. To unadulterated Christianity, there remained but few friends any where, and still its most inveterate enemies existed in its own bosom, those numerous sectarians, those fanciful expositors, those wilful pervertors of the sacred text, who under the name of Arians, Sabellians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Manichæans, and Eutychians, had publicly broached those nefarious doctrines, that excited the extreme sorrow of all the good, and provoked the contempt and derision of all the impious. No period, therefore, could be more favourable than the present, to the views of an artful and daring innovator, fraught with genius, to fabricate a new religion, and armed at the same time with a resistless sword to compel the acceptance of it. Amidst

the innumerable histories already in existence of Mohammed and Mohammedism, a concise sketch from my pen, prefatory to the narrative of the Moslem invasions of India, of that false prophet's character, his views, and incipient progress, will I presume, be deemed amply sufficient.

Without the advantage of science and education, yet possessing distinguished natural talents and strong intellectual endowments, this prince of impostors, this singular compound of vice and fanaticism, whose juvenile years were passed in mercantile occupation, and who, in that employ had repeatedly travelled through Palestine, Syria, and visited most of the great commercial cities in that part of Asia, had early acquired, on the great theatre of active life, a species of wisdom far superior to what books could have taught him, or the ablest masters of Asia have instilled. He seems also, to have inherited from nature, an ardent enthusiastic spirit, and an undaunted courage to accomplish whatever he cautiously but resolutely projected. In the course of his travels and of considerable dealings with merchants of other countries and religions, Mohammed had obtained so deep an insight into mankind, and had taken such a comprehensive view of their religious prejudices and political opinions, as rendered him in a peculiar manner qualified for the arduous undertaking in which he had determined to embark. By an union, however forced and unnatural, in one comprehensive code of the leading principles and tenets of all the heretical sects among Jews, and Christians, by a reverential acknowledgment of the high prophetic office and character of Moses and Christ, by an artful selection and insertion, in various parts of that code, of many of the sublimest passages contained in the sacred volumes of those people; by affecting, at the same time, strenuously to inculcate as the fundamental basis of his religion, the doctrine of the UNITY OF GOD, and yet by luxurious descriptions of a paradise, artfully accommodated to the licentious conceptions of the Eastern sensualist, insidiously

attempting to win over to his scheme the Pagan idolater, by these combined efforts, he hoped to collect, and in a short time he did collect under the ample banners of Mohammedism, multitudes of every varying creed from the remotest regions of Asia. For those incorrigible sinners who obstinately rejected its proffers and resisted its allurements, the sword of temporal vengeance was wide unsheathed, and offended Heaven, by the voice of its chosen prophet, thundered out their damnation in the most dreadful anathemas. Being elevated to sudden independence, by an union with one of the noblest and richest families of Mecca, the hitherto repressed flame of ambition and fanaticism, his leading characteristics, at once blazed out, and though the false prophet himself was so utterly illiterate, that he could neither read nor write, yet by the secret assistance, as has been fully proved, of two eminently learned persons, his tools in this dark business, the one named Abdollah, an apostate Jew, a native of Persia, well versed in the abstrusest mysteries of the Talmud, and the other styled by Christian writers, Sergius, a Nestorian monk, intimately acquainted with all the heresies and divisions at that time prevalent in the Christian world; with this aid he composed that inconsistent but elegant jargon of discordaat doctrines, denominated the Coran; a work which, with shameless effrontery, he affirmed, was penned by the finger of God, and brought, in detached portions, from the golden table, deposited, for eternal ages, by his throne in the highest heaven.* The better to veil his deep-laid plot, against the liberty of his country and the government of Asia, for a considerable time previous to the public avowal of his apostolic mission, he affected the seclusion and austerity of the ancient prophets, and retired from all intercourse with human society, to the gloom of a cavern on Mount Hara, about a league from Mecca, in the sacred silence of that solitude to meditate on

* Consult Sale's Preliminary Discourse to his Translation of the Coran, Vol. I. page 85.

and mature the mighty project of glory and aggrandizement. The subsequent exploits of this great but wicked man, have, as before remarked, been the theme of so many able pens; his fraudful and impudentim postures as a *theologue*, his sagacious plans as a *politician*, and his brilliant feats as a *warrior*, from the æra of that retirement, or rather, of his compelled flight from Mecca, denominated by Arabian writers, the HEGIRA, and which it is of material importance the reader should bear in recollection, took place, according to the most correct calculations of their chronologers, on the 16th of July, A. D.* 622, to his decease ten years after, or in A. D. 632,† have been so repeatedly detailed, and in such masterly strains of eloquence, by Christian writers of the most distinguished rank and talents, that it is entirely unnecessary for me to tread over again the beaten ground of his triumphs, and those of his immediate successors, on the plains of Asia and Afric. Those that are directly or collaterally connected with India have alone, any claim to consideration in this history, and they open, indeed, a vast and varied field for our contemplation. Of the transactions of the Arabians in that secluded region, I shall endeavour to sketch the great outline, and delineate the striking features only, leaving the disgusting minutiæ of innumerable inferior battles and massacres to be recorded by those who may take more delight than myself, in enumerating the sanguinary atrocities of the most barbarous despots, in the whole catalogue of Asiatic conquerors.

The intimate connection of India with Persia, or rather the compelled dependence, for a series of ages, under the Parthian and Sassanian dynasties, of the former on the latter empire, renders it necessary, in the survey which we are about to take of the Mohammedan conquests in the more eastern districts of Asia, for their triumphs in the South only collaterally affected India, that the

* See Ismael Abulfeda in Vitâ Mohammed, cap. xxii. p. 45; and Ulug Beg's Epochæ Celebriores, p. 8. † Ismael Abulfeda, cap. lxii. p. 136.

reader's eye should be directed to the earliest exploits of their generals in Iran, so immediately introductory to their achievements on the plains of India. The vigour in arms and counsel, of the great Chosru Parviz, had succeeded in partly restoring that empire to its ancient height of power and grandeur; but the subsequent and repeated attacks of Heraclius had again shaken it to its very centre, and eventually produced the dethronement and murder of that sovereign, by the parricidal arm of his son Siroes. A rapid succession of princes, pusillanimously weak, or desperately wicked, had succeeded Chosru on that throne, till the first invasion of it by the Arabs, which, though generally assigned to a later period, in the caliphate of Omar, certainly took place in the first year of Abubeker, the successor of Mohammed. The fertile and beautiful domains not less than the enormous accumulated wealth of the Persian monarchs, stimulated the needy wanderers of the Arabian desart, thus early to attempt the subjugation of that country; at the same time the Sabian idolatries, to which both prince and people were so grossly addicted, excited their indignation, and inflamed their ardour to banish from the earth, the celebration of its splendid, but nefarious rites. Irak, or Assyria, was a part of that vast empire nearest their own territory, and was first assailed. The march of the Arabians was rapid and triumphant, till they reached the Euphrates, where it was found necessary to throw a bridge over that river, in order to attack the Persian army encamped in the neighbourhood of Babylon; but the vigilance of Ferokhzad, the Persian general, frustrated their efforts, by suddenly attacking the Arab troops that guarded it, and setting fire to the vessels that composed it. The invaders, intimidated by this act of vigour, began a cautious retreat; in that retreat, their supplies of provision were cut off; the Persian cavalry attacked them on all sides; and they were put to a total rout.* The defeated army returned to the frontiers of Syria,

* Mirkhond in Texeira, p. 97. D'Herbelot, Article Touran Dokht.

where they were met by powerful reinforcements, and after a short interval, returned to the field with rekindled ardour and spirit. In this second attack, they were opposed by a Persian nobleman of high rank, named Alharzaman, at the head of a still more formidable army; but the Persian troops were unable to stand before the impetuous onset of the Mussulman army, stung with the shame of recent defeat, and filled with holy indignation against the worshippers of fire. In the end, the former were utterly routed, and Alharzaman himself, and the greater part of his troops, in their precipitate flight, were cut to pieces

At this period, the Persians owned for their sovereign a queen named Arzema Dokht, who, however qualified, by abilities beyond the common lot of her sex, for the internal controul of the empire, could not be supposed to possess that active martial genius which the present exigency of public affairs required. The very name of a woman governing, seemed to imply irresolution and debility; the majesty of the throne, and the glory of the temple were gradually expiring; and therefore to restore the fading lustre of both, Arzema was, by the unanimous voice of the nation, deposed, and a grandson of Chosroes, though quite a youth, invested with the tiara.

Yezdegerd, the last sovereign of that illustrious dynasty, which had now weilded the imperial sceptre for nearly four hundred years, ascended the throne, when only fifteen years old, and according to Alwakidi, and the most esteemed chronologers of Asiatic events, consulted by Ockley, about the close of the same year in which Abubeker succeeded to that, which on the ruins of the Arabian liberty and government, but without assuming a regal diadem, Mohammed had erected at Mecca.* In consequence of the inexperienced

* Consult Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, Vol. I. p. 113, and Eutychii Annales, Vol. II. p. 256. The famous æra of Yezdegerd commenced, according to Ockley, who has, in this place, corrected an anachronism in both Abulfaragius and Al Makin, in the eleventh year of the Hegira, and on the 16th of that very month, on the 7th

age of Yezdegerd, the future conduct of the war was committed to a general of high renown, and of as celebrated a name, if it were not a name common to all the more illustrious warriors of Persia, from the time of the great Cyrus, ROSTAM. Rostam, if not wholly deserving of that distinguished appellation, as a conqueror, seems to have done all, notwithstanding some insinuations of Oriental writers to the contrary, that in the languishing debilitated state of that empire, could be effected. Collecting together an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, he met the enemy, whose number amounted to only thirty thousand men, but men whose sinews, like their sabres, were steel, and headed by Saad, a general to whom fear was unknown, and gave them battle, on the vast plains of Cadesia, a city bordering on the desert of Irak, where was maintained for three successive days, one of the most prolonged and bloody conflicts that was ever witnessed in Asia, or ever decided the doom of a great empire.

In the course of those three days, sixty thousand Persians are said by Al Makin, who is unusually minute in his account of this battle, to have perished by the sabres of the Arabians; the latter confess, that not less than seven thousand five hundred of the true believers were slain in this decisive engagement.* The battle of Cadesia put them in possession of the whole of the important province of Irak; and the city of Bassora, immediately erected on the western bank of the great river formed by the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, at once secured its dependence, and commanded its commerce.†

Animated, rather than satiated with the survey of the immense

of which, the impostor himself died, viz. the 16th of June, A. D. 632, in which Abubeker began his short reign of only two years. But the event of the first Arabian invasion of Persian Irak, is by the two Oriental historians last mentioned, placed two years later, or in A. D. 634, and as observed in the text, under the caliphate of Omar.

* Al Makin, Hist. Saracen. p. 25. † Ibid. p. 27.

booty already acquired by their lawless and unprovoked irruption, after a short period of necessary repose, and after having been again re-inforced by fresh battalions, the holy banditti pressed forward with all the celerity, inspired by the mingled impulse of enthusiasm and avarice, to Ctesiphon, or as the Orientals term it, Al Madayn, the noble, the unrivalled, the yet unconquered capital of Persia. Their name and barbarities had already diffused such terror through all its provinces, so abject was the spirit, and of so venal a stamp the patriotism of the governors of the intermediate cities and forts, that scarcely a lance was raised, or an arrow hurled to oppose their desolating progress through the heart of that beautiful country. When this devouring army of human locusts reached Ctesiphon, they found that the royal family, apprized of their approach, and struck with horror and dismay, had fled with the greatest part of the imperial treasures, from its splendid palace, to the rugged recesses of the Median mountains; nor did the valiant and wealthy citizens that guarded its gates, give them that ready admittance, which they had promised to themselves, within its lofty walls. Unskilled in the arts of defence, their opposition was fruitless, and only served as an excuse to the irritated soldiers, when by an united and vigorous assault they had carried the ramparts, to spread wider the torrent of destruction, and die their sabres deeper in Persian blood. It is impossible to describe the infinite wealth of every various kind which recompensed the warlike toils of the victors, on the capture of this vast and magnificent metropolis; the quantity of gold and silver in bullion and coined money, which Yezdegerd was unable to transport into Media; the costly furniture, rich carpets, and beautiful tapestry, displaying the most brilliant dies, and the most elaborate efforts of the looms of India and Persia; cabinets of all the precious woods; curious vases of agate and crystal, studded with gems, found in the palace of the Great King, and the rich silks and other objects of barter that crowded the overflowing warehouses of

the merchants. In short, the whole wealth of the monarch and the nobility centered there, and enriched the victors beyond all the limits of calculation.*

Such are the accounts of the Arabian writers, and we shall be little inclined to doubt their verity, if we, on the other hand, turn to the page of D'Herbelot, and peruse what is there extracted by that author, from Mirkhond and other native Persian historians, of the immense sums laid out upon, as well as treasured up, in the vaults of the palace by Chosru, surnamed Parviz, the magnificent predecessor of Yezdegerd, who adorned it with all the spoils of his conquests in Egypt, Syria, and the islands of the Mediterranean. This ostentatious monarch is said, to have disposed the upper part of this palace in the form of a throne, elevated aloft on many thousand columns of silver, from which he gave public audience to the ambassadors that flocked to Ctesiphon from the most distant regions. The concave dome above was decorated with a thousand globes of

* Ismael Abulfedæ Annales Muslemicæ, p. 69; et Al Makin, Hist. Saracen. p. 26. For the reader's gratification, I insert below the account of the latter, which probably contains no exaggerated detail of the pomp and splendour of the Persian sovereigns, and certainly will impress him with no contemptible idea of the Persian artists and manufacturers.

Eodem hoc anno occupavit Saadus Medajinam Cosroæ, transiitque ipse et Muslimi Madajinam, et potiti sunt omnibus et opibus thesauris Cosroæ: dicunturque invenisse millies mille millia aureorum: inveneruntque domum in qua corbes erant vestiti plumbo, in quibus vasa erant aurea et argentea. Invenerunt et domum plenum camphora, quam Muslimi rati sal esse, in fermento usurparunt, unde amarus erat panis. Invenerunt et coronam Cosroæ, et vestimenta ejus auro intexta, et gemmis plumata: item loricas Cosroæ, et galeas ejus: nec non velum portici; ex quo à Saïdo lacerato, exierunt mille drachmarum millia: valebat autem quæque drachma 10 stateres. Invenerunt et tapetum sericum 60 cubitos longum, et totidem latum; in quo figuræ et gemmæ erant instar florum: in margine ejus tanquam terra erat, consita herbis et plantis, ad modum herbarum terræ, tempore veris, facta gemmis, auro, atque argento. Cumque ad Omarem pervenissent, discidit eam, atque distribuit Muslimis: contigitque Ali pars, quam vendidit viginti millibus; neque ea tamen erat ex optimis.

gold, wherein all the planets, and great constellations, were seen to perform their natural revolutions; all the walls of this sumptuous place being covered with tapestry, wrought with gold flowers, and enriched with pearls and other precious stones. Underneath the palace he had an hundred vaults filled with treasure; and when the tyrant was, in consequence of his extortions and cruelty deposed, he was confined in one of those vaults, that he might continually contemplate the cause of his ruin, and, while bending under the weight of golden chains, might acknowledge how inadequate to confer happiness, or assuage despair, were the accumulated treasures of a rifled world.*

After the sack and plunder of Al Madayn, the victorious army pursued their march into the interior provinces, where the governors, terrified by their numbers and the fate of their capital, every where opened the gates of the cities and castles, and many of them readily consented to save their lives and property, by embracing the Mohammedan religion. Of this short and simple creed, required to be confessed and adhered to—"THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD; AND MOHAMMED IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD;" of this holy sentence, or apothegm, which immediately constituted him who pronounced it a member of the Mohammedan church, converted the most detested enemy into the firmest friend, and exalted the meanest slave to the rank of a brother, the former part contained a truth already deeply engraved on the heart of the better educated among the Persians, who, under the symbol of FIRE, worshipped none other than the only living and true God, *that answereth by fire;* in respect to the axiom contained in the latter portion of that sentence, a rational persuasion, at least, of its verity, might arise in any cool dispassionate mind, that, ignorant of the insidious and fraudful means by which the impostor had first propagated his doctrines, deliberately reflected on the sudden and wide diffusion of his faith, and the

* See D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orient. Art. Khosru ben Hormouz.

astonishing and almost miraculous success of the Mussulman arms. The concise, yet energetic simplicity of this creed, inculcating solely a firm belief in the first great principle of natural religion, and the sanctity of the character that promulged it, contributed, not less than the sword by which it was enforced, to render it embraced, with little reluctance, by those philosophic minds that despised the popular worship of images, and observed the venal prostitution of the idolatrous priests, and the sanguinary, though often splendid, rites that polluted the pagan temples. In this degraded state of all the ancient religions of Asia, the times seemed to require, the expanding faculties of the human mind, to demand the public avowal of a religious code, at least more enlightened than the blind and bloody Pagan system, which still delighted in the barbarity of human victims, agonizing on the altars of the Persian Mithra, and the Indian Seeva!

Mohammed's penetrating eye saw this, and his daring genius created and promulgated that code. Though scarcely a ray of genuine Christianity emaned through the gross darkness that clouds the Coran, yet, as it professed a veneration for the Hebrew patriarchs, and exalts on high the prophetic character of Christ, neither Jews nor Christians were greatly alarmed at the first propagation of its heterogeneous dogmas. By the Pagans, the new code was received with avidity; nor, replete as it was, with sounding promises of high rewards in this life, and liberal in its proffers of infinitely greater, in that which is to succeed, in a Paradise well understood and well relished by the luxurious progeny of Asia, can it excite wonder, that both in Persia and India, Islamism soon obtained a multitude of proselytes. When once obtained, too, the fidelity and attachment of those proselytes were inviolably secured, since inevitable death, temporal and eternal, is the dreadful doom, denounced by the Coran against those who relapse into their pristine error. One of the most illustrious of its converts at this period was

Harmozan, a Persian nobleman, who governed the province of Chuzestan, the ancient Susiana, which he for some time vigorously defended against the invaders; but this satrap, in the end was conquered, sent prisoner to Mecca to do homage to Omar, converted, and received an ample stipend from the caliph, in reward of that conversion. After the capture of Susa, a noble, but not in these times, an imperial, city, Hamadan, Ispahan, what *was* Persepolis, and all the other renowned cities and palaces of the great SHAHINSHAH, or *king of kings*, successively became the prey of the victors. The stupendous ruins of Istakar impressed them with no awe; nor were the tombs of the Chosroes sacred from their ravages.*

In the mean time, the unfortunate Yezdegerd was collecting together in Media, the scattered remains of the Persian army; the Magi sounded their sacred trumpets in the ancient seat of the religion of Zerdusht;† and the imperial banners, displayed on the surrounding eminences, summoned the youth of Persia to the instant defence of all that remained to them venerable in the sacred, or valuable in the civil institutions of their valiant, forefathers. The struggle was made with vigour and enthusiasm; but the fatal termination of the battle of Julula, fought exactly nine months after the reduction of Al Madayen, too manifestly declared, that the SUN of Persia was for ever set. Yezdegerd, who though still young, had in that battle, performed the duties of a great king and a brave commander, after its inglorious issue, continued his flight, together with the royal family, first to Parthia, whence, after a short stay, not thinking himself secure even there, from the pursuing foe, he pressed on to the great range of mountains that rise on the most

* Abulfedæ Annal. Moslem, Tom. I. p. 249, ad Annum Hegiræ 21, A. D. 641.

† It was in a cavern of the Median mountains, that Zerdusht celebrated the first rites of his religion. See Porphyry De Antro Nympharum, p. 256. See, also, Indian Antiquities, on this interesting subject, Vol. II. p. 298; first edition.

northern frontiers of his dominion. The province of Fargana, on the distant Jaxartes, next received the fugitive monarch; here he was received by the Scythian sovereign, named Tarkhan, with respect and hospitality, and hence he solicited succours of the sovereigns of Turkestan and Sogdiana, who, touched with compassion, at the misfortunes of so great a prince, prepared an army to reinstate him on the throne of his ancestors. He is even asserted by M. De Guignes, from his Oriental authorities, to have sent a solemn embassy to the remote, but at that time powerful, emperor of China, stating his calamities, and imploring his assistance.* But while Yezdegerd was supplicating foreign aid, some of his more zealous and faithful subjects at home, deriving resolution from despair, had united from various and distant quarters at Nehavend, a city of Farsistan, advantageously situated on a hill, fourteen parasangs south of Hamadan, to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men, and were determined to make one grand and final effort to save from utter extinction the sacred flame, and from irretrievable ruin the sinking empire. The battle of Nehavend, is an event greatly celebrated in the annals of the Arabs. It proved extremely obstinate and bloody, and lasted, according to Al Makin, for *three* successive days, on the last of which the Moslems proved completely victorious, and drove their antagonists with immense slaughter from the last field, in which the Persians were ever able to make head against their cruel despoilers.† Al Nooman, who commanded the Mohammedan army, one of their bravest generals, and (what was

* De Guignes Hist. des Huns, Tom. I. p. 64.

† Al Makin, Hist. Saracen. p. 29. The circumstance of another Persian engagement like that of Cadesia, lasting *three days*, induces me to cite the original passage, that I may not appear to have confounded the events:

Hoc anno gestum est bellum Nahawendicum, cum enim ibi convenissent Persæ, accessit ad eos Nuamanus, filius Macrani, cum magno Muslimorum exercitu, qui, commisso prælio, intra TRIDUUM est occisus, et successit ei Hodaifas, filius Jamani. Tandem vicerunt Muslimi, et Infideles in fugam versi sunt, multis eorum occisis.

then esteemed more honourable than all warlike laurels) A COMPANION OF THE PROPHET, fell in this action, but his post was quickly and ably filled by Hodaifa Ebn Yaman, who following up this important and decisive blow, made all Persia bow to the Saracen yoke, except the two remote dependent provinces of Kerman and Sejestan, whose governors preserved their loyalty unshaken, and for a series of years held out against all the forces sent against them, giving occasional protection to their persecuted sovereign, and regularly remitting to him their respective revenues; but these also were in the end compelled submissively to bend before the growing power of that mighty colossus, whose gigantic shadow already darkened the half of Asia.

To conclude the mournful narrative of royal woe; Yezdegerd with the few nobles and a part of the army that still remained attached to his cause, had retired into Chorasan, and kept up for many years, in that remote province, the parade of a court, and the shadow of imperial grandeur. He was, however, little better than a vassal among those Sogdian and Turkish tribes, the descendants of the Massagetæ, who had ever been the sworn enemies of the Persian empire. But the degraded and exiled state of Yezdegerd had disarmed their fury, and they afforded protection where they could no longer injure or insult. The Arab invaders of Persia were also in too great strength to be attacked, either with the view of replacing Yezdegerd on the throne, or of seizing the kingdom for themselves. In one of the few cities that yet remained to him, called Meru al Roud, or *Meru on the river*, i. e. the Oxus, to distinguish it from another Meru in the same province of Chorasan, a formidable insurrection broke out, headed by the governor himself, and the rebels had called in a neighbouring tribe of Turks to support them in their opposition to the regal authority; so that when Yezdegerd, with his small army arrived to suppress the insurgents, he found the swords of his new but perfidious allies, turned against him in a battle in

which he was defeated, and that army put to a total rout. This is one account of the Arabian historians, but by others it is recorded,* that by repeated solicitation, he at length prevailed on the king of Turkestan to accompany him at the head of a large army, for the recovery of the throne of Persia; that in their progress towards Persia, his own army having considerably increased in numbers, Yezdegerd thought himself sufficiently powerful to act without the assistance of a sovereign whose views he secretly suspected, and sought some frivolous pretext to dismiss the auxiliaries, which so enraged the Turkish king, that incited by an ungrateful traitor of the name of Mahwa, who had formerly been a servant of Yezdegerd, he fell with his whole force upon the Persians, entirely defeated them, and compelled the king to seek his safety in precipitate flight. In that flight, he arrived faint and exhausted with fatigue, on the banks of a river, where he found a fisherman, or as some authors have it, a miller, with his boat, to whom, in the anguish of his soul, he offered his rings, his bracelets, and other regal ornaments, for that immediate transportation which could alone save him from the fury of the pursuing foe. While the unfeeling brute hesitated to ferry him over, because his exact fare in as many pieces of current silver was not offered to him, the Turkish cavalry galloped up, and being too well acquainted with his person, with their scymeters immediately dispatched the unhappy monarch, who thus, like the unfortunate Darius, prematurely perished by the hands of vulgar assassins, in the 35th year of his age, and in the nineteenth of his *reign*, if a long succession of the most disastrous incidents that ever fell to the lot of man, may be thus denominated.†

This event is fixed by Al Makin and Abulfeda, to the thirty-first

* Both accounts are given by Abulfeda, Annales Muslemici, Tom. I. p. 267, ad annum Hegiræ 31.

† Ockley's History of the Saracens, Vol. I. p. 329, ubi supra.

year of the Hegira, or A. D. 651, in which very year, by the command of the new caliph Osman, third in succession to Mohammed, Abdallah Ebn Omar, governor of Bassora, and Said Ebn Al As, by different routes penetrated and conquered Chorasan itself, Osman having, to excite a spirit of emulation in those generals, promised the government of that noble province, or rather extensive kingdom, the ancient Bactria, as the reward of his valour, who should first enter and subdue it. The prize was won by Abdallah, who never checked his impetuous career till, as Al Makin expresses himself, *he had drank out of the river of Balkh*,* its capital, washed by a branch of the Oxus. Thus in the short period of thirty-one years, were the vast empires of Persia, of Egypt, and Syria, in addition to the three Arabias, subjugated to the successors of the miserable Exile, who at that short distance of time, had with such difficulty escaped with life from his native city of Mecca. But beyond the Oxus, lay the immensely rich and flourishing kingdom of Mawralnahr literally the *country beyond the river*, and as the sense is correctly conveyed by the less grating word Transoxiana, I shall in general use that classic term in the very frequent mention which must be made of it in these pages. Arabian ambition could not rest satisfied unless Transoxiana, also, were desolated by the scourge of its arms, nor its avarice appeased without the plunder of its unbounded wealth.

Of the magnitude and importance of the country thus denominated, we shall best be able to form an accurate judgment, by tracing its geographical outlines, and we shall most correctly perform that task, by consulting the Oriental geographers themselves. Transoxiana properly speaking, signifies the vast tract of country lying between the Oxus or Gihon, and the ancient Jaxartes, the modern Sihun, or Sir, and stretches from 34 to 44 degrees of north latitude,

* Al Makin, Historia Saracenica, p. 37; and Abulfedæ Annal. Muslem. in loco ante citat.

and from 92 to 107 degrees of longitude, comprehending a square of nearly 600 miles. On the north it is bounded by the great empire of Turkestan, or ancient Scythia; by the kingdom of Tibet on the east; India and Persia form its southern, and Charazm its western frontier. It is the Turan of the Persian, and the Sogdiana of the classical, geographers, and is at present more generally known to us by the name of Great Bokharia; though that kingdom, as now governed by its own Uzbek khans, is still more extensive than ever was Mawaralnahr, properly so called, and comprehends, within its expanded limits, at once the Sogdiana and Bactriana of the ancients. In fact also, these provinces, conjointly formed the empire of the great Samanian dynasty, whose exploits we are shortly about to notice, as that from which germinated the formidable race of Gaznavide conquerors of India. The reader has already been presented with a description of the fertile and beautiful province of Bactriana or Chorasan; and Sogdiana is blest with nearly the same delicious climate, romantic aspect, and luxurious productions; the lofty mountains being clothed with woods or rich in minerals, the vallies abundant in every species of grain and pasturage, that nourish innumerable herds of the finest cattle; and the noble rivers swarming with various kinds of fish of the most excellent flavour. The sky is perpetually serene, the greatest part of this region lying in the same latitude with Italy, though from its great elevation, the air is more cold and bracing to the less enervated inhabitant. Its classical appellation is still retained, in that of the beautiful *valley of Sogd*, one of the paradises of the Asiatics, and the favourite theme of every Oriental muse. It is, says Sir William Jones, an hundred and twenty miles in length, sixty in breadth, and a large river, named CAI, rolls through it, which branches into a thousand clear streams, that water the gardens and cultivated lands, with which the whole of the valley is covered.* In the centre of this valley, and according to Ebn

* Description of Asia, prefixed to Nader Shah, p. 23.

Haukal*, on the southern bank of the river, stands the noble city of Samarcand, the ancient Maracanda, and said to have been built by Alexander the Great, when he pursued hither the vanquished and flying Bactrians. Samarcand, according to Abulfeda's tables, is situated in latitude 40°, and in longitude 89; † its true latitude, however, from more correct observation, is known to be 41° 20′, and its longitude 95°, and was the ancient imperial residence of the kings of Mawaralnahr, till the Samanian family removed the court to Bokhara. It is represented by Ebn Haukal, as having a castle of great strength, a sumptuous mosque, splendid palaces, shaded with trees of unfading verdure, spacious streets, and bazars crowded with the richest merchandize of the East; its whole circuit to a vast extent being encompassed with a deep ditch and lofty walls, with towers ranging at equal distances, and fortified with gates of iron. ‡ But the period of that traveller's visit to Samarcand, was not the æra of its proudest glory. In the reign of Timur, who made it the capital of his immense empire, we shall again have occasion to speak of its magnificence.

At the distance of seven days journey from Samarcand, we approach the city of Bokhara, the residence of the sovereign in our author's time, encompassed for many miles with groves, gardens,

* See Ebn Haukal's Geography by Sir W. Ouseley, p. 252. This eminent Arabian geographer, who in the tenth century visited this city, and many others in the Higher Asia, which he describes, has given a very minute and interesting description of the famous *Soghd of Samarcand*, as it was in his day, which may now be read by the curious reader in his native tongue. Abulfeda, and all the preceding writers in geography, have borrowed largely from this excellent work, and Sir William has very truly remarked, that he who has made copious extracts from the former, has imperceptibly transcribed no inconsiderable portion of Ebn Haukal. The literary world are infinitely obliged to him for the laudable and laborious work of translating him.

† Chorasmiæ et Mawaralnahræ Descriptio, ex Tabulis Abulfedæ, p. 30; edit. Graves, 1750.

‡ Ebn Haukal, p. 212, 213.

and orchards; and watered by the same clear and beautiful river that meanders amid the pastures and bowers of Samarcand. Its latitude, as given in the tables of Abulfeda,* is 39° 20′, the longitude 70° 50′; the former is nearly correct, but the latter is very erroneous, it being in reality no more than 65° 50′. The castle, with its ramparts, in which the Samanian princes resided, its grand mosque and celebrated bazar, the centre of the trade of the Higher Asia, are particularly noticed by Ebn Haukal.† Bokhara being situated, like Samarcand, on a plain, and consequently more easily accessible to an invading enemy, was inclosed within two strong walls, flanked with bastions; the inner wall had seven gates, the outer had twelve, and the walls themselves, were no doubt, of height and magnitude proportioned to the dignity and importance of the place.

Next to Samarcand and Bokhara, the city of most importance is Fargana, placed by Abulfeda‡ in latitude 42° 20′, the capital of an ample and fertile province of the same name, containing numerous towns and villages.§ It is mentioned as situated on a plain, by the side of a river, and as possessing the usual appendages of great Eastern cities, the palace for the governor, the castle for defence, the mosque for religion, and fortified walls of great extent; groves of the loveliest verdure, and gardens of the sweetest fragrance. This was the city to which, we have seen in a preceding page, the ill-fated Yezdegerd fled for protection from his pursuing Arabian foe; and it is of honourable record as having been the birth place of the celebrated astronomer who from it bears the name of Alfargani. Fargana abounds with the richest mineral productions, gold, silver, copper, and other ores. Torquoise stones and sal-ammoniac are also found in its mountains, and fountains of

* Abulfedæ Chorasmia, &c. p. 28. † Geography, p. 243. ubi supra.

‡ Abulfedæ Chorasmia, &c. p. 37.

§ Ebn Haukal, p. 270. The capital is mentioned here by another name, that of AKHSIKIT. But by Sir W. Jones it is expressly noticed as a city.

burning naphta invite thither the persecuted remains of the Magian sect. Cash, the birth place of the great Timur, is a pleasant city, one days journey from Samarcand; and Naksheb, supposed by D'Anville to be the ancient Nautica,* though, in our author's time, from neglect, its citadel was in ruins, still bore the evident vestiges of its former strength and magnificence.†

Termed, the Oxain of the Greeks, situated on the banks of the Oxus, and in all ages the great passage of that river between Balkh and Mawralnahr, is also a considerable city, very populous, and strongly fortified, for the purpose of defending that passage, with a castle and ramparts. Zamin, is remarkable for producing the finest manna of Asia; and Osrunah, for being the capital of a district that has four hundred towns in it.‡

Thus full of strong cities, and warlike soldiers to defend them, was Mawralnahr at the time of the Mohammedan irruption into its borders; but apparent obstacles to conquest served only to inflame the zeal and courage of those fierce invaders. The love of plunder stimulated them not less than the thirst of glory, for abundant as, we have seen, was this fertile and beautiful country in wealth of every varied species, in mines of gold, of silver, of copper, of quicksilver; rich in gems,§ in silk, in wool, in sal-ammoniac, in the finest manna, and all the rare and delicious productions of the field and the garden; the centre also of the vast commerce

* D'Anville's Ancient Geography, p. 509. † Ibid, p. 260.

‡ See Sir W. Jones's Description of Asia. p. 24.

§ On this subject peruse the following beautiful stanza:

Sweet maid, if thou would'st charm my sight,
And bid these arms thy neck enfold,
That rosy cheek, that lily hand,
Would give thy poet more delight,
Than all Bokhara's vaunted GOLD,
Than all the GEMS of Samarcand.

Sir William Jones's Asiatic Poems, P. 59.

carried on between India and Persia with Russia, China, and to the very northern extremities of Asia, and the thronged resort of the richest merchants of the earth, whose palaces and whose revenues rivalled those of princes, it held out to the Arabian generals no scanty or ignoble spoil. The alluring bait was greedily swallowed, and their rapacious bands rapidly crossing the Oxus, soon poured through her valleys the yell and devastation of war, and fired the groves of the paradise of Asia. But before we proceed to the detail of those disastrous events, it is necessary that we should take a geographical survey of another celebrated and wealthy country in this region of Asia. This country, little known to European geographers, but the scene of many of the most interesting transactions recorded in the following pages, is Chowarazm, or Charasm, numbered, for convenience, by Ebn Haukal, among the provinces of Mawralnahr, though it does not, in fact, belong to it: I shall, however, adopt Ebn Haukal's plan, by describing in this place that remote kingdom, and to his account of it I shall add that of Abulghazi Bahadur, its proper khan in the last century, who must be best acquainted with its history, and that account therefore cannot fail of being more interesting and authentic than any other.

Charasm, or Charism, as the word is sometimes written, the Chorasmia of Ptolemy, stands on both sides of the Oxus, and belongs partly to Iran, and partly to Mawralnahr. It lies between the 38th and 43d degrees of north latitude, and is bounded on the north by Turkestan, by Chorasan, on the south, on the east by the Transoxan provinces, on the west by the sea of Mazenderan, or in other words, the Caspian sea, and is about eighty leagues square.* It may be useful here to premise a few particulars concerning the rise and course of the Oxus, or Jihon. This celebrated

* Sir W. Jones's Description of Asia, p. 20. Abulghazi Bahadur's Hist. Tatars, Vol. II. p. 419.

river, according to Ebn Haukal,* has its source in the territory of Bhadakshan, amidst those high mountains which separate the dominions of the Great Mogul from Grand Tartary, in latitude 39° 30′.† After traversing Great Bokharia, it enters Charasm, and there divides into two great branches, of which that on the left, pursuing a westerly course, discharges itself into the Caspian sea, in latitude 38° 20′; but the left hand branch, which formerly flowed by the walls of the capital, and thence into the Caspian, about twelve leagues to the north of the former, has, within a century and an half, deserted its ancient channel, and taking a north west direction, has mingled its waters with those of the Daria, or Khesell, considerably enlarging the current of that smaller river. The Daria formerly discharged itself into the Caspian, but the Uzbeck Tartars, now lords of Charasm, jealous of the efforts of the Russians to penetrate into the heart of their country by that route, have of recent years diverted its current, and caused it to descend by three channels, cut with great labour, into the lake of Arroll. In consequence of the Jihon having thus deserted its ancient bed, both Corcang and all the cities situated on its borders, have been left desolate and dispeopled, and their once beautiful districts converted into a cheerless sandy desert.‡ Let us return from tracing the river, to the country watered by it.

Its capital, called by the Persians Corcang, but now Urgens, is situated on the west of the Oxus, which in this place bends its course to the north, and is placed in Abulfeda's tables in latitude 42° 17′, and in longitude 85°.§ Its more ancient appellation was doubtless that of the province, and it was in those remote periods to which we allude a place of very considerable importance, and drove a great traffic in all the articles of Eastern merchandize with the provinces situated to the west of the Caspian sea, from whose eastern

* Ebn Haukal's Geography, p. 238.
† Abulghazi Bahadur, Vol. II. p. 444.
‡ Abulghazi Bahadur, Vol. II. p. 449.
§ Abulfedæ Chorasmia, p. 10.

bank it is situated twenty-five German leagues. It is famous for its fine fruits, particularly its arbusses, or water melons, of the most delicious flavour, which are in high request at the courts of all the great Asiatic princes. It produces also, in great quantities, raw silk and saffron. The period of its proudest magnificence was during the reign of the great sultan Mohammed, whose throne was subverted by Gengis Khan, in A. D. 1221; and we may form some judgment of the strength and populousness of this great city, when we read in Oriental writers that it stood out a seven months vigorous siege of the Mogul army, and that when it was at length taken by storm, no less than one hundred, some authors affirm, two hundred thousand, persons perished by the sword of the besiegers.* Its inhabitants seem in every age to have been as brave as they are said to have been beautiful; they distinguished themselves above all the Asiatic legions during the crusades; and for their resolute resistance to the forces of Timur, in 1388, that unsparing conqueror ordered Charasm, to be razed to its very foundations, and the site of it to be sown with barley.* Timur three years afterwards in a fit of remorse, ordered it to be rebuilt and beautified anew, but it never recovered its ancient splendour; and the northern arm of the Oxus having, since that time, altered its course and left the city, close by the walls of which it used to roll towards the Caspian, deserted, Charasm has sunk to the level of a town of secondary note, while the country around, which was formerly remarkable for such luxuriant fertility, being deprived of its salubrious waters, is now little better than a sandy desert. Like Transoxiana itself, and all the neighbouring districts, it has long been in the possession of the Uzbeck Tartars.

Cath, or Khat, is the city of next importance in Charasm, and was formerly the capital, probably at that period when, as recorded

* Fadlallah in the life of Gengis, by De le Croix, p. 255.

† History of Timur Bec. Vol. I. p. 306.

by Abulfeda,* the waters of the Oxus, suddenly swelling to a great height, inundated and ruined Charasm. Cath is situated in latitude 41° 45′ on the north side of the river Daria, towards the frontier of Great Bokhara: though once a great and populous city, it is now greatly declined, and is only resorted to on account of the passage, at that place, over the Daria. Mankishlak, though only a small town, yet on account of its port, which is very magnificent, secure, and deep, and the only one to be found on all this coast of the Caspian sea, should not be passed over in silence. It lies on the north side of the southern branch of the river Oxus or Amu.

The province of Arroll also merits notice, as bestowing its name on the lake Arroll into which the Daria, increased by the waters of the Oxus, flows. The other cities of Charasm, though once populous and flourishing, at this day, owing to the different dispositions of the present, and the ancient inhabitants, the Usbecks being a predatory, wandering race, and not so much attached to agriculture, as plundering their more opulent neighbours, the Persians of Chorasan, are from neglect and the altered course of the Oxus, rapidly hurrying to decay.

Before we quit the geography of these northern districts, where, in the early periods of the Moslem glory, the potent monarchs of the Gaznavide, the Gauride, and Charasmian dynasties, erected their mighty thrones, it may not be amiss, as we are so near them, to add the description of the regions which conferred their names upon the two former of those dynasties. The first of them Gazna, is situated in the mountainous part of Chorasan, in the latitude of about 33°. Gazna is reckoned one of the four capital cities of Chorasan, each of which has been in its turn, the residence of its ancient kings, the other three being Balkh, Meru, and Nisapour. This is the account of the site of Gazna by Ebn Haukal and the editor of Abulghazi; but other Oriental geographers make it a city of

* Abulfedæ Chorasmia, p. 23.

Zablestan, and others of Candahar. It must be owned, however, that the boundaries of these frontier provinces between India and Persia, were perpetually varying under the successive conquerors of them, which may account for the disagreement. At the time when Ebn Haukal composed his geography, Gazna had by no means arrived at that point of celebrity among the cities of Asia, to which Mahmud, by making it the imperial residence in the following century, exalted it. He mentions it, however, as a city, "than which, of all the towns in the district of Balkh, none is more wealthy or commercial, being the pass or frontier of Hindostan." * Of the magnificent palace, in this metropolis of the Gaznavide sultans, its strong castle, its mosque of unequalled splendour, the innumerable bazars for its vast commerce, the baths, caravanseras, and other public edifices erected for purposes of state, or charity, occasionally mentioned in the history of those sultans, and owing their existence to the wealth of plundered India, amidst the ravages of war, and the revolutions of empires, no vestiges remain! The princes of the house of Gaur, when they succeeded to the crown of Gazna, exhausted all their fury on this unfortunate city. Alla, in particular, the uncle of Mohammed Ghori, according to Ferishta, denominated *the incendiary*,† after conquering Byram Shah, one of its latest monarchs, devoted it to flames, to rapine, and to devastation, during seven whole days, destroying even the tombs of its kings, and throwing fire into their very graves. It is said by Sir W. Jones, in the work to which we have had such frequent occasion to refer, to be in its present state "an unpleasant city, and that its inhabitants are obliged to send to Meimend for their fruits and herbage." ‡ To such a degraded condition is reduced the beloved, the imperial residence of the almost omnipotent Mahmud.

* Ebn Haukal's Geography, p. 226. Abulghazi Bahadur's Hist. of the Tartars Vol. II. p. 145. † Ferishta's Indian Hist. Vol. I. p. 128.

‡ Sir William Jones's Description of Asia. p. 7.

Gaur, or Ghor, the country probably meant by Polybius, when speaking of the expedition of Antiochus the Third, against Euthydemus, king of Bactria, by the name of Guria,* is a province and city, bordering on the Paropamisus, or Indian Caucasus, and is said by Ebn Haukal, to be a mountainous country, populous, and containing numerous running streams.† It is classed by this geographer among the cities of Chorasan; and Major Rennel assigns to it a situation south-west of Balkh,‡ the latitude about 34°. In Ebn Haukal's time, probably from the difficulty of access, this country does not seem to have been entirely subjugated by the Mohammedan arms, for he describes it as mostly inhabited by *infidels*. In fact, the famous Gauride dynasty did not erect their empire on the ruins of that of Gazna, till A. D. 1158, nearly two centuries, according to his editor's computation, after that geographer flourished. Governed for a series of ages by its own native independent princes, and for a time, being the capital of an immense empire, subject to the dynasty dignified by its name, Gaur was doubtless adorned with all the magnificent appendages of a splendid metropolis. Encircled also as it was with the craggy summits of those stupendous mountains that formed its ample barrier, it was less liable to the attacks of an invading enemy, than most of the other regal cities in this part of Asia; consequently its glory must have remained longer unimpaired. The Gauride sovereigns of India, when they removed the seat of empire to Lahore, for the sake of being nearer their valuable possessions in that quarter, gave a deadly blow to its greatness; and the terrible irruptions of Gengis and his Moguls, that turned the finest regions of Asia into a desert, finally completed the ruin of this ancient city. Having taken this survey of the scene of the transactions which we proposed to record, we proceed to a concise narration of the facts themselves.

* See D'Anville's Ancient Geography, p. 506. † Ebn Haukal's Oriental Geography, p. 226. ‡ Geography of Herodotus, p. 298.

The earliest irruption of the Arabs into the envied country beyond the Oxus, is recorded to have been made in the caliphate of Moawiyah, in the 54th year of the Hegira, or A. D. 673, by Obeidollah, the son of the famous Zeyd, governor of Bassora. He was appointed governor of Chorasan, by that caliph, when only twenty-five years old, and his impetuous valour urged him shortly after, to pass that frontier river, and lead the first Arabian army towards the plains of Bokharia. He was opposed by an army very considerable for numbers, but hastily collected, and far less skilled in military affairs than the Moslems, now inured to embattled plains, and well practised in all the manœuvres of war, as at that period conducted. The attack was made with irresistible fury, and the route of the astonished Bokharians was immediate and general. Their flight ceased not till they reached the hills that rise to the north of Bokharia. How precipitate that flight was, may be conjectured from the following curious anecdote, obtained by Ockley from the Oriental sources which he consulted. A queen then reigned over that kingdom, and so sudden was her retreat, that she had only time to put on one of her buskins. The other was left behind on the field, and became the property of the victor. It was so richly ornamented with diamonds, as alone to be valued at two thousand pieces of gold.* The particulars of the plunder of Bokhara are not given, but we may be certain, from the ferocious character of the invaders, that their ravages were dreadful, and from the known wealth of the capital, that the spoil obtained was enormous.

The next year Obeidollah was recalled by the caliph from Chorasan, and placed in the government of Bassora. He was, not long after, succeeded by his younger brother, Salem Ebn Zeyd, who, panting equally for glory and plunder, collected together the choicest troops in that region of Asia, and procuring for them the fleetest horses that could any where be found, made a fresh

* See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, Vol. II. p. 120; edit. 1757.

irruption into Mawralnahr, and penetrated quite to Samarcand. The sight of such innumerable bands of cavalry trampling down the groves, the gardens, and cultivated lands of the beautiful plains of Sogd, filled the inhabitants with terror and despair, as they had no adequate force to repel their savage inroads. They were glad, therefore, to purchase peace by freely surrendering the known object of those marauders, their gold and silver, to which the rich merchants of Samarcand contributed an ample proportion. But not satiated with this immense booty, the avarice of Salem descended to the mean robbery of the jewels that decorated the Sogdian crown. They were doubtless of the largest and fairest kind. Salem had taken with him his wife, at that time pregnant, (the first Arabian woman, say the annals, that ever passed the Oxus,) and she falling in labour, was delivered of a son in the Sogd of Samarcand, whence he was afterwards called *Al Sogdi.* At the time of her accouchement, she sent to the Sogdian princess to borrow her jewels, that there might be no deficiency of splendour at the festivity that celebrated the joyful event. The princess readily sent her her golden crown, which contained the finest she possessed. Neither the crown, however, nor the jewels were ever restored, but were carried away with the other spoil to Chorasan.*

Al Makin relates this affair in rather a different manner from the above account of Ockley. He acquaints us, that Salem detached his general Mohalleb, with a considerable part of his forces, against the queen of Bokhara, whom he calls KHATUN; † that this queen, far inferior to the Moslems in number of troops, called to her aid the Turkish king of Said, and promised him her hand in marriage, if success attended their conjoined forces. The Turkish sovereign accepted

* Ockley, Vol. II. p. 194, in an Extract from a MS. of Laud, at Oxford, numbered 161. A; and Al Makin, p. 63.

† This queen, probably, derived her name from Khata, an extensive region in this part of Asia. See Sir William Jones's Description of Asia, p. 26.

the invitation, and immediately marched to her assistance at the head of an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men. Mohalleb, though now far out-numbered, declined not an engagement; and the event was, that, after a long-fought and bloody battle, in which the king of Said died gallantly fighting in the cause of love and glory, the mussulmen were triumphant, and the opposing army completely routed.*

The kingdom of Charazm was too near, too rich, to be free from similar outrage and depredations. The principal wealth of the Charazmians, at that time, lay in the numerous herds of cattle, that fed in the luxuriant pastures of that fertile country. The undiscriminating barbarity of Arabian avarice, making no distinction between a *man* and a *beast*, assessed both men and cattle throughout the kingdom, at a certain sum per head, and Salem retired from its frontiers encumbered with a load of fifty millions. Of this sum, he appropriated a part to the recruiting of the provincial treasury, and sent the rest to Damascus, to be laid at the feet of Yezid, who, about this time, had succeeded his father, Moawiyah, in the caliphate. †

The countries thus rapidly subdued by the army of the earlier Arabian generals, in Transoxiana, were, probably, afterwards wrested from them, by the combined powers of the Turkish khans,

* Where the accounts of the Eastern writers differ, I shall occasionally insert the original that has the variety. Below is that of Al Makin:—

"Eodem anno præfecit Iezidus Chorasanæ Selimum filius Zeiadi, qui Naisaburum profectus, id cepit, et hinc Chouarazmam abiit, quam expugnavit quoque: et deinde Bocharam adiit et occupavit. Regebat hanc tunc temporis mulier quædam nomine Chatunis, quæ contra Muslimos auxilium imploravit Regis Saidæ, vicissim ei pollicens se nupturam ei esse: unde ad eam venit cum 120 millibus. Sed Selimus misit Mahlebum, filium Abusafræ contra Regem Saidæ: qui convenientes prælium commiserunt, in quo occisus est rex cum multis e suis, et Muslimi multa spolia sunt nacti."—Al Makin Hist. Saracen. p. 63.

† Ockley, Vol. I. p. 195.

who had, at a prior period, subjugated this most fertile region of Asia from the Scythian nomades; for we read no more of their transactions in that country till the commencement of the eighth century, when in the year of the Hegira 89, or A. D. 707, two generals of the most daring and rapacious characters, the one named Catiba Ebn Moslem, and the other Mohammed Ebn Casim, were commissioned by the caliph Valid, the sixth of the race of the Ommiades; the former to reconquer, in this quarter, what had been lost; and the latter to attempt the subjection of India itself, to the distant throne of the caliphs. Catibah, or the camel-driver, in which occupation he was brought up, and whence he derived his name, passed the Oxus at the head of an army fully competent to the execution of the task, laid successive siege to Bokhara, Samarcand, Fargana, and other great cities of Transoxiana, attacked, and utterly defeated the army of the Turkish king, seized upon his capital, and plundered it of immense wealth. He then marched to Charazm, and having plundered it, made peace with its monarch, on the condition, that he and his subjects should embrace the Mussulman faith; he erected in that city a magnificent mosque, in which he himself preached every Friday; and ordered the Pagan temples to be stript of the idols, that were fixed to the walls by golden nails, in such numbers, that, when heaped together, they weighed no less than fifty thousand Arabic *drachms*. The idols were burnt, but the massive gold was safely doposited amidst the other spoils of Transoxiana. The annual tribute appointed to be paid by the khan of Charasm to the caliph, was fixed at two millions of gold *dinars*.* Of Mohammed Casim's invasion of India, unfortunately no other particulars are given by Al Makin, than that he seized upon that opulent

* The *dinar* was a gold Arabian coin, of about the weight of the golden *denarius* of the Romans, whence its name is doubtless derived: the value about thirteen shillings and sixpence. The *dirhem* was a small silver coin of the same people, in name and value similar to the Greek *drachm*.

country; that he attacked Dahar, the reigning king of Sind, defeated him in battle, and cut off the head of that prince.* Abulfeda, in Reiske's translation of this expedition, only says, "Mohammed filius Casimi, Indiam victor peragravit;" but, in a note, the editor, from other sources, adds, that this Dahar was king of Daibul, or Diul, that is, Tatta, and that Mohammed Casim attacked and took Multan, the capital of the province of Sind.†

Other Persian and Arab historians, of less note, affirm, that, in this their first expedition, the Mohammedans penetrated into Hind, and conquered the country on both sides the Ganges, but at so early a period of their power, this is scarcely credible, and was with difficulty accomplished by Mahmud, nearly three hundred years afterwards. It is possible, however, that Casim, after his conquest of Sind, might have passed the Indus with his army, and ravaged the Panjab; but, at that period, India was far too populous, and the combined power of its rajahs, when they joined their forces for the national defence, far too formidable, to allow of

* As this part of the Saracen annals records one of the most important irruptions of the Arabians into a part of Asia, so immediately connected with our history, whence afterwards issued the greatest conqueror, Timur, and especially as it marks the fact and æra of the first known Mohammedan invasion of Al Hind, or Hindostan proper, I have inserted the curious, but concise original text below:—

"Catibas autem, filius Muslimæ, oppugnavit terram Baikendæ et Mauranaharam, ac obsedit Bocharam, et occupavit Sogdam, Farganam, et Bagrasam: cumque contra eum convenissent Turcæ, Muslimi eos oppugnarunt, et ceperunt eorum civitatem maximam, et magnas in iis opes sunt prædati. Catibas autem pacem fecit cum rege Chouarazmæ, et extruxit in ea templum cathedrale, inque eo suggestum posuit, e quo concionatus est die Veneris, et oravit cum Muslimis. Jussisque adferri ad se idolis, ea combussit: affixa autem erant clavis aureis, qui pendebant 50 mille drachmas; et pacem cum iis iniit, conditione, ut in singulos annos ei numerarent bis milles mille aureos. Muhammed autem filius Casimi Indiam occupavit; et terram Sindæ oppugnavit, cujus rex erat Daharus, quem oppugnatum Muslimi interfecerunt, et capite truncarunt.—Al Makin Hist. Saracen. p. 84.

† Abulfedæ Annales Muslemici, Tom. I. p. 427, et etiam Annotat. Hist. J. J. Reiskii, p. 107.

any foreign invasion of the interior provinces. Sufficient territory was conquered, to produce the great object of all Arabian invasion, which was plunder, and that in a degree, perhaps before unprecedented, when we consider the natural fertility of the countries invaded, the mass of sacred treasure accumulated in the pagodas, and the various wealth of the merchants and manufacturers of that commercial district. The greatest part of the riches thus acquired, undoubtedly flowed into the coffers of Valid, and it was probably from this source he was enabled to construct, in that superb manner in which he is recorded to have done, the magnificent mosque of Damascus, in erecting and adorning which, according to Al Makin, were expended no less than four hundred purses, each containing fourteen thousand dinars. From the roof six hundred lamps were suspended, by as many golden chains, and the excessive splendour diffused by both, was such as dazzled the eyes of the devout Moslems, and detatched their minds from the steady contemplation of that purer light which they came to adore. Katibah enjoyed the government of Transoxiana, and the other provinces, which he had conquered for the caliph, during the life of Valid, but, on his decease, aspiring at absolute independence, the loyal Moslems of those provinces, opposing his ambitious views, rushed upon him in a body, and he was cut to pieces by the enraged multitude. Thus, the death of the camel-driver was ignominious, like his birth, and cruel, as his conduct. In the annals of the world, indeed, of no race of conquerors, recorded in history, was the advance to distinction more rapid, or more frequent and sudden the descent to shame and ruin.

As, after this period, the name of India occurs not in the page of the historians of the Moslem exploits in the East, for a long interval, we must conclude, that the regions conquered by Mohammed Casim, and it is positively asserted by the writers, copied by Herbelot, to have included also the country on this side of the Ganges, though, I

confess, the assertion is scarcely credible, that the whole of the tract in question, was retained by the governors of Chorasan, while the power of the caliphs flourished in any degree of vigour, in quiet obedience, on the usual terms of an annual tributary acknowledgement of their authority. But when the boundless luxury of those caliphs, as well the later sovereigns of the house of Ommiyah, and the more lofty and magnificent Abbassides had, by their baneful example of a throne, polluted by the grossest debaucheries, occasioned a general corruption of manners to pervade the empire, and, with it, that relaxation of discipline, that effeminate indolence, which unnerve the arm, and emasculate the spirit of the warrior; the governors of the provinces, most remote from the seat of empire, contemptuously cast off a yoke, too disgraceful to be longer endured, and proclaiming themselves absolutely independent of the power that created them, assumed all the ensigns and attributes of royalty. The desponding caliphs, unable to depend, in the time of danger, on their own enervated troops, called down, from their mountains, the intrepid warriors of the north; and, in the reign of the caliph Motassem, the eighth of the Abbassides, fifty thousand hardy natives of Turkestan guarded, with their sabres, the menaced palace and treasury of Bagdad. These valiant mountaineers, however, eventually proved the most fatal tyrants of the government they were summoned to uphold, and, at their pleasure, disposed of the sceptre and life of the pusillanimous descendants of the illustrious Al Abbas. The history of their misfortunes and degradations, would be a painful task, and is foreign to the design of this history, which has only noticed the rapid rise, and gradual progress of the Moslem power in Asia, as introductory to the narrative of the conquest of India, the proudest portion of Mohammedan spoil, by the princes of the successive dynasties of Gazna, Gaur, and Charazm.

The first and most famous of those dynasties that in Asia broke

from their fetters, was that of the Taherides, so called from the valiant Taher Ebn Hosein, its founder, who began to flourish in A. D. 813, and of whom, and his race, the reader may not be displeased with the following concise account from the text of Mirkhond himself.* The perfidy of Al Amin having deprived Al Mamoon of the caliphate, to which, though a younger brother, he had been solemnly and publicly appointed by his father, the great Harun Al Rashid, Taher was the general who vindicated the rights of the latter, beat the armies sent against him, crushed the usurper himself, and finally placed his master upon the throne of Bagdad. For this and his various other eminent services to the caliph, he was presented to the prefecture of Chorasan, with almost unlimited control in that region of Asia. These honours, at his death, were confirmed to his son, and made hereditary in his family, who successively enjoyed them to the fourth generation, in a state of power and splendour almost independent of the throne. The inferior branches of the Taherid family were also exalted to places of the highest emolument and the greatest trust in the empire, for so late as the year A. D. 865, we learn from Al Makin, that a direct descendant of the line, Mohammed Ebn Abdallah Ebn Taher, was commandant of Bagdad, the metropolis of the Moslem empire. This also was a very brave and skilful general, and remained faithful to the fortunes of his sovereign, the caliph, Al Mostain, who made him so, till he found him guilty of secretly plotting with the Turkish generals, his enemies, to have him assassinated. Mohammed then joined the party that exalted Al Motazz, his brother, to the abdicated throne.† The enormous influence in the state of this great military family, who were as distinguished for wisdom and virtue, as for valour, was

* Hist. Priorum Regum Pers. ex Mirkhond, in Dynast. Taheridarum, p. 1 to 13; Viennæ, 1782. Vide etiam Leb Tarikh, p. 31 and 32.

† Al Makin Hist. Saracen. p. 202. and Abulfeda, ad annum Hegiræ 252. or Tom. II. p. 215.

doubtless the result of the fears of the caliphs, who appeared anxious to grant as a boon, that which might otherwise have been wrested from them by violence.

Their most imperious lords, however, at this time, were their Turkish guards, who exalted and dethroned the caliphs at their pleasure; and no more impressive instance of it occurs in their whole history, than what is manifested in the melancholy fate of Al Motazz himself, who, because, from the exhausted state of the treasury, unable to discharge their arrears of pay, after being cruelly beaten by them with clubs, was ignominiously dragged by the feet from his splendid palace, exposed naked at its gates to the rays of the scorching sun, and afterwards consigned to a damp and gloomy dungeon, amidst whose pestilential horrors he expired in the extremes of pain and hunger. A circumstance is added by the Moslem historians, of almost incredible barbarity in a parent; that the enraged soldiers offered to desist from their cruel treatment, if the caliph could have advanced them only the trifling sum of *fifty thousand dinars;* that he immediately applied for that sum to his mother Cabiha, the most beautiful but avaricious woman of her age, but that, though immensely rich, she refused his request, and let him perish under their torturing hands. When the succeeding caliph, Al Mohtadi, afterwards seized on the wealth of this unfeeling woman, as esteeming it the plunder of the public treasury, which wealth she had taken the precaution to bury deep in the concealing earth, it was found to consist of the following articles, viz. a million of golden dinars, a *macuc* or bushel of emeralds, another of pearls, and a smaller measure called *cailaja*, of the finest rubies.* Some

* It is possible, that the insertion of the above passage may subject me to the censure of credulity, and my page to the stigma of hyperbole. I subjoin, therefore, the *original* from Reiske's Abulfeda.

Ingentes illa, quas possidebat, opes, mille numorum aureorum millia, Bagdadi *humo* sollicite defoderat. Eruta quoque fuerunt per illas turbas et ejus absentiam et

allowance must here be made for Oriental exaggeration, yet it will be remembered, that the empire of the caliphs at that time extended, nominally at least, over three parts of the habitable world, and the charms of Cabiha held in chains its vanquished and despotic master. The reader will pardon this little digression, which has been solely made for the purpose of exhibiting one decisive proof of that enormous height to which the insolence of the Turkish slaves, on whom the caliphs principally depended for their safety, had arrived. The power of the latter, indeed, was rapidly declining, and the independency assumed in the distant prefectures, by the Taherides, the Soffarides, the Samanian, and other dynasties, contributed not a little, in its eastern quarter at least, to the final subversion of their unweildy empire.

The frequent vicissitudes that took place at the helm, involved the adherents of the transient sovereigns of Bagdad in all the perils and disgrace to which he was himself exposed. The zealous and loyal subject of to-day, by the change of state councils, became to-morrow an alien and a rebel; he was hurled headlong from the highest pinnacle of affluence and dignity into the abyss of poverty and degradation, or had his ambitious career terminated by the hand of the executioner. Causes like these, doubtless paved the way to the usurpation by the posterity of Taher, of Transoxiana, Chorasan, and the finest part of Persia, which they enjoyed for nearly sixty years, from A. D. 813 to A. D. 872, when Chorasan was attacked and conquered by the famous Yacub Ebn Leith, the Soffarian, or *the brazier*, such having been the original occupation of

Saleho, Vasifi filio, tradita, fiscella, smaragdorum tantum fere continens, quantum æquat mensuram MACUC dictam, et alia fiscella, *paris molis*, margaritis referta, nec non alia minor, ferme cailagam æquans rubinorum quibus pares qui vidisset, nemo fuit! ad talium tantarumque rerum conspectum stupefactus Saleh; male perdat Deus Cabiham, ait, quæ, tantarum dives opum, passa tamen fuit, pro vilibus aureorum quinquaginta millibus, FILIUM infami supplicio tolli. Abulfedæ Annales Muslemici, Arabicè et Latinè, opera et studiis, J. J. Reiske, Tom. II. p. 227.

the founder of the family, who exchanged the art of fabricating, for that of using, *arms*. In his new military capacity, Jacob's first services were exerted for the prince of Sejestan, of which province he was a native. Inflamed by success, Jacob boldly seized the sceptre of the kingdoms obtained in arduous conflict, for another; a vast army, impatient for plunder, following the daring adventurer, he rapidly extended his conquests on every side, seized on Herat, Kerman, Balk, and Cabul, and at last advancing towards Nishapour, the seat of government, dispatched messengers to Mohammed, the last of the Taherides, commanding him to surrender up the keys of the city, and open the gates of the castle. Mohammed, who affected to acknowledge the authority of the caliph, and who, as well as his predecessors, had from time to time, obtained renewed grants of the government of Chorasan, returned by the messengers this answer, that he held Chorasan for the caliph, and demanded to see the royal letters and the commission appointing him his successor. Jacob furiously drawing his sword from the scabbard, exclaimed, "Tell Mohammed, *this is* my commission." That sword finally seated him on the throne of Chorasan; and Mohammed and his family languished for some years, in the prison of that palace where they had lived in magnificence not inferior to the sovereign of Bagdad.*

The vast additional domain thus acquired by the arms of the aspiring son of Leith, proved by no means sufficient to fill up the wide grasp of his ambition. Nothing less than the throne of the caliphs could assuage his insatiable thirst for empire. After a proper pause and preparation, he set off from his new capital, to try his fortune in the field with the imperial forces; and therefore, compared with the views of this usurper, the incroachments of the Taherides on the regal prerogative, were inoffensive and almost excuseable. They

* Hist. Priorum Regum Persarum ex Mirkhond. in Dynastiâ Soffaridarum, p. 14, et seq. Vide etiam Leb Tarikh. p. 33.

acknowledged, at least, a feudal relation to the throne of Bagdad; but the brazier of Sejestan disdained them even as rivals, and aimed at their total expulsion. In his way he reduced the Persian Irak, and seized upon Ahwaz, where, in the plunder of the palace, he is said by Al Makin to have acquired forty millions of dirhems, quadraginta mille *staterum* millia, a sum scarcely credible, though the accumulated wealth of Mohammed Ebn Wasil, a rebel like himself, who had been long engaged in distracting and robbing the empire, but whose army he had totally routed.* With high raised and confident hopes of shortly becoming the sovereign lord of Asia, at the head of an army equally formidable for numbers and bravery, he pressed on towards Bagdad, but his progress thither was arrested by a still mightier conqueror, Death. He expired in his camp of an inflammation of the intestines, under the agonizing pains of which severe disease, he rejected with equal firmness, the medicines of his physicians, and the proffered peace, on his own terms, of the sovereign of Bagdad, in A. D. 878.† His brother, Amru Ebn Leith, immediately took the command of his numerous army, and the possession of his immense empire. Amru, however, had neither the boundless ambition nor military talents of his brother, and the trembling caliph was happy to avert the threatened blow, by ceding to that chieftain whatsoever new acquisitions of territory, or revenue, his more moderate ambition demanded. The coffers of the imperial treasury were exhausted to appease him, and the nominal government, but, in fact, the sovereignty of Persia, including Chorasan, was invested in himself and made hereditary in his family. A power that might almost be deemed a rival, so formidable in arms and so near the throne too, could not be brooked by the haughty race of the caliphs, and Amru's government being complained of as oppressive, by the inhabitants of Chorasan, as the less evil of the

* Al Makin, Hist. Saracen. p. 213.

† Hist. Reg. Pers. ex Mirkhond, in Dynast. Soff. p. 22.

two, they invited the brave Ismael Samani, who had rendered himself independent in Mawaralnahr, to pass the Oxus, attack that prefect, and take the prefecture of Chorasan as his reward. The Transoxan prince crossing that river at the head of ten thousand horse, whose *wooden stirrups*, (stapedes lignei,) marked the honest poverty of that leader, accepted the caliph's invitation, with that comparatively small body of men attacked and defeated the Soffarian army of eighty thousand men, took Amru captive, and sent him in chains to the foot of the imperial throne!* The dynasty of the Soffarides, however, was not wholly crushed by the capture of their chief, and the rout of his army. His descendants, by the liberality of Ismael Samani, and the consent of the caliphs, continued for many years, to reign with extensive delegated authority in Sejestan, their hereditary sovereignty, and the neighbouring districts. The recital of their adventures, however, is foreign to the illustration of this history, which merely notices their rise and extinction, as introductory to some account of the Samanian and Gaznavide dynasties that sprang up, on phœnix pinions, from their mighty ruins.

As the power of the caliphs gradually declined, that of the governors of the distant provinces necessarily expanded; till, at length, after the decease of Al Rhadi, in A. H. 329, or A. D. 940,† the fifteenth of the Abasside sovereigns, and who had, with difficulty, towards the close of his reign sustained the tottering empire, their authority became a shadow, and themselves utterly dependent on their Turkish lords, their viziers, and their generals, whose struggles for the supreme power, at that time, convulsed this region of Asia. Egypt and Syria were torn from them by the potent dynasties of

* Hist. Prior. Reg. Pers. ex Mirkhond. in Dynast. Soffarid. p. 29.

† Abulfedæ Annal. Muslem. Tom. II. p. 411. and Al Makin, p. 259. These two Annalists do not always agree in their dates; in this instance they do agree, and it is important, as being, in fact, the date of the extinction of all the *real* power of the caliphate.

the TOULONIDES and IKSHIDITES, whose history, about this period, engrosses a considerable portion of the Mussulman annals. The resistless swords of the BOWIDES, three valiant brothers, the founders of the celebrated dynasty of that name, had secured to themselves the whole of Persia, except Chorasan, which province, and Transoxiana remained undisturbed in the possession of the Samanian family.*

With the Bowides, of whom one brother held his court at Shiraz, in Farsistan, or Persia, properly so called, and the two others at Ispahan, in the mountainous district, or the ancient Parthia, the prudent Ismael Samani provoked no contests, but the field for new conquest being now open, he turned his eye and his arms towards the provinces that stretched between the frontiers of Chorasan and India. Those arms, in every effort, were successful, and within no very extended period, his wide-spreading empire embraced Candahar, Zabulistan, of which Gazna may properly be said to be the capital; Cabul, and all that mountainous region, possessed by the hardy and martial Afghan tribes. The residence of the imperial family of Samani was at Bokhara, where, venerated for their wisdom and virtue, and dreaded for their justice and valour, they enjoyed in profound tranquillity their newly-acquired dominions, during a period of ninety years. At that period, the accession of a minor to the vacant throne gave birth to civil commotions, which terminated in a division of this vast empire. Abistagi, the governor for the Samanides, of Chorasan, a nobleman of great military fame and talents, disgusted at the conduct of MANSUR the young prince on the throne, seized on Chorasan and Zabulistan, utterly defeated the imperial forces sent to expel him thence, and caused himself to be crowned, at Gazna, the following year. He reigned fifteen years in undisturbed possession of his

* Consult. Hist. Reg. Pers. ex Mirkhond, in Dynastia Samanidarum, p. 36, and Abulfeda, and Al Makin, under the respective years of the Hegira in which these dynasties are noticed.

usurped domain; but, on his decease, the imperial family, reviving their ancient claims, repeatedly attempted to wrest the kingdom from his son, Abu Isaac, but were as repeatedly repulsed by Subuctagi, the skilful and brave general of the latter. Pacific terms were at length agreed to, by the house of Samania; a solemn compact confirmed the independence of the kingdom; and Subuctagi, on the death of Isaac, was, by the unanimous voice of the army, firmly seated on a throne, which his virtues merited, and his valour had secured. This important event took place in Anno Hegiræ 365, or A. D. 977.*

Before, however, we proceed to any particular details concerning the invasion of India, by the Gaznavide sultans, it is material for us to notice the very curious account, translated by M. Renaudot, from an Arabian manuscript, of the travels in India, nearly a century previous to this period, of two Mohammedan merchants, to whom the arms of Mohammed Casim, by the conquest of Sind, had probably opened the way to its interior provinces. That account, from what we now know of the political situation, the manners, customs and commerce of India, bears every mark of authenticity; and though some obscurity hangs over it, in consequence of the different denomination, at that time, of many of the places and cities described, from those by which they are now known; yet, on the whole, it appears to exhibit the true picture of India, as it then flourished. The communication from Multan, the capital of Sind, with the provinces beyond the Indus, was, at that period, considerable; and the mercantile genius of the Arabians had converted it into a grand emporium, for the manufactures of Persia, on the one hand, and of India, on the other. Our merchants, however,

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 23.—But Abulfeda places this permanent establishment of Subuctagi, or Sabektekin, as the Arabians write the word, on an independent throne, at Gazna, in the succeeding year, 366, under which date, the above, and other particulars, may be found.—Annal. Muslem. Vol. II. p. 529.

seem to have commenced their journey from Bassora, that still greater mart, erected, soon after the conquest of Persia by the sagacious policy of the caliph, Omar, on the western bank of that mighty river, formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, and their coasting navigation, along the Persian gulph, the Indian shores, and, among the numerous islands south of Comorin and Selendib, quite to Canton, in China, is minutely described, as well as those islands themselves, their inhabitants, and productions.* This incontestibly proves, how rapidly, and how far eastward, the Moslem navigators had extended their commerce, even in the earliest periods of the Hegira; and, in their catalogue of the articles imported, the rich silks, the camphire, and the porcelain, transparent as glass, from China, and the gold, gems, and perfumes of India, and its islands, we trace the sources of the immense wealth displayed in the superb palaces of Damascus and Bagdad. With their navigation, however, we have less concern than with their internal survey of India, in which they confirm the account given in a former page, of the vast empire, the riches, the splendid court and palace of a monarch, reigning in Guzzurat, by the name of the BALHARA, whose metropolis was before noticed as the *Baleocuri-regia* of the classics; this term being rather a title of distinction, than an appellative, and meaning the supreme lord.† His capital,

* Ancient Accounts of India and China, by Renaudot, from page 2, to p. 11.

† Concerning this sovereign of Guzzurat, the account of the Nubian geographer is also very minute; and, indeed, considering the few sources of information in our possession, concerning the interior of India, during the early periods of the Mohammedan æra, extremely interesting. I have inserted it below:—

"Rex autem Nahroaræ maximus est, et vocatur Balahara, possidetque exercitus, et elephantos: colitque idolum Bodda; gestat in capite tiaram auream, induiturque stolis auro contextis. Equos conscendit semper: et semel equitat singulis hebdomadibus, equitantque cum eo centum ferè mulieres, nullo præter ipsas alio comite; sunt autem vestibus auratis indutæ, pulcherrimis decoratæ ornamentis, aurea atque argentea monilia manibus pedibusque gestantes, sparsis per lacerta comis: simul jocantur, et aliæ alias impellunt, rege præeunte. Proconsules vero, et militiæ duces

at the time of their visit, was called NEHALWARAH, written by Rennell Nehrwalla, and said, by him, to have anciently given name to the whole province.* The perplexity resulting in ancient geographical investigation, from the vicissitudes to which the names of places and cities are exposed, has been already noticed. Unable, therefore, precisely to specify the particular sovereigns and capitals alluded to, under their Arabic appellations; and the books, besides being very scarce and curious, I prefer presenting the reader with the original account at length, than with an analysis and conjectures, which might mislead him. The principal passages that have relation to India, (for of China I am not writing the history) are inserted below. The reader will please to remember, that it is an Arab's report, at the period of the highest glory of the Moslem empire.

Account of the Interior Regions of India, by certain Mohammedan Travellers, in the ninth Century; translated from an Arabian MSS. by M. Renaudot.

Both the Indians and Chinese agree, that there are four great, or principal kings in the world; they allow the king of the Arabs to be the first, and to be, without dispute, the most powerful of kings, the most wealthy, and the most excellent every way; because he is

non equitant cum illo, nisi cum egreditur pugnaturus adversus hostes suos, aut contra eos, qui aliquid dominii sui usurpare tentaverint, vel in vicinos reges, ejus regionum aggressores. Habet autem elephantos plurimos, in quibus præcipue consistit exercitus sui robur. Regnum hoc hereditario jure possidetur a regibus suis, qui omnes uno invariabili nomine vocantur Balahara, quod significat Regem Regum. Ad urbem Nahroara multi se conferunt mercatores Moslemanni ad negotiandum; et rex ejusdem urbis honorifice suscipit viatores illuc appellentes, eorumque bona custodit."—Geograph. Nub. p. 63.

* See Rennell's Index to his Memoir, confirmed by Orme. Historical Fragments, p. 149. See also Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 79.

the prince and head of a great religion, and because no other surpasses him in greatness, or power.

The emperor of China reckons himself next after the king of the Arabs, and after him the king of the Greeks; and, lastly, the Balhara, king of Moharmi al Adan, or of *those who have their ears bored.* This Balhara is the most illustrious prince in all the Indies; and all the other kings there, though each is master, and independant in his kingdom, acknowledge in him this prerogative and pre-eminence. When he sends ambassadors to them, they receive them with extraordinary honours, on account of the respect they bear him. This king makes magnificent presents after the manner of the Arabs; and has horses and elephants in very great number, and great treasures in money. He has of those pieces of silver called Tartarian drachms, which weigh half a drachm more than the Arabic drachm. They are coined with the die of the prince, and bear the year of his reign, from the last of the reign of his predecessor. They compute not their years from the æra of Mohammed, as do the Arabs, but only by the years of their kings. Most of these princes have lived a long time, and many of them have reigned above fifty years.

Balhara is an apellative common to all these kings, as was Cosroes, and some others, and is not a proper name. The country, which owes obedience to this prince, begins on the coast of the province called Kamkam, (Concan) and reaches by land to the confines of China. He is surrounded by the dominions of many kings, who are at war with him, and yet he never marches in person against them. One of these kings is the king of Haraz, who has very numerous forces, and is stronger in horse than all the other princes of the Indies; but is an enemy to the Arabs, though he, at the same time, confesses their king to be the greatest of kings; nor is there a prince in the Indies who has a greater aversion to Mohammedism. His dominions are upon a promontory, where are much

riches, many camels, and other cattle. The inhabitants here traffic with silver, which they wash for; and they say there are mines of the same, on the continent. There is no talk of robbers in this country, no more than in the rest of the Indies.

On one side of this kingdom lies that of Tafek, which is not of very great extent; this king has the finest white women in all the Indies; but he is subject to the kings about him; his army being but small. He has a great affection for the Arabs, as well as the Balhara.

These kingdoms border upon the lands of a king called Rahmi, who is at war with the king of Haraz, and with the Balhara also. This prince is not much considered either for his birth, or the antiquity of his kingdom; but his forces are more numerous than those of the Balhara, and even than those of the kings of Haraz and Tafek. They say, that when he takes the field, he appears at the head of fifty thousand elephants; and that he commonly marches in the winter season, because the elephants, not being able to bear with thirst, he can move at no other time. They say also, that, in his army, there are commonly from ten to fifteen thousand tents. In this same country, they make cotton garments, in so extraordinary a manner, that no where else are the like to be seen. These garments are, for the most part, round, and wove to that degree of fineness, that they may be drawn through a ring of a middling size.

Shells are current in this country, and serve for small money, notwithstanding that they have gold and silver, wood-aloes, and sable-skins, of which they make the furniture of saddles and housings. In this same country, is the famous karkandan, or unicorn, who has but one horn upon his forehead, and thereon a round spot, with the representation of a man. The whole horn is black, except the spot in the middle, which is white. The unicorn is much smaller than the elephant; from the neck downwards, he

pretty much resembles the bufflar; for strength, he is extraordinary, therein surpassing all other creatures; his hoof is not cloven; and, from his foot to his shoulder, he is all of a piece. The elephant flies from the unicorn, whose lowing is like that of an ox, with something of the cry of a camel. His flesh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it. There are great numbers of this creature in the fens of this kingdom, as also in all the other provinces of the Indies; but the horns of these are the most esteemed, and upon them are generally seen the figures of men, peacocks, fishes, and other resemblances. The Chinese adorn their girdles with these sorts of figures; so that some of these girdles are worth two or three thousand pieces of gold in China, and sometimes more, the price augmenting with the beauty of the figure. All the things, we have here enumerated, are to be purchased in the kingdom of Rahmi for shells, which are the current money.

After this kingdom there is another which is an inland state, distant from the coast, and called Kaschbin. The inhabitants are white, and bore their ears: they have camels, and their country is a a desart, and full of mountains.

Farther on upon the coast, there is a small kingdom called Hitrange, which is very poor; but it has a bay, where the sea throws up great lumps of ambergrease. They have also elephants teeth and pepper; but the inhabitants eat it green, because of the smallness of the quantity they gather.

Beyond the kingdoms here mentioned, there are others of number unknown, and among the rest, that of Mujet. The inhabitants are white, and dress after the Chinese mode: their country is full of mountains with white tops, and of very great extent. Here are great quantities of musk, esteemed the most exquisite in the world. They have war with all the neighbouring kingdoms. The kingdom of Mabed is beyond that of Mujet; therein are many cities, and the inhabitants have a great resemblance to the Chinese, even more

than those of Mujet; for they have officers or eunuchs like those who govern the cities among the Chinese. The country of Mabed is conterminous with China, and is at peace with the emperor of China, but is not subject to him.

The kings of the Indies wear ear-rings of precious stones set in gold. They wear also collars of great price, adorned with precious stones of divers colours, but especially green and red; yet pearls are what they most esteem, and their value surpasses that of all other jewels; they at present hoard them up in their treasures, with their most precious things. The grandees of their court, the great officers and captains, wear the like jewels in their collars. They dress in a half vest, and carry a parasol of peacocks feathers to shade them from the sun; and are surrounded by those of their train.

Their kings, and persons of high quality have fresh tables made for them every day, together with little dishes and plates, wove of the cocoa-nut leaf; in which they eat what is prepared for their subsistance: and their meal over, they throw the table, the dishes, and plates, into the water, together with the fragments they have left. Thus, at every meal they have a new service.

To the Indies they formerly carried the dinars, called Sindiat, or gold pieces of the Sind, and the dinar there passes for three of ours, and even more.

Thither also are carried emeralds from Egypt, which are set for rings.*

It must be evident to the Indian student in history, that under these mutilated names were meant to be designated, beside the Balhara's domain, that of the Deccan sovereign, whose capital, we have seen, was Tagara, or Deogur, and which does not seem to have been penetrated by the armies of any Mohammedan power, till late in the thirteenth century, and that by the Rahmi, and other neighbouring princes, must have been meant the Ranna of Chitore,

* Ancient Accounts of India and China, p. 99. London, 1733.

and other rajahs of the mountainous country of Ajimere, and of the Gauts, quite to the Comarian Promontory, ever at war with each other, and all with the more potent Balhara. Their account too of the customs and superstitions of the natives, particularly of the expiatory tortures voluntarily inflicted upon themselves by the Hindoo devotees, and of the predominant practice of the women burning themselves on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands, are equally correct, but these have already been noticed by extracts from the same book, in various parts of the Indian Antiquities.

To resume the subject at present of most importance in this work, their *geographical details*, I must observe, that upon the rather perplexed account of these Arabian merchants, who might take much upon hear-say, great light will be reflected from another ancient manuscript, found in the library of the French king, and translated by the historian De Guignes. It was written about a century after their visit to India, by one Masoudi, an Arabian also, and contains a summary of general history, entitled, THE GOLDEN MEADOWS. After some idle details relative to the extended reigns of Indian heroes and demi-gods, some of whom are said to have reigned many hundred years, M. De Guignes proceeds to give the substance of the remainder, for it is not a literal translation, in the following words:

Extract from THE GOLDEN MEADOWS *of Masoudi, an Arabian Manuscript of the tenth Cenury, concerning the interior St te of India at that Period; by M. De Guignes.*

"This is what is told of the ancient kings of India; but what Masoudi adds, is more worthy our attention. It is usual with him to finish all his relations by declaring the state of the country, as it was in his time, and often what he had himself seen. This

affords us a knowledge of that age; which we find no where else, and which the Arabians, who were then great voyagers, could alone procure.

"After the reign of Kouros, (CURU probably,) the Indians divided, and formed different kingdoms. There was a king in the country of Sind towards the Indies; one in the country of Canouge towards the Ganges; one in Kaschmir; one in the city of Mankir, otherwise called the *Grand Houza*, this must be near Guzzerat. Masoudi, and all the Arabian authors give the prince who reigned there, the title of Balhara. This, he says, is the first and most powerful king of India, where a long race of sovereigns have reigned under this title, and they subsisted in his time. We may here add, that they existed also in the time of Ptolemy the geographer. We see here a very important and very ancient division of India, of which we had not the least knowledge.

"As there is little order in this work in general, and Masoudi speaks of the Indians elsewhere, I may be permitted to deviate from his method, in order to draw objects together which are too much scattered. He returns to this subject in another place, and says, that Kaschmir, which forms a part of India, is surrounded on all sides by very high mountains; the interior part of the country is filled with a prodigious number of cities and villages, and that it can be entered at one place only, which is shut by a gate.

"The kingdom of Bourouh, the same as Canouge, is 120 Indian parasangs in extent. The king keeps always on foot four armies, consisting together of 700,000 men; or, according to others, of 900,000 men. With the northern army he opposes the king of Moultan and the Mussulmans; with the southern army, the Balhara, who is the king of kings, whose residence is eighty parasangs from the sea, towards the coast of Malabar, to the north. With the other two armies, the king of Canouge makes war on his other neighbours. There are many cities and towns in his country; but, in comparison of the

other kings of India, this prince has but few elephants armed for war; they do not reckon more than 1000 of that kind. Such was the state of India in the time of Masoudi. He tells us also, that Moultan was still filled by a prince of the family of Sama, son of Louai, son of Ghaleb; and that he was neighbour to the Mussulmans. That there was in this country an idol, to which all the Indians repaired in pilgrimage; they call it the idol of Moultan: his temple is remarkably rich. Masoudi assures us he had travelled over this country; and adds, that the prince who reigned in his time was named Aboul-doulat-al-mounbeh, son of Asad-al-carschi, the Syrian. Thence he arrived at another city of India, named Mansoura, distant from Moultan sixty-five Indian parasangs; Mansura is near the Indus;* a prince named Aboul-moundar, son of Abdallah, reigned there. This city of Mansoura is so named from Mansour, son of Dgiambour, lieutenant to the khalif Ommiades.

"The same author informs us, that the Mussulmans were much respected by the Balhara; that there were some well-built mosques in this country, where they prayed five times a day. They ascribed the long life of the Balhara and his numerous posterity, to his justice, and the protection he granted the Mussulmans. In the ideas we have formed of the Indians and their sciences, we have not considered their connections with foreigners. From the time of Alexander the Great, the Romans, the Persians, and Arabians, have settled in India, and ruled there; and must necessarily have contributed to the progress of the sciences among the Indians.

"Masoudi points out, in a few words, some other countries, more easterly than Balhara, and ends with that of Hated, contiguous to China. This must be a part of Thibet. The prince that reigned there was very powerful, and carried war into China: which is correct; for, in fact, we find that, in the history of China, at that time the nations of Toufan, or of Thibet, were very troublesome

* A parasang is said to be eight miles.

neighbours to the Chinese, whose frontiers they ravaged. But Masoudi is not sufficiently clear, and the names he assigns to countries are often unknown to us.

"Hitherto we have followed him in his survey of the northern part of India; let us see what he relates of the southern. "India," says he "is a vast country, surrounded by the sea. It borders upon the kingdom of Zanedge, or Zindge. The latter is governed by a king, who bears the title of mehradge." It is the same as the maa-raja, or great rajah, which has since been borne by the sovereign of the Mahrattas, which name is formed from that of maha-rajah. This mehradge was, according to Masoudi, the king of the Isles: by which he means the Peninsula of India; for the Arabians make use of the same appellation for island and peninsula, and confound them together. It is then of the southern part of India he treats in this place. "This country is situated between India and China, but adjacent to India, properly so called; which is confined, on one side, by the mountains of Khorasan. The Zindges differ from the other Indians in figure, colour, and temper; and they believe the metempsychosis." We here see, that he distinguishes these people from the Indians, properly so called, who lived towards the north. He also speaks of the king of Conrad, or of Cape Comorin, who was at war with the mehradge. The Arabians, at this time, were perfectly acquainted with the Indies, and frequented the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel; also the whole northern parts of India: but their historians do not describe these countries so minutely as we could wish."*

The above relations appear to me to exhibit, except in the exaggerated account of the forces of the Canouge sovereign, a tolerably correct outline of the greater divisions of India, and of the powers presiding in it, at the time they were written, and they will in a great degree be corroborated, in the course of events that will

* Extracts from Manuscripts in the French King's library, Vol. I. p. 128.

very shortly be recorded in the pages of this history. They prove a wider extension of the Mohammedan power and influence in the vicinity of Southern India, than the slender accounts in the Moslem annals afforded reason to suppose. If the Sanscreet names of places could have been better expressed in Arabic characters, they would doubtless have been more correct, but even in their present state, we are extremely obliged by this detailed intelligence, in regard to the interior of India, immediately previous to the irruption of the sultans of Gazna, to the consideration of which we now return.

Soon after he had ascended the throne, Subuctagi, who was by birth a Tartar, and a soldier of fortune, having served first only as a private dragoon in the army of his master, Abistagi, had the policy to strengthen himself upon it, by marrying the daughter of that prince. In the very first year of his reign, perhaps to give employment to the turbulent and warlike Afghans, who formed so large a portion of his subjects, Subuctagi commenced, under the usual pretext of religion, a destructive war upon the idolaters of India, but contented himself in this expedition, with ravaging only its frontiers. He returned, however, loaded with immense plunder to Gazna, and the ease with which it was obtained, seems to have served only as an incitement to fresh attempts. JEIPAL then reigned in Lahore, a province described as, at that period, extending in length, from the mouth of the Indus to Limgan, and in breadth, from the kingdom of Cashmere to Multan. This prince having severely suffered by this and other preceding irruptions of the Mohammedan marauders, well acquainted with the warlike character of the sovereign of Gazna, and justly fearful of frequent repetitions of them, determined no longer to act solely on the defensive, but levying a vast army, attempted to carry the war into the invader's territories. Subuctagi met the Indian chief on the extreme confines of his domain, and both armies prepared for action, but in the night preceding the intended battle, a tremendous storm, imputed to the

effects of magic, by the Indian historians, of mingled thunder, lightning, hail, and wind, scattered the horse and his rider over the plain, and in particular did such material damage in the Indian camp, that Jeipal was compelled to solicit peace, by the proffer of an annual tribute, and a considerable present in elephants and gold. The proffer was at first rejected, which occasioned the utmost dismay in the Indian camp, as whole squadrons of cavalry had perished in the hurricane; and paleness and dejection, the effect rather of superstitious horror, than corporeal fear, sate upon every countenance. Subuctagi himself, was not unwilling to grant them peace upon the terms proposed, but young Mahmud, his son, the future scourge of Hindostan, was with him in the army, and in some previous skirmishes had greatly distinguished himself. This martial youth, panting for glory, and ardent still farther to signalize himself, used his utmost efforts to prevent his father's acceptance of them. Jeipal on this, solicited a conference, and bade the Tartar monarch beware how he drove to despair the irritated, but resolute Indians, who now supposed themselves suffering under the momentary wrath of their gods. "They have," says he, "when reduced to the last extremity, a dreadful custom; in the phrenzy of desperation, they first massacre their wives and children, to save them from violation and captivity: they then set fire to those terrestrial habitations, for which they have no longer occasion, and, with dishevelled hair and horrible outcries, they rush upon the foe, nor leave the bloody field, till either they are cut off themselves, or have exterminated their adversaries!" Subuctagi, reluctant to plunge them into that extremity, permitted their safe retreat to Lahore, on condition of receiving a million of dirms, and a present of fifty elephants.*

It is painful, in recording the first great transaction of the Hindoos with their Gaznavian invaders, to announce on their part, an act of perfidy. Their situation was perilous; the terms were not

* Ferishta, Vol I. p. 26. Leb Tarikh, p. 35.

oppressive, considering the wealth of the Indian prince; and they ought, even with an enemy, to have been religiously fulfilled. Notwithstanding, however, the delivery of hostages of the most distinguished rank as security for the payment of the money, contrary to every dictate of honour and plighted faith, contrary to the solemn advice of the Double Council, an august assembly at this period in Indian courts, composed of an equal number of Brahmins and Kettris, ranged on each side of the royal throne, to discuss the most arduous and intricate points of jurisprudence, and never summoned together, but in cases of the highest moment, Jeipal refused to pay the stipulated sum, and even imprisoned the heralds of Subuctagi, sent to take charge of it. The monarch of Gazna felt the goad of Mohammedan zeal, which, at least in one instance truly laudable, allows of no idolatrous representation of the Supreme Being, urge him on to mutilate and destroy the multiplied images of deity erected and adored in every quarter of Hindostan; he was not without the passion for spoil of a Tartar commander, but at the same time, he possessed in an eminent degree, the grand principle of honour, which unites, or ought to unite, both nations and individuals in one common bond, never to be forsaken on the one hand, and never infringed on the other. Shall we say, that Jeipal considered his antagonists themselves, as unprincipled marauders, and therefore thought them unworthy the respect due to a generous and civilized enemy? Whatsoever might have been his secret reasons, to his violation of this compact, may justly be ascribed a great part of the severities exercised against his nation, in the course of the succeeding invasions that took place in this reign, and that of the more sanguinary Mahmud.

Fired with indignation, and meditating a severe revenge for the insult, Subuctagi immediately marched with all his forces against Hindostan, where Jeipal, having solicited succours from all the great rajahs from the Indus to the Ganges, to repel the incursions

of a power, armed for their total destruction, had collected together an army of one hundred thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot, headed respectively by the sovereigns of Delhi, Ajmere, Callinger, and Canouge, attended by their tributaries. Subuctagi, at the head of scarcely a fourth of this vast army, from the mountains on his frontier, beheld without dismay, the innumerable columns of the advancing enemy. In a strain of manly and fervid eloquence, he harangued his soldiers, and animated them to glory; he pointed out the immense difference that existed between the hardy native of Afghanistan, and the enfeebled effeminate inhabitant of the Indian plain: though far inferior in number, he maintained that in discipline, in valour, and in strength of arm to draw the bow, and wield the sabre, they were infinitely superior to the foe; he displayed in the most dazzling colours, the beauty and fertility of the country they were about to subdue, and the magnitude of the spoil they were certain to divide. He then allotted their stations to those heroic chieftains on whom he could place the firmest dependence, and dividing his army, which principally consisted of horse, into small squadrons of five hundred each, ordered them to the attack, in succession, so that the main body was never wholly engaged, while the Indian army was perpetually harassed by fresh troops. The Indians advanced to battle on horses very unequal to those that, to the fire and celerity of the Arabian courser, added the sinewy robustness of those accustomed to range the mountains and snuff the invigorating gale of Cabulistan. Battalion upon battalion, though led on to the combat by gallant warriors, accustomed to conquer in equal conflict, on Indian ground, almost as soon as engaged, were broken and dispersed. Nothing is said of elephants on this occasion, nor are any other particulars enumerated in Ferishta, than that wearied out with this novel manner of fighting, and their numerous infantry availing nothing against the shock of the Gaznavian cavalry, the whole army were quickly put to the rout, and fled with precipitation towards the

banks of the Nilab, or Blue River, one of the branches of the Indus. Thither it was pursued by the victorious Moslems; a considerable part of them was cut in pieces, but a far more considerable part perished in attempting the passage of that deep and rapid river. The whole plunder of the Indian camp, immense in the value, number, and variety of the articles acquired, the property of so many sovereign princes, who had left their palaces in full confidence of success, as well as all the territories lying on the west of the Indus, became the reward of the victor, who postponed for the present, his project of penetrating into the interior of India, for the sake of affording succours to the Samanian family of Bokhara, whose throne began to totter under the united effects of diminished authority, and intestine commotions. The narrative of his exploits in this expedition, which engrossed many of the later years of his life, as well as those of the heroic youth, whose Indian conquests are so soon to occupy our attention, fill many pages of the Persian and Arabian historians, and of Ferishta, who copies them; but these, in conformity of my plan of never wandering very widely, for occasional deviations, for the sake of illustrating the events immediately connected with Indian history, must here and there occur, I shall pass over with remarking, that in this and in all his other expeditions, Subuctagi was ultimately successful, and together with Mahmud, returned to Chorasan covered with deserved laurels. After a glorious reign of twenty years, he expired on a journey undertaken for his health, from Balkh to Gazna, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and of the Hegira 387, or A. D. 997.

* Ferishta, p. 32. et Abulfedæ Annales Muslem. Tom II. p. 597.

CHAPTER III.

MAHMUD, *the Son of Subuctagi, succeeds to the Throne of Gazna—defeats and takes captive his Brother Ismael—subverts the Empire of Bokhara.—His first Indian Expedition; he attacks Peishore, and defeats* JEIPAL, *Prince of Lahore.—*MAHMUD'S *second Expedition; he takes various Towns and Castles on the Western Frontiers.—His third Indian Expedition; Tahera stormed and plundered.—Fourth Indian Expedition; Conquest of Multan, Capital of Sind.—Gazna invaded by the Uzbek King of Bokhara, who is driven back with utter Rout beyond the Oxus.—Fifth Indian Expedition—*MAHMUD *defeats the confederated Rajahs, and marches to Naugracut in the Mountains of Lahore, where he finds immense Treasures.—*GHAUR *attacked and taken.—Sixth Indian Expedition—*MAHMUD *plunders Tannasar—the City of* DELHI *taken.—Seventh Indian Expedition—Cashmire subjugated and plundered.—Eighth Indian Expedition—Conquest of* CANOUGE, *the Capital of Hindostan—the Spoliation of Mathura or Mattra, the Birth-place of* CREESHNA.*—Ninth Indian Expedition, undertaken to defend Canouge against the assailing Rajahs.—Tenth Indian Expedition—the Sack and Plunder of Lahore.—Eleventh Indian Expedition—Attack of the Hill Forts.—Twelfth and final Expedition—Attack and Plunder of Sumnat.—Death and Character of Mahmud.*

THE chapter on which we are about to enter, unfolds to us an awful and afflicting scene. An immense and beautiful country, of which the internal regions had not for ages, felt the ravages of war, utterly desolated and plundered by an unfeeling despot, urged on by a barbarous zeal, to erect the temple of one miserable superstition on the

ruins of another; and to substitute a code of blood and persecution, for one of tranquillity and amiable forbearance. The plunder of every species affirmed, with great appearance of authenticity by the Persian and Arabian historians, who record the dreadful tale, to have been amassed in the course of Mahmud's twelve famous irruptions into Hindostan, is so incalculably vast, that the reader will probably be confounded and staggered by the perusal. Due allowances indeed, must be made for Oriental exaggeration; but no doubt can be entertained, that by means of her vast commerce, uninterruptedly carried on for centuries with all the civilized nations of the earth, devoted to the luxurious and costly productions of her mines, her gardens, and her looms, India might at that period, be justly called the grand treasure-house of the world. Like a fathomless abyss, she ingulphed all and disgorged nothing. In an express Dissertation on the accumulated wealth in bullion and coined money of the ancient world, in the seventh volume of the Indian Antiquities, I pointed out, as introductory to this part of the history, some of the sources and a few of the numerous channels by which this wealth poured, in an inexhaustible current, into that country, and mingled and assimilated with her own.* It fell to the lot of Mahmud and his descendants, to unlock the doors of that treasury so long closed; to burst open its secret vaults; and bid the golden inundation roll back upon the impoverished regions of the exhausted globe.

Through this chapter, Ferishta's history must be our principal guide, at least in those more minute details into which the very interesting events recorded in it, will induce us to enter; but Abulfeda, Al Makin, and the Abridgment of Mirkhond, will supply us with large additional materials, and enable us to correct what may be defective or erroneous in that author.

The valiant Subuctagi left behind him two sons of a very different

* See Indian Antiquities, Vol. VII. p. 547, to the conclusion of the Dissertation.

cast of character, who were in consequence regarded in as different points of view, by their discriminating parent. Generous, politic, and benevolent, Ismael seemed better calculated to govern a great empire in peace, than to direct it amidst the storms of war. Inflamed by the example and habits of his father, the soul of Mahmud delighted in scenes of blood, and with those scenes, it will be seen, the days of his future life were amply gratified. Mahmud had the respect, but Ismael the affection, of his father. At the period of the decease of that father, Mahmud was at a very remote distance, at Nishapore, the capital of Chorasan. Urging the possibility of intestine commotions or foreign usurpation, the artful Ismael had prevailed upon his father, in the last weak moments of expiring life, to suffer him to be invested with the insignia of government, till the return of his elder brother, the only true heir to his crown. Ismael was in consequence publicly and solemnly crowned at Balkh, and he soon prepared to secure by open violence what he had thus obtained by secret fraud. To accomplish this purpose, he unfolded wide the doors of the imperial treasury; distributed ample presents among his principal officers and nobility; entertained the people with magnificent shews, and injudiciously increased the pay and privileges of the soldiers, till he plunged them in insolence and debauchery.

Mahmud, howevern aturally impetuous, and shocked at the treachery of Ismael, had no wish to stain the infancy of his reign with a brother's blood. He therefore dispatched a nobleman properly qualified, to remonstrate with him on his conduct, and to offer him, if he would relinquish all pretensions to a throne to which he had no hereditary claim, the government of Chorasan. But Ismael, deaf to every prudent representation, immediately advanced from Balkh, to decide that claim by arms. Mahmud also, finding pacific measures ineffectual, intrepidly led his troops to the conflict that was to consign him to a throne or a dungeon. Like all fraternal broils, it proved extremely obstinate and bloody; but in the end, the usurper

and his forces were utterly routed, and he himself, with his few adherents, were driven into the castle of Gazna, where they were closely besieged, and soon compelled to surrender. The punishment by this prince, professedly intended for Mahmud, viz. a spacious prison for life, became the merited reward of his unreasonable ambition. The conqueror now ascended his rightful throne, amidst the loudest applauses of those venal courtiers and that fickle multitude who, six months before, had bestowed them on his rival; and the accidental circumstance of a discovery, in the very first month of his reign, of a rich mine of the purest gold, in Sejestan, (said by the Persian *poets*, to have spread its subterranean branches in the form of a large tree,) was considered as an auspicious omen of that astonishing height of splendour and wealth to which he exalted the empire of Gazna.*

Amidst the civil distractions resulting from the contests of the rival brothers, Mansur, the Bokharian sovereign, endeavoured by appointing a new governor for Chorasan, to wrest from both the finest portion of the empire for which they contended. This act of impolitic outrage in the weak representative of the Samanian dynasty, now rapidly hastening to extinction, rouzed the resentment of the sultan, especially as that government had been confirmed as an hereditary *fief*, in compensation for long and important services, by the same prince to his deceased father. Respect, however, for the venerated, though fallen name of Samani, induced him, in the first instance, to try the effect of mild remonstrance; but that and other pacific methods failing, he resolved at once, to crush that shadow of imperial grandeur, and after a prudent disposition of the affairs of his own government, marched, for that purpose, towards the northern frontiers of Chorasan. But the chief officers of the army of the rash prince, his opponent in the field, with the new appointed governor at their head, had rebelliously seized upon the

* Abulfeda, Tom. II. p. 599. Herbelot; Article,—Mahmud. Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 38.

person of Mansur, and putting out his eyes, had elevated to the throne Abdul Rahmid, his younger brother, a mere youth, whom they meant to use as the puppet of their ambition. Guilt, operating together with cowardice, induced the conspirators to retreat before the pursuing bands of Mahmud, till they reached MERU, a city described in a preceding page, where, rather from necessity than inclination, they offered him battle, and were totally defeated with great slaughter, the royal youth being with difficulty carried off, to experience a severer fate at Bokhara. For Elek, the Uzbek king of Cashgar, or little Bokharia, exulting in the opportunity afforded him by the routed army and broken power of a rival monarch, shortly after marched to that capital, seized the castle and palace, and ferociously put to death the last prince of the Samanian dynasty, after it had flourished in the highest state of glory and splendour for nearly one hundred and twenty-seven years. This important event occurred, according to my authorities, in A. H. 388, or A. D. 998.*

Mahmud, inflamed with all the unrelenting bigotry of a true Mussulman, at his accession to the throne of Gazna, had made a solemn vow to Heaven, that if ever he should be blessed with profound tranquillity in his own dominions, he would follow the example of his father, in attacking with his whole force, the idolaters of Hindostan. That period was now arrived. His stern justice and politic wisdom made him respected at home, while his valour and martial skill rendered him dreaded abroad. It was a period of repose and felicity to Gazna; but pregnant with storms and tumults, and dismay to Hindostan. In the year one thousand of the Christian æra commenced the earliest of those TWELVE dreadful irruptions, in which, as is well observed by Mr. Orme, he treated the

* Abulfedæ Annal. Muslem. Tom. II. p. 601, *Hoc anno desiit Samanidarum Potestas.* See also Ferishta, Tom. I. p. 40. His dates are not always accurate; I find it constantly necessary to consult the Persian and Arabian chronologists, who have expressly treated concerning the Moslem events.

unfortunate Indians, "with all the rigour of a conqueror, and with all the fury of a converter;" in which the innumerable symbols erected in their temples and palaces, by a philosophical and ingenious people, intended to represent the deity and his various attributes, but stigmatized by their more pagan invaders, as unmeaning idols, were compelled to bow before the crescent of Mohammed; in which her pagodas, those stupendous structures, supposed too vast to be the labour of mortal hands, and therefore attributed to celestial architects, were defaced, and where practicable, fired or levelled by his desolating arm; and in which her long-accumulated and heaven-devoted treasures were violated and dispersed by a barbarous and rapacious soldiery.

Lahore was the first object of his attack, and of this province, as allusions to it will frequently occur in these pages, the reader will not be displeased with the following short account from the Ayeen Akbery and the Indian Antiquities. Lahoor, or Lahore, is one of the largest, richest, most fertile, and populous provinces of India, and is watered by five large rivers, whence its native name of Panjab, from PANJ, five, and AB, water. Its length given in the Ayeen Akbery, is 180 coss; and its breadth 86, which taking the coss, with Major Rennell, at two British statute miles, makes the former 360, and the latter 172 miles. Its exact boundaries having varied from time to time, under successive conquerors, are not necessary to be assigned in this general sketch. They have, however, been hinted at before. These rivers uniting below Multan, form the Sinde or Indus. Lahore, its capital, is situated in the 31st degree of north latitude; and stands on the banks of the Rauvee, the ancient Hydraotes. It is a city of such great antiquity, that if it be not in reality the Bucephala of Alexander, as has been with reason supposed, it will be extremely difficult to fix for certainty upon its founder; for the Ayeen Akbery is silent on the subject.

Lahore, lying on the direct road that leads into the heart of

Hindostan, has ever been harassed, both in ancient and modern æras, by the armies of contending princes, and has experienced every vicissitude to which the alternate triumph and defeat of the sovereign can subject a capital. From the time of Alexander to the present day, the Panjab has been more deeply stained with blood than any other province of the empire: and the frequent battles that have been fought within its territory, have probably continued to keep alive that ardour of fortitude for which its rajahs, and the subjects under their government, have been ever distinguished. They opposed with vigour the progress of the Macedonian invader, and the generals of Valid were prevented, as we have seen, principally by the valour of those frontier warriors, from penetrating to the Ganges.

By a prince thus resolutely determined on invasion and war, opportunity would soon be found for renewing hostilities with Jeipal, the nearest Indian rajah on his eastern frontier, and the plea of either retarded or diminished tribute, did in fact immediately bring down upon Peishore, a dependency of Lahore, the new sultan of Gazna, at the head of ten thousand of his chosen horse. Jeipal, though he had before been vanquished by Subuctagi, did not decline the contest, but collecting an army of twelve thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, supported by three hundred chain elephants, advanced to give the invader battle. Contempt, either for the youth, or the comparatively small force of Mahmud, or perhaps an ardent ambition to retrieve his former disgrace, might induce the rajah to this imprudent step. The event was, that after an engagement long and obstinately maintained by both parties, Mahmud, notwithstanding the vast inferiority of his army, in point of numbers, was completely victorious, killed five thousand of Jeipal's troops, and took the rajah himself, together with many of his friends and relatives prisoners. Of the immense booty obtained on this invasion; by Mahmud, some faint idea may be formed from this circumstance, that, round the neck alone of the captive sovereign, were found

suspended sixteen strings of jewels, each of which was valued at one hundred and eighty thousand rupees, or about three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. The spoil produced by the capture of the others, and the plunder of the Indian camp, must have been proportionably great. Jeipal, together with his friends and relatives, were at length liberated, on paying a large ransom, and the obligation of an highly increased tribute. Stung with shame and sorrrow, the unhappy and degraded monarch returned to his capital, and there overcome by a tempest of passions, partly impelled by his agitated feelings, and partly in obedience to a custom then prevalent among the Hindoos, which forbad a rajah, who had been twice vanquished by the Mussulmans, longer to hold the reins of government, he resigned the throne to his son. He then ordered a funeral pile to be prepared and kindled, and leaping into the flames, died, according to Hindoo prejudice, as heroically as he had lived.*

The plunder obtained by Mahmud in this his first irruption, was so immense, that, in his second Indian expedition, of which few particulars are recorded, he seems to have had in view, rather the securing than the extending of his newly acquired territory, by directing his arms against those numerous fortified towns and castles on the frontiers of India, that might at any period be able to retard, at least, his conquests, and check the torrent of his impetuous ambition. But these inferior excursions were only intended as introductory to those more important projects, for the consummation of which he was incessantly making the most formidable preparations, and to the consideration of which we now return.

In A. H. 395, answering to A. D. 1004, Mahmud commenced his third Indian expedition, on occasion of the detained tribute and the insolent conduct towards certain of the governors, on the frontier, of an Indian prince, named Bachera, a dependent of Anindpal;

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 41, et Abulfedæ ad Hegiram 392; or Tom. I. p. 607.

to whom he had also refused to pay the government arrears. The latter might be in too debilitated a condition to enforce that payment, but Mahmud was not thus to be trifled with. The capital of this prince was called TAHERA, and doubtless formed a part of Sind, as it bordered on Multan, but by that name it cannot now be recognised. It is represented to have been fortified with an exceeding high wall, and surrounded with a deep and broad ditch. A chain of posts seems to have guarded the approach to his capital, and the invaded prince is said to have defended himself in them for several days, with uncommon resolution; frequently, and with great slaughter to have repulsed the assailants; and to have driven Mahmud himself almost to the verge of despair. In the end, however, his usual good fortune surmounted every obstacle, and Bachera was compelled to take refuge within the walls of his capital. Mahmud immediately employed his army in the arduous work of filling up the ditch, which after the incessant labour of several days, was nearly accomplished, when the artful rajah, taking advantage of a dark night, by a private gate, led out the greatest part of his army, and encamped in a wood of difficult access on the banks of the Sinde, or Indus. Mahmud, on receiving this intelligence, divided his forces, and detaching the one half to attack Bachera, with the other he himself began an impetuous assault upon the city and castle. In that assault he was completely successful, and became master, in consequence, of all the wealth in bullion, in slaves, and elephants, which Tahera abundantly afforded. That he might not run the hazard of a second campaign as difficult in the passes of Tahera, he annexed that city and its territory for ever to the kingdom of Gazna. In the mean time, great desertion took place among the troops of the rajah; and a small determined band alone remained faithful to his declining cause. Being nearly surrounded by the Gaznavide army, they endeavoured with their swords, to force a passage through the midst of their foes; but their good fortune was

not equal to their bravery, in the attempt they were mostly cut to pieces, or taken prisoners. To avoid the latter fate, Bachera, on the point of meeting it, plunged his sword into his own bosom.* These frequent instances of suicide in the moment of extreme peril, mark the indomitable spirit of the ancient Indian rajahs, and may easily be accounted for, and partly palliated, by the prevailing Indian doctrine of the METEMPSYCHOSIS.

Multan, the capital of Sind, seems to have caught the infection of revolt from one of its inferior cities. Lodi, its former governor, had paid submissive allegiance to Mahmud, on a prior expedition to these parts; but his son Daood, (David) resolutely refused to acknowledge him as his liege sovereign, nor had the example of Bachera subjugated the least effect to bend his haughty soul to obedience. The prince of Lahore too, deriving no lesson of wisdom from the past sufferings of his family, exalted at Peishore the standard of rebellion. On this occasion, commenced Mahmud's fourth Indian expedition; but as this is his first direct attack upon Multan, I shall in this place, and it is a plan I mean generally to follow, when genuine geographical information can be obtained, prefix some *little* introductory account, principally from the Ayeen Akbery, of that capital, and the province to which it belongs.

Multan and Tattah together form the large province of Sind, a name more generally applied by the Arabian writers, to the vast country extending on each side of the Indus, from its sources to the ocean. The latitude of Multan is 29° 52′. The soobah is in length 433 coss; in breadth 108, but, including Tattah, the additional length to Cutch and Mocran, will measure the enormous line of 660 coss. On the east lies Serhind; the district of Shoor joins it on the north; on the south, it is bounded by the soobah of Ajmeer; on the west are situated Cutch and Mocran, both of which are independent territories. Tattah is watered by the rivers before

* For these events I can alone refer to Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 43.

described in Lahore, which passing through this soobah, unite their streams, and form the Sind. Mountains extend along the north side of this province. It resembles Lahore in many respects; and its fruits are delicious; it has, however, the benefit of but little rain, which seldom falls here; and the heat is excessive. Between Seewee and Bhakor is a large desert, over which, during three of the summer months, there blows the pernicious hot wind, called in Arabia *Semoom*. Only two cities of distinguished eminence are mentioned in this soobah by the Ayeen Akbery; the first is Multan, the capital, one of the most ancient cities of India, and the supposed metropolis of the Malli; and from them probably deriving the name of Multan, or Malli-patan; that is, the city of the Malli. It is described as having a strong castle, and a magnificent pagoda. The second is Bhakor, which is said to have a good fort, and in ancient books to have been called Munsoorah.

Multan contains three sircars, subdivided into eight pergunnahs.

Sircar TATTAH, once an independent territory, but now included in Multan, is of such considerable note, as to be honoured by the secretary of Akber with a longer account than that of the soobah to which it is annexed. Tattah is situated in the second climate; and its capital of the same name, according to our author, is in latitude 24° 10′, but according to Mr. Rennell, in 24° 50′. The winter in this country, says the Ayeen Akbery, is so temperate, that there is no occasion for furs, and the heat of the summer, except in Sewistan, is very moderate. In Tattah are various fine fruits; and the mangoes are remarkably good. A small kind of melon grows wild. Here are also a great variety of flowers; and their camels are much esteemed. The inhabitants travel chiefly by water; they build boats of various construction; and have not less than 40,000 in number. They hunt all kinds of wild animals, and are fond of fishing. The husbandman divides his crops with the government, but is allowed to keep two-thirds. Here are iron mines and salt-pits. The food

of the natives is rice and fish: the former is fine, and in abundance; of the latter a particular kind called pulwa, which comes from the sea into the Indus, is exceedingly delicious. They dry fish in the sun, and make an advantageous trade of it; they also extract oil from fish, which they use in building boats. The mountains of this soobah are numerous, and run in various directions, nourishing on their lofty sides the savage and warlike race of Balloches. They breed horses and camels upon these mountains. One of these tribes is named NOMURDY by Abul Fazil; and as this was part of the tract called by the ancients INDO-SCYTHIA, they cannot be considered otherwise than as the descendants of the Scythian Nomades. The fact is in a manner proved, by the prevalence at this day, of a custom among them, which was peculiar to the natives of ancient Scythia, that of the graziers who inhabit the villages on the banks of the Indus, occasionally changing their position, and wandering with the deviations of the stream.

In very ancient times the capital was Braminabad, which was then a very populous city. We may judge of its magnitude from that of its fort, which is said to have had 1400 bastions, a tenab distant from each other; and of this fortification there are at present considerable vestiges. The ruins of a city supposed to be Braminabad, are still visible, within four miles of Tattah. Tattah is the Daibul of the Persian tables of Sir William Jones, and of the Arabian geographers.

On his march to Multan, Mahmud was attended by an army unusually numerous, and well appointed. He had in the first place, to contend with Annindpal, who had entered into a close confederacy with Daood to oppose his progress, and then with forces diminished by battle and fatigue, he had to fight his way into the well fortified capital of Sind. Both exploits were performed with vigour and celerity. The assembled forces of the son of Jeipal, greatly superior in point of number, but far inferior in regard to valour and discipline, were

so totally routed by the sultan, that he was obliged to fly northward to the Cashmerian mountains for shelter; while, rapidly urging on his victorious career, he reposed not, till the crescent of Mohammed was seen to glitter on its polluted shrines, above the faded crescent of the Indian Seeva. The plunder obtained at Multan was, doubtless, in proportion to the magnitude, the wealth, and immense commerce of the place, but no particulars are stated either in Mirkhond, Ferishta, or any of the Arabian historians of the period. With respect to the rebel Daood, he retired into the vast and woody recesses of Sind, whence he humbly and earnestly solicited the forforgiveness of the sultan, promising, in future, the most implicit obedience to his commands, and offering, at the same time, a very large increase of annual tribute. Mahmud, who had, at least, as much *avarice* as *ambition* in his nature, either *was*, or affected to be, pacified, and returned once more triumphant to Gazna.*

It has already been intimated, that the Uzbek king of Cashgur, or Little Bokharia, had extirpated the Samanian dynasty. Mahmud, struck with the ingratitude of Mansur, observed its extinction with pleasure, had admitted Elek to the honour of his friendship, and had even married that prince's daughter. The perfidious Tartar bursting through all these sacred bonds, during Mahmud's last Indian expedition, had dispatched two armies, one to seize on Balkh, and the other to invade Chorasan. The weakness of those places, from which the sultan, suspecting no injury from a friend and a father, had drawn the greater part of the troops in garrison, to strengthen the southern army, had incited Elek to this base act, but he soon had reason to repent the outrage, for with a velocity as rapid as the swollen Oxus that witnessed it, the legions of Gazna, notwithstanding it was the depth of winter, were instantly transported to the scene of conflict; and, though Elek had called to his aid the potent sovereign of Turkestan, who fought in his army at the head of fifty

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 44; Herbelot, Art. Mahmud.

thousand horse, victory declared in favour of Mahmud, of whom the most gallant exertions of personal valour are recorded in this desperate contest. These, however, are foreign to this history, and we return to accompany him on his FIFTH and not the least celebrated of his expeditions to the plains of Hindostan.*

In A. D. 1008, Annindpal, impatient under a foreign yoke, endeavoured to wrest Multan from the grasp of the sultan, which act rouzing the resentment of Mahmud, he prepared again to pour his vengeance on the desolated Panjab. Resolved to perish rather than submit, Annindpal immediately dispatched messengers to all the great rajahs of Hindostan, entreating them once more, to raise their united shields against the grand enemy, whose sacrilegious fury nothing seemed likely to satiate, but the entire downfal of their religion, and the utter extirpation of their race. Instigated by these two-fold considerations, the rajahs of Ugein, Gualior, Callinger, Canouge, Delhi, and Ajmere, names constantly occurring at the head of all the great national confederacies, uniting their forces, advanced, an innumerable body! animated by heroic fortitude, but without a proper head, and destitute of the talents and military tactics of the great Mahmud, towards the sources of the Indus. India, it is said, had not for many centuries beheld so immense a concourse of her sons in arms, all breathing the same spirit, all determined to avenge the insults offered to their gods. Mahmud had encamped on a vast plain, near the confines of Peishore. Opposite to him, and in sight of him also, encamped the Hindoos, who daily became more formidable for numbers and strength. The two armies remained in this situation during forty days; a pause pregnant with solicitude, and full of horror!

Mahmud, whose forces were infinitely inferior in number, beheld without dismay the armed multitudes perpetually increasing, and nearly encircling his veteran bands. He merely adopted the defen-

* Abulfeda, Tom. II. p. 498.

sive measure of strongly entrenching himself in his camp, to avoid the danger and hazard of a general assault without that precaution; at length he commanded a thousand archers to advance in his front, that the foe galled by their arrows, might attack his intrenchments. The project succeeded with a people new to the artifices of Arabian war; for as fast as the Hindoos approached, they were cut down by whole battalions, and though a large body of the more daring among them forced their way into the trenches, and killed several thousand Mussulmen, yet the loss of the latter bore no proportion to the former. This mode of attack continued for a long time, till the enemy being greatly exhausted in strength, as well as greatly reduced in number, began to slacken in the vigour of their assault. Then Mahmud with a great body of Arab and Afghan horse, kept in reserve for the purpose, rushed out from the intrenchments, and began a terrible attack on the weakened foe. An immense slaughter followed, but the enemy was still incalculably numerous, and still unvanquished. Whatever eventual good success might have been the consequence of the martial skill and persevering valour of Mahmud, an accident became greatly instrumental towards turning the fortune of the day. A species of fire weapon seems to have been in use at that time in Asiatic battles, and the sudden explosion of one of those instruments of destruction, close by the elephant on which the prince of Lahore, the generalissimo of the army, rode, having terrified the animal, rendered it utterly ungovernable, and in despite of the utmost exertions of the guide, the irritated animal bore the reluctant rajah precipitately from the field, which gave the appearance of flight to the whole Indian army. For in all battles, fought in that country, it is a circumstance particularly deserving of notice, and it will be often exemplified in the course of this history, that, during the engagement, every eye is fixed on the general, who is usually mounted conspicuous on an elephant most richly decorated, and of uncommon magnitude and ferocity. The sight

of his heroic exertions inspires his troops with sublime confidence; his flight, or capture, plunges them in the deepest despair, and the palm of victory is instantly relinquished to the party that resolutely maintain its ground.* At the sad spectacle, therefore, of their retreating general, the myriads of the Hindoo army imagining themselves deserted by their leader, as rapidly betook themselves to promiscuous flight; nor could the most strenuous efforts of the other chieftains, who saw with inexpressible anguish, the standards of the empire and the banners of religion, alike relinquished to the sacrilegious fury of the foe, prevent their utter discomfiture and dispersion. Mahmud now at the head of all his horse, began a pursuit more bloody, fatal, and prolonged, than even the preceding battle; a pursuit that lasted incessantly for two days, and in that space twenty thousand Hindoos were slaughtered, in addition to the uncounted multitude that perished on the field of battle.† The plunder obtained on this occasion was of the most costly kind, and was in quantity sufficient to load thirty large elephants; while the renown acquired by this glorious action, far surpassed every other consideration, and wafted his triumphant name to the extremities of Asia.

But neither the one nor the other, was able to satiate the boundless ambition and avarice of the sultan. He had heard, that in the territory of Naugracut, a part of the vast chain of lofty mountains that form the northern boundary of Hindostan, of old time had been erected by an ancient and celebrated rajah, of the name of Bimé, a fort, containing a superb temple, consecrated to the idols of the Hindoos, denominated from himself, Bimé, and of almost impregnable strength.

* The great Aurengzebe was so sensible of this, that, in his desperate battle with sultan Dara, he ordered chains to be fastened to the feet of his elephant, to prevent the possibility of retreating.

† Ferishta Vol. I. p. 49. Abulfeda, Tom. II. p. 500. Herbelot, p. 89.

In the Indian Antiquities,* the city of Naugracut has been already mentioned, as having a celebrated college of Hindoo learning, groves of vast extent, and a most frequented and splendid chapel of Hindoo devotion, the very floor of which, according to Mandelsloe,† was covered with plates of gold. The rites, however, it was observed, were somewhat of a sanguinary kind; for, to gain the smile of the stern deity adored there, the infatuated devotees cut out their tongues, as an holy offering, which, according to Abul Fazel,‡ miraculously grew again in the space of two or three days!

The fort of Bimé that protected the district of Naugracut, was built with great labour, on the very summit of the mountain, and in vaults under the sanctuary, as in a place of inviolable security, was deposited the whole collective wealth of the neighbouring principalities, so that in this fort there was supposed to be amassed by the Brahmins, a greater quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, than had ever been collected together in the royal treasury of any prince of Asia. Ardent zeal for the propagation of Islamism, not less than impatient avidity of treasures, reputed inestimable, goaded on Mahmud, to attempt the capture of this important place. The greater part of the numerous garrison had descended to join their comrades in arms, and had been defeated with them in the late fatal engagement. Before they could recover from their confusion, or any fresh troops could be thrown into the fortress, Mahmud, after his recent pursuit of the flying foe, hurrying thither with the utmost expedition, caused the place to be invested on every side, sending at the same time detachments to scour the surrounding country, and lay waste every thing with fire and sword. Notwithstanding these formidable preparations, the Brahmins who presided in it, and who kept watch day and night over their hoarded treasures, resolutely determined, with the remainder of the garrison, to

* Indian Antiquities, Vol. II. p. 162. † Mandelsloe apud Harris, Vol. II. p. 120. ‡ Ayeen Akbery, Vol. II. p. 133.

hold out against the conqueror of the united forces of India; they thought the place sufficiently defended by its hitherto unviolated sanctity, and that the thunderbolt of the avenging Seeva could not possibly sleep, while an alien usurper was threatening the sacred, the concentrated property of his august temples. In despite of their prayers and anathemas, Mahmud carried on his works with vigour and effect, and it was not till inevitable destruction awaited their farther resistance, that they submissively requested permission to capitulate. Their request was granted, and lenient terms proffered, if they immediately opened the gates. Those gates, never before unfolded to admit unhallowed feet, soon flew open to receive within their precincts the sultan of Gazna and the chief officers of his army, who entering, beheld with equal astonishment, the strength and riches of that sacred and elevated retreat. In the sanctuary of Bimé were found treasured up, seven hundred thousand golden dinars, seven hundred maunds* of gold and silver plate, forty maunds of pure gold in ingots, two thousand maunds of silver bullion, and twenty maunds of various jewels set, which had been collecting from the time of Bimé.† With this enormous treasure, the king returned to Gazna, where, at a magnificent festival, he displayed his wealth to the people in golden thrones, and other rich ornaments, in a vast plain without the city, and distributed a portion of it in princely presents to his generals, principal omras, and bravest soldiers. In each of the preceding invasions, independent of the destruction and mutilation of temples and idols, which to the Hindoos was worse than death, the inhabitants themselves were every where compelled to acknowledge the sacred mission of Mohammed, and those who refused this test of obedience, were, for the most part, either wantonly massacred, or doomed to perpetual slavery in a foreign country.

The year of Christ 1009, is famous for Mahmud's conquest of

* A maund is about forty pounds weight. † Ferishta's Hist. Vol. I. p. 65. Herbelot, p. 96.

the principality of Gaur, which I should pass over as irrelevant, did not that principality give birth to a race of conquerors who afterwards conquered both Gazna and Hindostan. Its geographical situation, amidst the loftiest eminences of Paropamisus, has been already described. It was inhabited by the fiercest tribes of Afghan warriors, who had never yet been subjected to the controul of any foreign power. Secure, as they thought, in their hilly and almost impenetrable fortresses, they bade defiance to invasion, and at the same time, committed the most cruel depredations on all the kingdoms that verged upon their frontier. An insult of this kind excited against their prince, by name Mohammed, the inflamed resentment of the monarch of Gazna, who, besides, thought it worthy of himself, to attempt what nobody had yet dared, and effect what was thought impossible. Ten thousand hardy veterans were opposed to him on the soil which had been drenched with the blood, and consecrated by the sepulchres of their valiant forefathers from the foundation of empires in Asia. Their generous posterity did not degrade their manes, but rushed to battle with the fury of the noble animal that, like themselves, is born and nurtured amid the recesses of the forest. From morning to noon, says the Persian author, the flames of war raged, and justice was done to valour on both sides. Driven at length by the superior number of their adversaries, within their intrenchments, there the troops of Gaur for a long time kept at bay the assailing foe, till Mahmud sounding a retreat, as if wearied out, and in despair of victory, allured them to pursue his flying army into the adjacent plains. At a certain point the fugitives were commanded to halt, when suddenly facing about, they renewed the attack with redoubled fury, and snatched the plume of victory from the fancied invincible. The sovereign of Gaur was on this occasion taken prisoner, and brought into the presence of the sultan; but that prince was insensible of the disgrace; for disdaining the chains of captivity, he had swallowed a subtle poison which he always kept

about him, concealed in his ring, and expired almost immediately. Gaur henceforth, became for a period, an appendage to the empire of Gazna; but, in the lapse of years, her ancient spirit, with her ancient dynasty, revived; she inflicted upon her conquerors a severe retaliation, and at length the young vulture, with her ensanguined talons, tore out the heart and entrails of the eagle of Gazna.*

In A. D. 1011, Mahmud commenced his sixth Indian expedition, being his second into Hindostan Proper, in which the venerated city of Tannasar, and the great and imperial city of Delhi felt the scourge of foreign invasion. Of the former of these two celebrated places, the following is a concise description. Tannasar, the Tanasis of Ptolemy's geography, a circumstance which fully marks both its antiquity and celebrity, is situated in the soobah of Delhi, to the west of that city, and distant from it about thirty miles. It is, says the Ayeen Akbery, held sacred by the Hindoos. The river Sirsutty, to which they pay profound adoration, runs near it; and in its vicinity is the sacred lake of Koorkhet. This region was the scene of the Mahabbarut, or the great war, and the city of Hustnapore, that formerly stood here, was the imperial residence of rajah Bharat, a prince renowned for justice and love of his subjects, and the first universal sovereign of Hindostan.† Those who know the devotion paid by the Hindoos to all the places consecrated by the exploits of their avatars and most ancient kings of the solar dynasty, will not wonder at their extreme veneration for Tannasar. Mahmud indeed, had heard that it was holden in the same sacred light by them, as Mecca itself was by the Mussulmen; that it was full of temples and idols, and overflowed, like Bimé, with consecrated wealth; the accumulated offerings of piety, through a long succession of ages. The presiding deity, amidst a thousand inferior satellites, of this consecrated recess, was denominated JUG SOOM, perhaps

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 51. Abulfeda, Tom. II. p. 530.

† Ayeen Akbery, Vol. II. p. 97.

synonimous with SOMA, the Sanscreet name of the MOON,) and the Brahmins vaunted, that their Jug Soom was of an antiquity superior to the existing world.

The route of Mahmud lay immediately through the territories of Annindpal, whom, after conquering, he had admitted to the honour of an alliance with the empire of Gazna. The king therefore sent to require of that rajah, that during his march, every duty of a faithful ally should be performed; guards provided for the protection, and necessaries for the support, of his army. The pious rajah equally zealous to preserve, as Mahmud was eager to destroy, the hallowed temples and city of Tannasar, in vain endeavoured to avert his fury by the proffer of a number of elephants and bullion, and jewels to a great amount. Mahmud remained inexorable, and Annindpal was obliged to contribute to the downfal of idolatry, by furnishing the escort and provisions demanded by the invader. The answer returned to his humble expostulation by the Gaznavian emperor, deserves to be recorded, as it gives us ingenuously the principles by which both himself, Gengis, Timur, and all the tribe of Indian invaders were guided in their various devastations of the finest and most fertile region of the earth. That answer was as follows: "That in the Mussulman religion it was an established maxim, that the more the glory of the prophet was exalted, and the more his followers exerted themselves in the subversion of idolatry, the greater would be their reward in Heaven. That therefore, it was his firm resolution, with the assistance of God and the prophet, to root out the abominable worship of idols from the face of the country of Hindostan. To spare Tannasar, one of the most venerated recesses of Hindoo superstition, would be to trample on the most sacred mandate of the Coran."*

Annindpal, smarting under recent defeat, was reluctantly compelled to submit; but when this intelligence reached the rajah of

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 52.

Delhi, under whose more immediate protection Tannasar flourished, he instantly dispatched heralds to every province of Hindostan, summoning his brother rajahs once more to the field, and conjuring them to attempt at least, to preserve from profanation and robbery, the last ancient sanctuary of the gods of India. In the mean time, Mahmud's innumerable army was rolling on, like a vast inundation, to overwhelm it; and so rapid was its progress, that before any considerable body of troops could be assembled to oppose him, it arrived before its walls, and blockaded every avenue into the city. Better calculated for the practice of sacred rites, than formed for military defence, Tannasar unsuccoured, was quickly compelled to surrender, and in the space of a few hours, the astonished eye beheld the same city towering in grandeur, in beauty, and in unrivalled opulence, and, by the ravages of a merciless soldiery, reduced to the lowest state of desolation, distress, and poverty; its lofty palaces and venerable shrines plundered and defaced; and the splendid images that decorated the walls of the latter, arrayed in the sumptuous dresses of avatars, torn down, stript, and, when not fabricated of the precious metals, hewed to pieces, and thrown with every concomitant mark of disgrace and infamy on the highway. With respect to the great idol JUG SOOM himself, in proportion to his pre-eminence, he was treated with superior contempt and indignity; and that not the smallest remnant of his venerated image might exist in Hindostan, to excite anew the flame of idolatrous devotion, he was sent captive to Gazna, where after being publicly decapitated, his mutilated limbs were scattered through the streets and highways of that populous city, and trampled under the feet of devout Mussulmen. A far greater number of jewels, but less bullion was found in this city than in Bimé; and, among the former, a ruby was discovered of such enormous magnitude, as appears almost incredible.*

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 53.

The rajah of Delhi, by endeavouring, though fruitlessly, to excite all the powers of Hindostan to arm against Mahmud, having, in fact, declared war against him, the sultan immediately commenced his march for that capital; but as the soobah, and in particular the CITY of Delhi, will engross much of our attention in the subsequent pages, I shall present the reader, in this place, from the Ayeen Akbery, and other historical and geographical sources which I had occasion to consult, when engaged in writing the Indian Antiquities, with an account sufficiently ample to enable him to visit them again, as he often must, without finding himself entirely in a strange country.

This soobah, according to the Ayeen Akbery, is situated in the third climate.* Its greatest length is there stated at 165 coss, reckoning the Indian coss, as mentioned before, at two British statute miles; and its extreme breadth at 140 coss. On the east lies Agra; on the north are mountains; on the south the boundaries are Agra and Ajmeer; and Lodyaneh confines it on the west. The principal rivers are the Ganges and the Jumna. The climate is very temperate. Most of the lands are inundated during the periodical rains. Some places in it are said to produce three harvests in a year. In this soobah grow most of the fruits of Persia, Tartary and Hindostan, with an infinite variety of the loveliest flowers. Throughout its whole extent are interspersed many magnificent buildings of stone and brick; and it is stored with the productions of every part of the globe. A part of the northern mountains of this soobah is called Kamaoon, in which are mines of gold, lead, silver, iron, copper, orpiment, and borax. Here is also found abundance of musk-deer, SILK-WORMS, falcons of various kinds, and plenty of honey.†

The city of Delhi, according to Ferishta, was founded by DELU, the usurper of the throne of Western Hindostan, about 300 years before the commencement of the Christian æra; but, according to the

* The climates will be explained hereafter.

† Ayeen Akbery, Vol. II. p. 95.

more probable account of the volume just cited, Aurungpaul, of the Tenore tribe, was its real founder, probably on the ruins of a more ancient metropolis, in the year 429 of the æra of Bickermajit, an æra not greatly dissimilar from that of Christ. It was for a series of ages governed by its own rajahs, who seem to have had considerable weight in the empire, and to have been very active in repelling both the ancient Persian and Tartar invaders of Hindostan. They were descended from, and were for some time tributary to, the great rajahs of Lahore, of the race of BAL, or PAUL, (as the word is sometimes written, the letters B and P being interchangeable in most Oriental dialects,) a name celebrated for valour in the heroic histories of the country: this family is denominated Jeipal by Ferishta, but Gebal by D'Herbelot, from other Moslem historians. By this appellation the latter distinguishes * "*le plus puissant roi de l'Indostan;*" and in another place calls him, though erroneously, for the Canouge sovereigns were both greater and wealthier, "*Bal, fils d'Andbal, (Annindpal) estimé le plus riche et le plus puissant roi de* TOUT L'INDOSTAN." I think there can hardly be a doubt, when we consider their great military fame and their place of residence, but that this long, hereditary, and illustrious race of Bal, was the same as that of Porus, so often mentioned by classical writers. Twenty princes of this line are particularly said, in the Ayeen Akbery, to have enjoyed in regular succession, for 437 years, the throne of Delhi, not yet imperial. An extensive territory to the north and south of Delhi was subject to the controul of its rajah, since we read in Ferishta, that the ancient and hallowed cities both of Tannasar and Muttra, or Mathura, (the Methora of Pliny,) situated only thirty-six miles north of Agra, and still a considerable city, were under his jurisdiction and protection. The last of its native princes, according to the Ayeen Akbery, was Pithowra,† from

* Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 534

† Consult the curious fragment of Provincial Indian History relative to this prince, in the Ayeen Akbery, and inserted in page 164 preceding of the present volume.

whose family (a little to anticipate the future history) it was conquered by the Mohammedan slave Cuttub, or Cothbedden Ibek, as he is called by Herbelot, who made Delhi the capital of the vast empire which he established in Hindostan. The prince from whom it was immediately taken is said, by Ferishta, to have been called Candi; and, in corroboration of his assertion, in Marco Polo's Indian Travels, I find mention made of a rajah of the same name, who is affirmed to have been the chief of the four great kings who then reigned in the Peninsula. Candi lost his throne nearly at the expiration of the twelfth century :* Marco Paulo visited India about the middle of the thirteenth century; and it is not improbable that the exiled family, though unable to oppose the torrent of Mohammedan success, might still retain sufficient vigour and resources to secure a respectable territory in the southern regions of that extensive country.

On this subject, let me not forget to remark, that the Asiatic Researches contains a deed, or grant of land, bearing date twenty-three years before the commencement of the Christian æra, of one of the rajahs of this very name, who is styled Deb Paul Deb, equally instructive to the historian, and interesting to the antiquary. Among much other curious and useful information, this Paul is said to have been the son of Dharmo Paul, who married the daughter of a celebrated rajah called PORO BAL; and the union of two such words in the same name, and *that* the name of a rajah of Delhi, will, I hope, rescue my former conjecture that Porus was of this dynasty, from any severe animadversion.

The city of Delhi according to the Ayeen Akbery, is situated in latitude 28° 37′; but, according to Major Rennell's more correct geography, in 31°. If we may believe the Mahabbarat, it stands upon the site of the most ancient city of Inderput, in times

* See his Travels, or at least the best Analysis of them, in Campbell's edition of Harris, Vol. I. p. 261.

justly reputed fabulous, the metropolis of the country. The Ayeen Akbery, however, confirms this account, expressly asserting that Delhi is a very ancient city, "and was formerly called Inderput." Delhi rose to renown as the glory of Canouge declined. Its consequence as an imperial city increased with that of the Mohammedan dynasty, which bears its name, and it continued to flourish as one of the most splendid cities of Asia, and after the total decay of Canouge as the unrivalled metropolis of Hindostan, under all the sultans of the Gaznavide, the Gauride, and Charazmian dynasties. Each successive monarch adorned this envied city with some signal memorial of royal magnificence; it was surrounded with beautiful gardens and aromatic groves; and was filled with innumerable edifices, erected for the purposes of commerce, appropriated to the diffusion of science, or devoted to the sanctities of religion.*

Against this great capital and its patriotic rajah, Mahmud now directed the vengeance of a victorious army, and thirty intervening miles were past with a celerity proportionate to the ardour of his high-raised expectations, and the magnitude of the expected spoil. The rapidity of his march and the vigour of his attack rendered all opposition fruitless; one of the strongest castles, and the most sumptuous palaces of India, received within their spacious inclosures, a foreign lord; and the citizens of that proud metropolis, beheld with horror the barbarous standard of Arabia flying from their lofty summits, above the insulted banners of the preserving Veeshnu. As the successive bands of armed plunderers ranged through the

* For a more extended and comprehensive account of Delhi and its varied fate, down to the middle of the eighteenth century, the reader will please to consult, INDIAN ANTIQUITIES, Vol. I. p. 200.

I request permission in this place, to inform the public, that the early volumes of that work have been, at a heavy expense, reprinted, to make up sets, which may now be had complete, at Mr. White's in Fleet-street. The sixth, and the seventh, volumes may also still be had separately; very many of these two *final volumes* still remain on hand.

apartments of the rajah's splendid abode, enriched with all that the mines and the looms, and the genius of India could afford to decorate them, as they tore down the gold brocade and embroidered tapestry that lined the walls, and the plates of silver that covered the cielings, they felt no sentiment of compunction or pity; the solid weight and sterling value of the spoil amassed, alone occupied their consideration; and Mahmud himself was so delighted with the place, that he reluctantly yielded back the sceptre to the vanquished rajah upon the usual terms of paying an annual tribute; he wished to annex that rich soobah and city wholly and for ever to the crown of Gazna; but he was informed by his courtiers, that till the turbulent line of princes that reigned in Lahore, and lay between Delhi and his northern dominions, were extirpated, and Multan also completely subjugated, it would be impossible for him to keep the undisturbed possession of the rajahship of Delhi. Mahmud assented to the truth and justice of these representations, and resolved immediately on the total subjugation and expulsion of the sovereigns of those places; but Annindpal, as artful as he was brave, on the sultan's arrival in his territory, with that intent, found means, by rich presents, soothing speeches, and the most generous hospitality, to divert him from his hostile purpose, and the army tranquilly bent its course towards Gazna, incumbered with forty thousand captives and other species of wealth, in number and value almost defying computation.*

Mahmud seems to have inviolably adhered to the amicable compact entered into with Annindpal, till the death of that prince, about two years afterwards, when we find him engaged in strenuous war with Pitteru-Jeipal, who had succeeded to the rajahship of Lahore, and besieging a fort of the name of Nindoona, belonging to that rajah, and said to have been situated in the mountains of Belnat, but neither the one nor the other, is to be found, at least under those

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 53.

appellations in the map and Memoir of Major Rennell. The new rajah, not daring to face in the field the disciplined and veteran troops of Gazna, after leaving a strong garrison in the fort to amuse the sultan, retired towards Cashmere, in the mountains of which secluded region, he hoped to be secure from molestation; but Mahmud, after taking and plundering Nindoona, pursued thither the fugitive rajah, and compelled him to take shelter among the still higher mountains of the great northern range that forms the boundary of that soobah towards Tartary. But of Cashmere, that terrestrial paradise, and so attractive to Mahmud, as to be the object of a second invasion, two years afterwards, it is necessary that something introductory should be premised for the information of those of my readers who may not be conversant in the geography of this part of Asia.

Cashmere is represented in the Ayeen Akbery, as extending 120 coss in length, and as being from ten to twenty-five coss in breadth: but Major Rennell inclines to think these lines of demarcation greatly exaggerated; and from Mr. Forster's route and more correct judgment, states it to be only eighty miles in length, forty in breadth, and of an oval form.

Relative to this delightful and extraordinary valley of Cashmere, shut in on every side by vast mountains, the same book abounds with such ardent expressions of admiration, that we are induced really to suppose it to be what by Eastern writers it is often called, the Paradise of the Indies. It is there called a garden in perpetual spring; and the surrounding mountains, those stupendous fortifications with which nature has furnished it, are said to be of an astonishing height, so that its grand and romantic appearance cannot fail of delighting those who are fond of variety, as well as those who take pleasure in retirement. The water is remarkably good, and the cataracts are numerous and magnificent. Violets, roses, narcissuses, and innumerable other flowers, grow wild in Cashmere.

The spring and autumn display scenes enchantingly beautiful. It has plenty of excellent fruits, especially melons, apples, peaches, and apricots; and the rain descends not in a deluge, as in other parts of Hindostan, but in light and genial showers. Amidst these advantages, however, they are not free from the dreadful calamity of frequent earthquakes; on which account they do not build their houses with brick and stone, but of wood, with which the country abounds.

In Cashmere are various manufactures of wool, particularly of shawls, which are carried to all parts of the globe; and of silk, which occasions the general cultivation of mulberry trees, not so much for the fruit as for the leaves, on which the silk-worms feed. They live chiefly upon rice, fish, (either fresh or dried,) and vegetables. Of animals, they have a species of sheep called Hundoo, whose flesh is exceedingly delicious and wholesome. They have horses, small but hardy; and cows black and deformed, but yielding plenty of good milk. They breed neither elephants nor camels; and they have neither snakes, scorpions, nor other venomous reptiles.

Sirrynagur is mentioned as the capital of Cashmere in Akber's time, and it is said for ages to have been in a flourishing state. The name of Sirrynagur has since been exchanged for that of the province, and the modern capital of Cashmere is described by Mr. Forster, the last English visitor, as a large city built on each side of the Chelum, the ancient Hydaspes, which rolls through the centre of the valley, whose whole extent, according to tradition, it anciently overspread in the form of a vast lake. It is situated in latitude 33° 49′: its longitude is 73° 11′.*

The account, in Ferishta, of the campaign in Cashmere, is very summary, and unsatisfactory. In the plain country Mahmud could not possibly meet with opposition; like his predecessors, in

* Ayeen Akbery, Vol. I. p. 135. Major Rennell's Memoir, p. 104.

the beautiful Sogd of Samarcand, he let his destroying legions loose in that delicious recess, and spread slaughter and devastation through the whole of the happy valley, while the trumpets of Gazna sounded aloud to the affrighted inhabitants the dreadful tidings of "the CORAN OR SLAVERY." His efforts to reduce the fortresses erected by the policy of its ancient kings, on the lofty mountains that overlook and in part command it, were not, in the first instance, successful; but of every thing of value, he plundered the unfortunate city and people of Cashmere, and returned with that additional spoil to Gazna. He is said, however, on account of the rebellion of certain chiefs, and for the purpose of reducing the forts that still held out, to have returned thither in A. D. 1012, when those chiefs were cut off, and all but one hill fort, called LOKOTE, of uncommon height and strength, were compelled to yield to his superior military genius. In fruitless endeavours to obtain possession of LOKOTE, he wasted the whole summer of that year; and, on the approach of winter, was compelled to return, baffled, and greatly disconcerted, to his capital. To add to his chagrin, by the accidental, or voluntary error of his guides, in that return, his army was led astray into a watery morass of great extent, whence it was with the greatest difficulty extricated, and with the loss of considerable numbers of men.

In A. D. 1016, Mahmud, having bestowed his sister in marriage on the sovereign of Charazm, and that sovereign being shortly afterwards murdered in an insurrection of certain turbulent chieftains in his service, the sultan marched with the utmost expedition, towards the capital of that kingdom, and after one or two bloody conflicts with the insurgents, in which they met the merited fate of rebellion, seized on the crown, which he claimed by the twofold right of conquest and marriage. Thus, having already given a king to Bokharia, he became the complete master of all the vast province of Transoxiana, as well as part of Turkestan, with whose hardy and valiant progeny he doubtless recruited his victorious

squadrons, exhausted with continual warfare, and debilitated with incessant fatigue.

From whatever quarter collected, in A. D. 1018, an army, consisting of not less than one hundred thousand chosen horse, and thirty thousand foot, attended him on his eighth Indian expedition, in which he directed the whole force of his immense empire against Canouge, at that time the proud metropolis of all Hindostan. The riches and magnificence of Delhi doubtless excited Mahmud to this bold and hazardous attempt, for Canouge was distant from Gazna a three months march, and seven great rivers, the principal branches that composed the Indus, rushed across the path that led to that remote capital.

But, as we are now entering upon the history of events in a division of India which we have not recently visited, that division which the Arabian geographers call MABER, or *the Passage*, by which they understand the vast tract formerly composing the empire of the Prasii, and Gangaridæ, and extending from the gulph of Bengal, on both sides of the Ganges, as far northward as the Sewalic mountains, it is necessary that we should take a previous concise geographical survey of the ground to which we are about to attend the army of Mahmud.

The tract in question comprehended many great and wealthy provinces, Oude, Bengal, Bahar, Allahabad, and a considerable portion of Agra, in which province, according to the Ayeen Akbery, Canouge stands, though formerly it conferred its name upon the kingdom of which it was the capital, and Agra was included in it. Of the four former of these rich and fertile provinces, I shall, chiefly from that book, present the reader with a summary account, deferring an account of Agra till a later period, when we must again visit this interesting region. Interesting to Britons, indeed, it cannot fail to prove, since the whole of this vast tract, watered by the Ganges, from its entrance into the plains of Hindostan to the ocean

itself, an extent, according to Major Rennell, of above thirteen hundred and fifty miles, is in the possession of the British nation, and its immediate allies, or tributaries.

I begin with the province of OUDE, because, in the Mahabbarat translated by the secretary of Akber, the first imperial city of Hindostan is stated to have been OUDE, its capital, and we are informed that it was built by Krishna, one of their earliest sovereigns; that is to say, it is so ancient a city, that the Hindoos are obliged to go for its origin to fabulous times. That ancient city, says Sir William Jones, in the Asiatic Researches,† extended, if we may believe the Bramins, over a line of ten yojans, or about forty miles; and the present city of Lucknow was only a lodge for one of its gates. It is supposed to have been the birth-place of Rama. This soobah, according to the Ayeen Akbery, has Bahar on the east; on the north it is bounded by mountains; by Manickpoor on the south; and on the west by Canouge. Its length is stated at 135 coss, and its breadth at 115 coss. The Gogra, the Gounty, and the Sy, are its principal rivers. The water and air are good, and the seasons are temperate. Agriculture in this soobah is in high perfection. Some particular kinds of rice growing in it are represented as incomparable for whiteness, delicacy, and flavour. The crops are sown three months earlier than in any other part of Hindostan, and the stalks are said to rise as fast as the innundating water. From the northern mountains are imported a number of curious articles of commerce: among these are specified, musk, chook, (an acid mixture of lime and lemon-juice boiled to a consistence,) tincar, civet, zedoary, redwood, asafœtida, and amber. In return, the traders in these articles carry back earthen ware. Lucknow is represented as being the principal city, pleasantly situated upon the banks of the Gounty, with very delightful suburbs. The whole province is a vast plain, through which the Ganges majestically

* Rennell's Memoir, p. 116. † Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 259.

glides, and occupies the central part of the ancient kingdom of the Prasii.

BENGAL is bounded on the south by the bay to which it gives its name; on the north by mountains; Arracan and Tipra are on its eastern frontier; and on the west it has Bahar. The Ayeen Akbery states it to be 400 coss in length, and 209 in breadth; but as its limits have varied under successive princes, according to their moderate or inflamed passion for conquest and dominion, no dependence can be placed on these lines of demarcation. This province for fertility has been justly compared to Egypt. Canals cut from the Ganges and its branches, every where intersect it, and diffuse verdure and plenty through its whole extent.

The air of Bengal is comparatively temperate. The periodical rains commence in April, and continue for somewhat more than six months; during this season, the low-lands are sometimes entirely overflowed. We are informed in a note, that the frequent storms of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain, from the north-west, which precede the setting in of the periodical rains, contribute very much to moderate the heat; that those rains more generally commence in the beginning of June; and that if they break up early in September, the weather is intensely hot, and the inhabitants are very sickly.

This soobah abounds with rivers, the noblest of which is the Gung, or Ganges. The learned among the Hindoos have composed volumes in praise of the Ganges, all parts of which are said to be holy; but some particular places are esteemed more so than others. The great people have the water of this river brought to them from vast distances, it being esteemed necessary in the performance of certain religious ceremonies. The water of the Ganges has been celebrated in all ages, not only for its sanctity, but also on account of its sweetness, lightness, and salubrity, and because it does not become putrid, though kept for years.

Most of the rivers of Bengal have their banks cultivated with rice, of which there is a variety of species. The soil is so fertile in some places, that a single grain of rice will yield a measure of two or three seer.* Some lands will produce three crops in a year. Vegetation is here so extremely quick, that as fast as the water rises the plants of rice grow above it, so that the ear is never immersed. The food of the inhabitants consists for the most part of fish and rice. Their houses are chiefly made of bamboos, some of them very expensive and very durable. They travel chiefly by water, especially in the rainy season; and they construct boats for war, burthen, and travelling. Horses are very scarce. In some parts of this soobah are manufactured hempen carpets, so beautiful that they seem to be made of silk. Diamonds, emeralds, pearls, agates, and cornelians, are brought from other countries to the sea-ports of Bengal. Their flowers and fruits are fine and in plenty.

GAUR, the Gangâ Regia of Ptolemy, 750 years before Christ was the capital of this soobah. It stood on the Ganges, but has, in the long lapse of time, been deserted by that river, which probably occasioned its gradual decay. Its stupendous ruins cover a tract fifteen miles in length and three in breadth. Several villages occupy a part of its site; the remainder is covered by thick forests, the haunt of tigers. Major Rennell enumerates a mosque lined with black marble, and two lofty and magnificent gates of its ruined citadel, as the principal remaining monuments of its ancient grandeur. I need not particularize any other cities in this soobah, as those among them now most celebrated, have been erected posterior to Mahmud's invasion. They will be noticed in succeeding pages.

BAHAR, says the Ayeen Akbery, is situated in the second climate. To explain this, I should have before remarked, that the Eastern geographers divided the habitable parts of the globe into *seven* climates, according to their proximity or remoteness from the equator.

* The seer is a measure equal to two pounds averdupois.

Modern geographers, however, enumerate thirty climates. It is stated to be bounded, at least in Akber's time, on the east by Bengal; by Allahabad and Oude on the west; and on the north and south by great mountains. Its length is given as 120 coss, and its breadth from Tirhoot to the northern mountains 110 coss; but, as I before remarked, in the fluctuation of the limits of Eastern dominion, these measures are little to be depended upon.

Its principal rivers are the Ganges and the Soane. The Soane, the Nerbuddah, and the Chelum, all three spring from one source, near Kurrah. The water of the Soane is cool, pleasant to the taste, and wholesome; having run to the south as far as Muneah, it then unites with the Ganges. The river Gunduk comes from the north, and empties itself into the Ganges near Hajeepoor. The summer months here are very hot; but the winter is very temperate. The rains continue six months. The country is continually covered with verdure, and the soil is so hard, that, during the stormy winds that blow here, you are not much incommoded with the dust. Agriculture is in the highest perfection, the rice being so excellent, and of such a variety of species, as are no where to be equalled. Sugar-cane is cultivated in great abundance and in high perfection. Mughee is that species of the beetle-leaf which is most esteemed; it is of a very thin and delicate texture, of a fragrant smell, with a beautiful colour, and the flavour is delicious.

Most of the houses in this province are described as roofed with tiles, and the inhabitants are reported to be famous for building boats and for the manufacture of gilded glass: they have good elephants in plenty; but horses and camels are scarce. Bahar is famous for parróts, goats, fighting-cocks, "remarkable for affording great sport," and great variety of hawks.

In sircar Mungheer, a stone wall is mentioned as extending from the Ganges to the mountains, and forming the boundary between Bengal and Bahar. In sircar Bahap is Gaya, famous as a place of

Hindoo worship, and called, from Brahma, Brahm-Gaya. Tirhoot, which Sir W. Jones mentions, on the authority of some information received in India, as the supposed residence of a colony of priests from Egypt, is asserted to have been from old time the residence of Hindoo learning; and this assertion renders that circumstance highly probable. The water and air of Tirhoot are much celebrated; and it has delightful groves of orange-trees, extending thirty coss, not ill calculated to promote the purposes of science and encourage meditation. The next remarkable place mentioned in Bahar is the strong fortress of Rhotas, situated upon a lofty mountain of most difficult access, and fourteen coss in circumference. The inclosed land is cultivated; and within this space are many springs: water may be procured in any part by digging three or four ells below the surface of the earth.

The soobah of Allahabad is also represented as situated in the second climate. In length it is 160 coss, in breadth 122 coss. To the east it has Bahar; to the north Oude; Bundhoo lies on the south, and Agra on the west. Its principal rivers are the Ganges and the Jumna. It produces variety of fruits, flowers, and excellent plants; has abundance of melons and grapes, and is well stocked with game. Agriculture is in great perfection; and the inhabitants fabricate some beautiful species of cloths, and have a manufacture of woollen carpets. Allahabad, the ancient name of which was Piyaug, is the capital city of this soobah. Akber gave it the former name, and built at the point of the conflux of the Ganges and Jumna, a prodigious fortress of stone, in which are many magnificent edifices. Benares is specified by the name of Baranassey, as a large city situated between two rivers, the Birnah and the Assey, whence probably its former appellation is derived; but its most ancient names were Varanes and Kasi. It is built in the form of a bow, of which the river Ganges resembles the bow-string. Its temple, before defaced by Aurengzeb, was as celebrated throughout Hindostan, and

as much resorted to as Mecca is by the Mohammedans. It is the ancient seat of Hindoo learning, as well as religion.*

Jionpoor is, (or rather *was* in Akber's time,) the next city in magnitude, and Chunar is described as a stone fort of incomparable strength, situated upon a lofty hill, at whose foot flows the Ganges. Callinger is a fortress still stronger and more celebrated. Within the compass of its walls are many springs and lakes, and many temples devoted to idolatry. Ebony, and a variety of wild fruits, are found here; in its neighbourhood there is a diamond mine; and twenty coss from the fort, small diamonds are sometimes found. Jeipal's burning himself, and the cause of it, have been already mentioned: another instance of a rajah's devoting himself to the same mode of destruction, occurs in the Ayeen Akbery's account of Callinger, with this difference, that the former put an end to his existence because his reputation was lost, the latter from the fear of losing it.

The modern city of Patna, is supposed to stand on the site of Palibothra, anciently called by the natives Pataliputra; Mr. Wilford however, contends, that Raj-mahal occupies that site; D'Anville supposed Palibothra to be the same city as Halabass, or Allahabad; and Rennell with great reason, once conjectured it to be Canouge. From the whole country being in Sanscreet called PRACHI, or *the East,* was doubtless derived the Latin name of Prasii, and it is said to have included Bengal, denominated in Sanscreet, Gancaradesa, whence Gangarides. Amidst this uncertainty of the best Geographers, it is not of so much consequence to the reader, little accustomed to investigations of this abstruse nature, to know where this renowned city was situated, as *what* it was; *what* was the capital, how magnificent, how extensive the great empire on the

* See the description of its most famous pagoda, and of all the more celebrated Indian pagodas, in Indian Antiquities, Vol. III. p. 20, of the new and more correct edition, to be had of Mr. White, Fleet-street.

Ganges, whose king could bring into the field so many myriads of men, infantry and cavalry, and such a numerous body of elephants trained to war. I have, already, in some degree, gone over the ground in the Indian Antiquities;* but those who possess not that work, have also a right to know and to find in the present work, somewhat of the history of the two most celebrated cities of India, at the respective periods when they flourished in their proudest glory, and for their information I insert the following abridgment. The fact is, that the description of one ancient Indian capital is the description of all; and whether in this great Eastern division of India, that capital were Canouge, or Oude, or Patna, it is of little concern, if the reader be adequately impressed with the grandeur, and power of this mighty empire, and its potent sovereign.

Although it be now generally agreed that Palibothra and Canouge were not the same capitals, yet I must again observe, the circumstances that led to that conjecture are very strong, and deserve some notice.

Palibothra is placed on the map † of Ptolemy in the 27th degree of north latitude; in Mr. Rennell's map, Canouge is fixed in latitude 27° 3′, an inconsiderable difference indeed, when we recollect that the one is the most ancient and the other the most modern map extant. Indeed it is worthy of remark, and greatly to the honour of Ptolemy's fidelity, that on a comparison of the latitudes of five different places between the Indus and the Ganges, Mr. Rennell found the greatest difference to be only twelve minutes between the latitudes of that geographer and his own. Palibothra, he observes,‡ is placed by Ptolemy between the towns of Maliba on the west and Athenagarum on the east. The latitude given for Palibothra is within three miles of that of Canouge: now the latitudes of Maliba and Athenagarum are nearly those of Matura and Oude; and the

* Vol. I. p. 175. † Ptolomæi Geograph. Asia, Tab. 10.

‡ Memoir, first edition, p. 42.

proportional distances of the former from Palibothra answer minutely to those of the latter from Canouge.

But the great circumstance that seemed to place the supposition of Mr. Rennell beyond all doubt was, the relation given us of the astonishing opulence and splendour of Palibothra in all the ancient writers of foreign extraction, and the corroborating testimony of the native historians of India, in regard to Canouge, who, in their description of this great city, fill us with the loftiest notions of its power, extent, population, and grandeur. Pliny, speaking of the capital of the Prasii, says: "*omnium in Indiâ prope, non modo in hoc tractu, potentiam claritatemque antecedunt Prasii, amplissima urbe ditissimaque Palibotra.*"* Ptolemy denominates it Παλιβοθρα Βασιλειον, the royal Palibothra; and Strabo, † from the account of Megasthenes, who had been there, particularizes its situation, extent, and dimensions. He asserts that it was situated at the conflux of another river with the Ganges; that its figure was quadrangular; that in length it was eighty stadia, in breadth fifteen stadia; that it had a fortification of wood, with turrets for the archers to shoot from, and was surrounded by a vast ditch, as well for the sake of defence as to receive the filth of so large a city.

Arrian ‡ calls it μεγιστιν πολιν Ινδοισιν, the greatest city among the Indians. He gives the same number of stadia for its length and breadth as Strabo; mentions the prodigious fosse, whose breadth was εξαπλεθρον, *sex jugerum*, and forty-five feet deep; that there were on its walls five hundred and seventy towers, and that it had sixty-five gates. Such is the account given of the city itself by those ancient geographers, by Pliny and Arrian.

Of the vast power and military forces of the reigning sovereigns on the Ganges, we find particular mention made in the historians Diodorus Siculus, in Curtius, in Justin, and Plutarch.

* Plinius, lib. vi. cap. 19.

† Strabo, lib. xv. p. 667.

‡ Arrianus, p. 324.

Diodorus * informs us, that when Alexander had passed the Hyphasis, he was informed, that, if he continued his progress towards the Ganges, after crossing a desert of twelve days journey, he would meet on the banks of that river the most formidable sovereign of India, called Xambranes, king of the Gangarides, at the head of an army of twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, two thousand chariots of war, and four thousand fighting elephants. Curtius † asserts that the king of the Gangarides guarded the frontiers of his dominions with twenty thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot, and that he could bring into the field two thousand chariots and three thousand elephants. Plutarch ‡ computes the power and forces of this mighty dynasty of kings, at a still more extravagant rate; for he says, their combined army amounted to eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand armed chariots, and six thousand elephants of war. Convinced that the magnitude of these forces would appear incredible to his readers, he assures them it was no idle report; for that Sandrocottus, who was then but a youth, and saw Alexander in his camp, some years afterwards conquered all these countries with an army of six hundred thousand men; and bought the friendship of Seleucus, the successor of Alexander, with a present of five hundred elephants.

Justin § gives to Alexander the honour of conquering the Gangarides, but mentions another nation by the name of Cuphites, who were ready to engage him with two hundred thousand horse, but with whom his harassed soldiers refused to fight, demanding to be led back to their native country, that their mangled and emaciated carcases might at last find rest in the sepulchres of their fathers.

But it is now time to inquire whether the accounts given us of

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 678.
† Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 2
‡ Plut. in Vitâ Alex.
§ Justin. lib. xii. cap. 8.

Canouge, by the Oriental historians, in any degree equal the lofty description of Palibothra above recited.

I have already mentioned Oude as the first imperial city of Hindostan, or at least, of this its Eastern region. In Maghadah, or South Bahar, not far remote, the long dynasty of the Surajahs, or Children of the Sun, are said to have reigned, and whatever might have been their principal city in that soobah, doubtless Oude was their occasional capital. According to the Mahabbarat, Oude continued the imperial city during the space of about fifteen hundred years, when one of the princes of that dynasty erected upon the banks of the Ganges the great city of Canouge, the circumference of whose walls is there said to have been fifty coss, or one hundred miles.*

This event took place about the year 1000 before the Christian æra. The simple and pure worship of the deity, prescribed by Menu, the great Indian legislator, is said about this period to have degenerated into an idolatrous veneration of the host of heaven, and the elements of nature. Temples and images were erected, and sacred rites instituted, in honour of the memory of heroes eminent in arts, or successful in war; and Canouge was adorned with the lofty edifices raised by royal vanity and vulgar superstition.

Sinkol, already mentioned as having been a native of Canouge, and the third emperor in succession after the extinction of the dynasty above alluded to, is asserted, in the same book, to have kept up in this capital an army, whose magnitude greatly exceeds, in the number of foot and horse, the forces enumerated by Plutarch; and in that of elephants, it is remarkable, exactly equals the amount stated by Diodorus Siculus. Sinkol brought into the field against Affrasiah, king of Persia, four thousand elephants of war, a hundred thousand horse, and four hundred thousand foot; a force which, except in the number of elephants, ought not, for India, to be

* Ferishta, citing the Mahabbarat, Vol. I. p. 5.

thought incredible, since (not to mention Xerxes's million) Timur is acknowledged to have had at one time nine hundred thousand men in the field; since Aurengzeb, in the last century, maintained a standing force of five hundred thousand men; since the army which followed Mahommed Shah to the plains of Karnal was so vast as to defy computation, and, according to the strong expression of a modern writer, "to be famished by its own numbers;" and since a soobahdar of the Decan, almost in our own times, could bring into the field an army of eighty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot.

In the beginning of the sixth century, as we have before stated, this city was grown so populous, that there were in it thirty thousand shops in which areca or beetle-nut,* which the Hindoos almost universally use as the Europeans do tobacco, was sold; and sixty thousand bands of musicians and singers, who paid a tax to the government, resided there; from which circumstance we may judge of the great extent, and, it may be added, the dissipation, of this renowned capital.

From this period to that of Mahmud's invasion, several desultory intimations have been given, in the preceding pages, respecting the rank and consequence of the Canouge sovereigns, the junction of their forces with those of the five other great Indian rajahs, to oppose the irruptions of Subuctagi and his son; the corroborating evidence as to their power and splendour, by the Arabian travellers of the ninth and tenth centuries, and the decided attestations of the Ayeen Akbery, and the Oriental authorities consulted by Sir William Jones.†

I shall conclude the subject with remarking, that a variety of resembling circumstances, and the near approach of the LATITUDES,

* In the Ayeen Akbery it is said, that the soobah of Agra, in which Canouge stands, is remarkable for producing very excellent beetle-leaf.

† Ayeen Akbery, Vol. I. p. 42. History of Persia, p. 30.

in particular, as given by Ptolemy and the English geographer, strongly incline me to suppose that Canouge and Patna (Sir W. Jones's presumed Palibothra,) were both made use of as capitals, by the same prince, in the same manner as Delhi and Agra, were in later times; that accounts were transmitted to their countrymen of these capitals by Greek and Roman travellers, who had visited them; and that these accounts, originally distinct, had been confounded by the classical authors in whose writings they are found. But I must again repeat, that the most important concern to the reader, is not whether this or that particular city was the capital of the empire on the Ganges, but what that capital in fact was, in point of splendour and magnificence; and of none in Asia are the accounts more grand and impressive than the above of Palibothra and Canouge.

Concerning Mahmud's toilsome march of three months, and penetration of Hindostan by the mountains of Tibet, through which his direct route lay, no particulars are given, but when with his immense army he arrived before the walls of Canouge, he is said there to have "beheld a city which raised its head to the firmament, and which in strength and structure, might justly boast to have no equal."* The reigning sovereign, rajah Korra, we are told, affected in his habits of living, the utmost pomp and splendour, but from the unusual route taken by Mahmud, which was through the mountains north of Cashmere, and the celerity with which his numerous cavalry poured down from the hills, being totally unapprised of the approach of so vast an army, he was unable to collect together an adequate body of troops to oppose him in the field. One hundred thousand horse were already ravaging the suburbs of that great city; the fierce manners and determined aspect of the hardy Afghan and Tartar bands struck unspeakable terror into the souls of the astonished citizens; and the Indian troops that formed the customary guard, consisting mostly of infantry, vast in number, but

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 27.

enervated like their master, by pleasure, and immersed in boundless debauchery, fled in every direction from their destroying sabres. The rajah convinced that all opposition would be unavailing, made a virtue of necessity, and, with his family, went out in a suppliant manner, to the camp of Mahmud, to claim his mercy, and solicit his protection. These were readily granted; the keys of the city and palace of the metropolis of India were delivered up, and the sultan, after rifling both of their unequalled wealth, is said to have reposed there himself and his army three nights.

There were in the fertile and populous district of India adjoining, several forts of great strength, and cities full of riches, the report of which induced him, at the expiration of that period, to march with all his forces against them. The first object of his attack was Merat, or Mevat, situated in the DOOAB, or interamnian country, stretching between the Ganges and Jumna, about thirty coss from Delhi; but if the maharajah himself could not withstand the overwhelming torrent that bore down every thing before it, and swept away the wealth and glory of his capital, what barrier to its desolating progress could be raised by an inferior rajah of the DOOAB? Hirdit, therefore, with what on other occasions might be deemed no contemptible army, sought his safety in flight; leaving, however, in Mevat a sufficient garrison to employ the sultan, and prevent a pursuit. In a few days that garrison was compelled to capitulate, and the plunder of the city, added to a stipulated sum, but not of great magnitude, in money and elephants, soothed, though it might not satiate, the avarice of the captor.

Mavin, a strong fort on the banks of the Jumna, in the same region, next attracted the attention of Mahmud, and was summoned to submit. The rajah, by name Calchunder, reluctantly marched out, with that pacific intent, at the head of the army that owned him for its chief. Occasioned either by the jealous hatred of the Indian, or the barbarous insolence of the Gaznavide soldiers, or,

probably, by the collision of both, a quarrel unexpectedly arising among certain individuals of the two armies, suddenly spread from rank to rank, till the spirit of rancour and revenge becoming universal, both armies rushed together in dreadful conflict, and a horrible carnage ensued of those unhappy men, who were bartering liberty for safety. Calchunder himself and his family, were in the tumultuous rage of conflict, driven into the river, where dreading captivity, worse than death, he desperately plunged his sword first into the bosom of his wife and children, and then into his own. The fort was immediately surrendered by the small garrison left to defend it, and in it were found an immense spoil, together with seventy elephants of war, a proof of the magnitude of that fort, and the power of its rajah.

On the extreme southern verge of the dominions of the rajah of Delhi, and thirty-six miles above Agra, stood the ancient, rich, and most renowned city of Mattura, which has been before-mentioned as the Methora of Ptolemy. Having been the scene of the birth and early adventures of the greatest and most beloved deity of the Hindoos, CREESHNA, or Veeshnu, in the eighth avatar, many of which, at this place and its immediate neighbourhood, have been detailed in his life, inserted in the Ancient History, Mathura was ever regarded by the whole nation in a light peculiarly sacred. Its very name was pronounced with reverential awe, and, according to the Ayeen Akbery,* the whole country round for forty-eight coss, is accounted holy. No idea can be formed of the riches and splendour of this great city, the ancient metropolis of the pious YADU tribe, on which kings, and saints, and reverend pilgrims, had for ages been heaping uncounted treasures. Ferocious as Mahmud was in war, and delighting in the devastation and subversion of the sacred cities and buildings of India, he is said, by Ferishta, to have been equally astonished and enraptured, when he beheld the admirable

* Ayeen Akbery, Vol. II. p. 547.

beauty and majestic grandeur of its lofty and numerous temples, whose gorgeous shrines were loaded with offerings brought from the remotest parts of India, ever burning with the purest naphtha, ever fragrant with the costliest incense.

The soul of the invader was electrified with joy at the tidings of the wealth of Mattura, whither he instantly urged his desolating progress. The enfeebled arm of the rajah of Delhi, to whom of ancient time its defence was confided, was, in vain, raised for its defence. The troops participating the savage ardour of Mohammedan zeal, which fired the breast of their master against Indian idols, and also inflamed with a similar passion for the precious materials of which they were generally composed, forced their irresistible way into the center of that hallowed city, which the remorseless Mahmud at once delivered over to boundless spoliation and rapine. Nothing can be conceived more dreadful than the wild and wasteful havock made by soldiers impelled by such sentiments to destroy every thing deemed sacred and valuable in the consecrated metropolis of an innocent and unoffending, though infatuated, race of men, for the most part priests and devotees, whose only weapons are prayers, and whose only hopes of succour are from the too obdurate skies. As the women of Hindostan, according to Sir William Jones,* are in a more peculiar manner devoted to Creeshna, or rather, to use his own words, are passionately fond of that god, in this his pastoral avatar, and as Mattura was the ground on which was originally instituted the sacred dance of the Gopi's, or nine beautiful mistresses of Creeshna, engraved on one of Holwell's plates, no doubt the whole city was crowded with those enchanting women, selected for sacred purposes, from the noblest families, and called the *girls of the idol:* the shrieks therefore of violated beauty, added to the cries of a numerous and frantic priesthood raging through the streets, or expiring on their own altars, must have

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. p. 169.

greatly increased the horrors of this tremendous scene. While the troops were plundering the spacious city, Mahmud, with his chosen bands, was engaged in despoiling the pagodas, burning some, and mutilating others of the innumerable images contained in them, and doubtless allusive to the various feats recorded in the eventful history of Creeshna; his combats with dæmons and giants; and his patronage of virtuous, or punishment of vicious, princes, whom he descended from heaven to protect or extirpate.

The accumulated mass of wealth acquired in Mattura was prodigious; for, independently of the plunder of the palaces and private houses, in the various temples alone were found five great idols of pure gold, with eyes of rubies, each of which eyes was worth fifty thousand dinars. Upon another idol was found a sapphire, weighing four hundred miskal; and the image being melted down, produced ninety-eight thousand three hundred miskal of pure gold. Besides these, there were above a hundred idols of silver, which loaded a hundred camels with bullion.*

Mahmud is said to have taken up his abode in Mattura for twenty days, during which a fire, the effect either of design or accident, consumed a great part of the city, and greatly augmented the sufferings of the terrified inhabitants. He then marched against other forts in that district, some of which held out a long time, and were, at length, with great difficulty reduced; others submitted at the first summons; while others, again, were content to purchase his protection by the proffer of large sums of money, and a numerous train of elephants. The names of two or three of these assaulted forts are given in Ferishta, and some of the circumstances of their capture detailed; but they are not important enough to be noticed in a general history like the present, that aims only to pourtray the more striking characters, and record the more prominent events of the times. In fact, of so uniform a nature are most of these attacks,

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 58.

and defences of Indian places of strength, that a too frequent repetition of them could not fail to prove tedious and disgusting to the reader. With respect to Mahmud himself, having by these additional efforts, greatly increased the precious burthen of gems and gold, that already weighed down his overloaded elephants and camels, he slowly bent his course, by Lahore, to Gazna, where the opening of the royal stores and baggage exhibited to the inhabitants of that capital such an astonishing display of riches of every various species as no former irruption had produced; the officers and private soldiers were, also, oppressed with the multitude of their captives and the weight of gold and silver bullion, in value equalling the enormous acquisition of the sultan himself; and the rapid circulation of this wealth through the city, soon contributed to exalt Gazna in splendour and opulence above the proudest cities of Asia. Mosques, baths, palaces, bazars, aqueducts, were constructed in every quarter of the city, and to the efforts of affluent individuals to adorn it, were added those of the sultan, who expended a large portion of the wealth of India, in erecting in grateful acknowlēdgment to heaven, one supremely beautiful and magnificent mosque of marble and granite, the interior of which was hung with the richest embroidered carpets that the looms of India and Persia could produce, and adorned with golden chandeliers, and such a profusion of other ornaments of the most costly kind, that it became celebrated through Asia by the name of the "celestial bride." Nor, while he paid this ostentatious homage to Heaven, that Heaven which he had insulted by his cruelties and sanguinary ambition, did Mahmud, who is said himself to have been a learned man and a poet, wholly neglect the interests of science; for, near that mosque, from the same abundant source, he instituted an university, which he stored with an infinite variety of books in all languages, among them possibly some precious fragments of an historical kind from plundered India, that have long ago perished in the wreck of that capital!

and not only with books, but with other rare and curious productions gleaned from the vast field of nature, or fabricated by human industry and genius. He appointed, also, professors in the different departments of science, with ample stipends for their own support and that of the studious youth who were to become their pupils. These liberal and politic institutions, however, could consume but an inconsiderable portion of the treasure recently accumulated on Indian ground, and by far the greater part was added to that incalculable mass of hoarded wealth which every fresh irruption beyond the Indus contributed to increase.

The fame of Mahmud's continued conquests in Hindostan, and triumph over idolatry, having reached Bagdad, the caliph then reigning, made a great festival on the joyful occasion, conferred on him titles of the highest honour, and ordered an account of his victories to be publicly read to the enraptured populace. Mahmud in A. D. 1021, to manifest a proper sense of gratitude for these favours, dispatched an army, headed by a skilful general, to open the roads to Mecca, which had long been obstructed by the wild Arabs, who were accustomed to murder the pilgrims, and plunder the caravans.

His attention, however, was soon diverted from Mecca to Hindostan, where, enraged at his sacrilegious depredations in Mathura, and vowing revenge against rajah Korra, for forming an alliance with the infidel robber of his country, the princes of that district had risen in arms to dethrone and exterminate the impious parricide. On receiving this intelligence, Mahmud, ever faithful to his engagements, instantly began the long march to Canouge, but arrived too late to save his vassal from the fury of his exasperated assailants. The rajah of Callinger, Nunda by name, had already in a general battle, attacked, defeated, and consigned him and his principal officers to destruction. He then marched with the apparent intent of giving Mahmud battle, and the hostile armies encamped,

on the opposite banks of the intervening Jumna. The impetuous valour of certain officers in the army of Mahmud, inducing them without orders, in the dead of night, to swim across the stream and storm the enemy's camp, the Indians, ignorant of the force that attacked them, and supposing they were followed by the whole body of the invading army, instantly betook themselves to flight. Mahmud, on receiving this intelligence, was greatly incensed, as it was his intention to make the attack with his whole army, compel the enemy to come to a general engagement, and thus terminate the matter on the spot. To atone for the error as much as possible, he immediately ordered a vigorous pursuit, and at length overtaking the rajah on the frontiers of his own dominions, both armies halted, and prepared for battle. A force consisting of thirty-six thousand horse, forty-five thousand foot, and six hundred and fifty elephants, with which Nunda opposed the further progress of Mahmud, sufficiently evinces the power and pre-eminence, at this period, of the rajah of Callinger.

His subjects were, doubtless, the Callingæ Gangaridæ mentioned by Pliny,* though he places them nearer the ocean, and in all times, from the strength and elevation of that amazing fortress, their prince, though inferior to the sovereign of Canouge, must have been extremely formidable. The reader has been already made acquainted from the Ayeen Akbery, with the importance and strength of the fortress of this name, said there to have been situated upon a very lofty mountain, and of so ancient a date in Indian annals, that no one can tell by whom it was founded; that within the circuit of it were many springs, and such a large tract of cultivated ground, as produced grain sufficient for the garrison during a long siege. Nunda, thus pausing on the frontiers of his dominion, induced the sultan to suppose he meant at last to meet him in battle. Ascending, therefore, an eminence, for the purpose of reconnoitring the strength of

* Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. 19.

the enemy, in the sight of the whole army, this artful, sanguinary bigot, prostrated himself before God, and fervently prayed for his blessing on the Mussulman cause, and on the standard of Gazna. The day, however, being far advanced, he resolved not to make the intended attack till the ensuing morning; but long before dawn, the wary rajah, foreboding the event, precipitately and silently decamped from the field, leaving behind him, for the amusement of a foe devoted to plunder, his tents, equipage, and baggage. Mahmud did not at this time, think proper to pursue him farther, or proceed to the investment of that almost impregnable retreat, to which he retired with his forces. He contented himself with the plunder of his camp, in which he found a great booty, with a numerous supply of elephants, afforded by the neighbouring woods, and with ravaging and firing the country, for many coss round. After these acts of unworthy revenge, the disappointed sultan led back his army to Gazna.

In A. H. 413, corresponding to A. D. 1022, commenced the tenth Indian expedition of this restless marauder, in which the countries of Kiberat and Nardien, described as bordering upon the provinces of Hindostan, and as infected with the Indian superstitions, felt his reforming fury. The particular superstition prevalent among them, is said to have been the worship of lions, by which, if any species of Indian devotion be meant, it must have been the adoration of Veeshnu in the SING, or *Lion Avatar*, the history of which has been given in the preceding volume. If, however, they had worshipped *lambs* instead of *lions*, it would have made no difference to Mahmud, if that worship happened to be celebrated in temples decorated with gold and gems, if the worshippers were profanely wealthy, and the priests possessed accumulated hoards of sacred treasure. These appear to have been the leading incentives and primary objects of all his invasions, however ardent might be his zeal for Islamism, and however urgent the goad of his ambition. The prince of Kiberat is represented, as readily submitting himself to the resistless potentate,

who dictated at once, a civil and religious code, entirely new to himself and his people; while the district of Nardien was subdued by his general Ali, and being a frontier province, that commander was ordered to erect in it a fort of great strength, for the purpose of overawing the turbulent inhabitants within its bounds, as well as of repelling invasion from without.

Mahmud then continued his march towards Lahore, of which kingdom, it has been before intimated, the province of Cashmere at that period formed a part, and again attempted the reduction of the celebrated castle of LOCOTE, which had already resisted his utmost efforts. A renewed assault, continued with vigour during a whole month, convinced him of the utter inefficacy of any future attacks upon that impregnable fort, and he retired in rage from before it, in order to wreak his vengeance on the capital of the often assailed kingdom of Lahore, which he at length resolved to make an integral part of the Gaznavian empire. Patturu-Jeipal could now no longer fly for protection to the Cashmerian mountains, and, therefore, retired southward to the strong holds of Ajmere, while the exterminating sultan entering, with little opposition from the garrison, his rich and splendid metropolis, gave it up to the unrestrained pillage and desolating ravages of a licentious soldiery. As Lahore was in ancient times, the centre of an immense commerce, carried on with all the northern provinces and kingdoms of Asia, even to Tartary and China, the booty taken in the plunder of it, can be more easily conceived than described, nor is description attempted in Ferishta. Mahmud spent the winter at this capital, settling the affairs of the province, over which he appointed a viceroy, and over the inferior cities and districts on the Indian frontier, subordinate governors from among the bravest and noblest omrahs of his court. In the spring he returned to Gazna, loaded with its treasures, and incumbered with the multitude of his captives.*

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 61. Herbelot, 109. Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 283.

The very next year we find him, unsatiated, insatiable, again in motion, and engaged in his eleventh Indian expedition. Marching by the way of his newly-acquired territory of Lahore, he bent his devastating progress once more towards the distant Ganges, determined to reduce the prince of Callinger, and other confederated rajahs, who, by their artful stratagems or obstinate resistance, had contrived in some degree to mar the glories of his former campaigns in that quarter. It required, however, superior military tactics to those that were known to Mahmud, or in Mahmud's age, to attack with success, the hill-forts of Hindostan, among which Gwalior and Callinger are not the least considerable. In his way passing by the former fort, he immediately began the investment of it, and I shall therefore, take the opportunity of presenting the reader with a description of it, as it will suit a great many others; they being, for the most part, similar in their form, their elevation, and in the works raised for their defence. Mr. Hodges has, of recent years, visited, and with an accurate eye surveyed this celebrated fort, evidenced by the two beautiful views of it, given in his Indian Designs. To himself and captain Jonathan Scott, the reader is indebted for the accompanying general sketch.

The former acquaints us, that the fort of Gwalior is seated on the summit of a mountain, towering on high amidst a country perfectly flat. The rock on which it is situated is on every side perpendicular, either formed so by nature or by art. A town, which in Mahmud's time, was a large city, and the capital of a kingdom of its own name, stands near the foot of the mountain. This town, and indeed the whole base of the mountain, is surrounded by a lofty wall. Mr. Hodges says, it is considered as the Gibraltar of the East, as well for its natural situation, as for the strength of the works constructed upon it. On the top of the mountain there are cultivated plains of considerable extent, and springs that afford at all times, an abundant supply of water. By the Hindoos, Gwalior has always been considered

as impregnable. It stands in the heart of Hindostan Proper, about eighty miles to the south of Agra, and about one hundred and thirty west of the Ganges.*

By the other writer, we are informed of some farther particulars; that the rock on which Gwalior stands, is four miles in length; but narrow, of unequal breadth, and nearly flat on the top; and that the perpendicular height is from two to three hundred feet. The rampart, he says, conforms to the edge of the precipice all round, and the only entrance is by steps cut out of the solid rock, defended on the side next the country, by a wall and bastions, and further guarded by seven stone gateways, at certain distances from each other. He also describes the area as abounding with noble buildings of stone, reservoirs of water, and cultivated lands.†

Concerning Mahmud's intended plan of operations, we have no particulars, but according to the above statement, neither force nor famine, seemed adequate to its reduction, and we are not surprised to find him in a few days retiring from before it, pacified by the rajah's submission, by many magnificent presents, and thirty-five elephants. His whole force was now at liberty to act against the prince of Callinger, who by presents still more splendid, and the offer of no less than *three hundred* elephants, proposed to avert the impending storm. The soul of Mahmud relented, and a circumstance shortly after occurred, that contributed to turn incipient esteem for the rajah into friendship and admiration. Determined by rather a dangerous experiment, to try the valour of the sultan's troops, Nunda contrived, by certain drugs, to intoxicate the elephants. In this state, without riders, they were urged forward, furious and precipitate, to the sultan's camp; but he observing the wildness of their motions, instantly conjectured what had been done, and ordered some of his best and bravest horse to attack and drive the enraged animals into an adjoining forest, where they were soon

* Hodges Travels in India, p. 137. † Ibid. p. 139.

mastered and tamed. The game played by the rajah on this occasion, seemed of a suspicious nature; but an elegant panegyric, composed by the rajah in Indian verse, and immediately dispatched to Mahmud, on the undaunted bravery of troops who dared to confront, and had skill to reduce to obedience, a train of intoxicated elephants, excited the applause and delight of the whole court, in which there were several celebrated Indian, Arabian, and Persian scholars; and Mahmud, flattered and gratified by the compliment, not only left him in the quiet possession of his own strong fort, but added to it, fifteen other inferior ones, which he had reduced in the present and preceding expeditions.

It was no poetical tribute, however, no unsubstantial boon that rewarded his pious toils in his twelfth and last Indian irruption, in the year 1024, when he besieged the city and castle of Sumnaut, in the province of Guzzurat. Sumnaut is described to have been the most celebrated resort of idolatrous devotees in the south of Hindostan; indeed the idol here adored, which gave name to the city and the wide tract around it, seemed to claim pre-eminence over all that were worshipped throughout the whole country, for the different rajahs of that region, are said to have bestowed, in all, two thousand villages, with their territories, for the support of its vast establishment, and the priests who constantly attended at his temple amounted to above two thousand in number. Of that temple itself, the most extravagant relations are given by Mirkhond, to whom Ferishta is indebted for his account, both in respect to its surprising magnitude, and the profusion of gold and gems with which it was decorated. It was situated in a peninsula, on the shore of the ocean by which it was bounded on three sides, near Deo Bunder, or the harbour of Diu, recently in the hands of the Portuguese.

The word Sumnaut, according to Ferishta, is compounded of Sum, the rajah who erected it, (more probably from Soma, the

moon,) and NAUT, the name of the idol, signifying the creator. Other authorities, however, cited by Herbelot, assign to the idol adored at Diu, the name of LAT. His followers maintained, that souls after death went before Sumnaut, who transferred them into other bodies, human or bestial, according to their merits in a former state; and his priests confidently asserted, that for the sins of their inhabitants, the great cities of Delhi and Canouge had been deserted by the god, but that otherwise he could, in the twinkling of an eye, have blasted the whole army of Mahmud.

The lofty roof of Sumnaut was supported by fifty-six pillars overlaid with plates of gold, and incrusted at intervals with rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones. One pendant lamp alone illumined the spacious fabric, whose light, reflected back from innumerable jewels, spread a strong and refulgent lustre throughout the whole temple. In the midst stood Sumnaut himself, an idol composed of one entire stone, fifty cubits in height, forty-seven of which were buried in the ground; and, on that spot, according to the Brahmins, he had been worshipped between four and five thousand years, a period beyond which, it is remarkable, they seldom venture to ascend; for, it is a period at which their Cali, or present age, commences: it is, in short, the period of that flood, beyond which, human records *cannot* ascend. His image was washed every morning and evening with fresh water brought from the Ganges, at the distance of twelve hundred miles. Around the dome were dispersed some thousands of images, in gold and silver, of various shapes and dimensions, so that on this spot, as in a grand pantheon, seemed to be assembled all the deities venerated in Hindostan.

Mahmud being informed of the riches collected at Sumnaut, as well as of the tremendous menace of the idol, if he approached that hallowed shrine, was determined to put the power of the god to instant trial. Leaving Gazna with an immense army, and advancing by the way of Multan and Ajmere, through two terrible desarts,

where nothing but the most prudent exertions saved that army from being annihilated by famine, he arrived without opposition, before the walls of Sumnaut. On the high battlements of the temple were assembled an innumerable multitude in arms, when a herald approaching denounced the vengeance of the god, and informed the besiegers that their idol, Sumnaut, had drawn them together to that spot, that he might crush them in a moment, and avenge, by one dreadful and general ruin, the destruction of the gods of Hindostan. In spite of these awful imprecations Mahmud commenced an immediate and vigorous assault; and drove the defendants from the walls, which the besiegers, by scaling ladders, instantly mounted, exclaiming aloud, "Allah Akbar." The Hindoos, who had retreated into the temple and prostrated themselves before their idol, in devout expectation of seeing the enemy discomfited by the signal and instantaneous vengeance of heaven, finding their expectations vain, made a desperate effort for the preservation of the place. Rushing in a body on the assailants, they repulsed them with great slaughter; and, as fast as fresh forces ascended the walls, pushed them headlong down with their spears. This advantage they maintained for two days, fighting like men who had devoted themselves to that death, which their belief in the metempsychosis assured them was only a passage to felicity and glory.

At the end of this period, a vast army of idolaters coming to their relief, drew the attention of Mahmud from the siege to his own more immediate safety. Leaving, therefore, a body of troops to amuse the besieged, he took a more favourable station, and prepared to engage the advancing enemy. These were led to battle by Rajah Byram Deo, from whose family the territory of Deo received its name, and other considerable rajahs, under the certain persuasion that the cause for which they were to fight would insure victory to their arms. Accordingly, they fought with a heroism proportionate to their superstition; and, before victory declared for Mahmud, five

thousand Hindoos lay slaughtered on the field. The garrison of Sumnaut, after this defeat, giving up all for lost, issued out of a gate that looked towards the ocean, and embarked in boats to the number of four thousand, with an intent to proceed to the island of Serandib, or Ceylon; but, information of their flight having been given to the sultan, he seized all the boats that remained in the harbour, and sent after them a select body of his best troops, who, capturing some, and sinking others, permitted few of the miserable fugitives to escape.

After placing a large body of guards at the gates and round the walls, Mahmud entered the city, and approaching the temple was struck with the majestic grandeur of that ancient structure; but, when he entered in and saw the inestimable riches it contained, he was filled with astonishment, mingled with delight. In the fury of Mohammedan zeal he smote off the nose of the idol with a mace which he carried, and ordered the image to be disfigured and broke to pieces. While they were proceeding to obey his command, a croud of Brahmins, frantic at this treatment of their idol, petitioned his omrahs to interfere, and offered some crores in gold, if he would forbear farther to violate the image of their deity. They urged, that the demolition of the idol would not remove idolatry from the walls of Sumnaut, but that such a sum of money, given among believers, would be an action truly meritorious. The sultan acknowledged the truth of their remark, but declared, that he would never become that base character, which a co-incidence with their petition would render him, a seller of idols. The persons appointed, therefore, proceeded in their work; and, having mutilated the superior parts, broke in pieces the body of the idol, which had been made hollow, and contained an infinite variety of diamonds, rubies, and pearls of a water so pure, and of a magnitude so uncommon, that the beholders were filled with surprise and admiration. This unexpected treasure, with all the other spoil, taken in the temple and city of

Sumnaut, were immediately secured and sent to Gazna; while fragments of the demolished idol were distributed to the several mosques of Mecca, Medina, and Gazna, to be thrown at the threshold of their gates, and trampled upon by devout and zealous mussulmen.*

Mahmud, determined to chastise the insolence of Byram and the other rajahs, who had molested him during the siege, staid some time in this part of India, and was so charmed with the fertility and salubrious climate of the country round Narwalla,† the capital of Guzzurat, that he hesitated, whether he should not make it the seat of his empire. To this he was further incited, by the reports which he had heard of mines of gold in that country, of which, if those reports were ever true, no traces now remain. It is said likewise, that he had designed to fit out a fleet for the conquest of the island of Serendib, and the country of Pegu, which he had been informed abounded with gold and ruby mines; but the hazard of this measure being urged by his omrahs, he was induced to drop the scheme, and by the same councils prevailed upon not to abandon his native kingdom and capital.

The Brahmins at this period seem to have had their most flourishing settlement in Guzzurat, for many of its princes were of that noble order; and the sultan, after having subdued Byram and his comrades, left the government in the hands of Dabissalima, an ancient and learned Brahmin. In his return to Gazna, by the way of Sind and Multan, after an absence of two years and six months, he also met with desarts, where his army being led astray, for three days and nights, by one of his Hindoo guides, suffered incredible hardships, such as no foresight could guard against; but while his troops were expiring in the pangs of madness for want of water, and the horses, camels, and elephants perishing by

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 71. Mirkhond apud Taxeira, p. 186. Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 534, under the article Mahmud.

† So called from Narwal, according to Ferishta, the ancient name of that kingdom.

the failure of vegetables, the guide, being suspected, was put to the torture, and confessed that he was one of the *priests of Sumnaut*, who thus endeavoured to revenge the insults offered to his god. He was instantly put to death, and Mahmud, say his flattering historians, was preserved by the miraculous interposition of heaven.*

Not long after his return, the health of Mahmud began visibly to decline; but the indisposition of his body, by no means damped the active ardour of his mind. In the decline of life, he added the vast province, or rather kingdom of Persian Irak, to his domain, of which Ray and Ispahan were at that time the celebrated capitals, and over which the house of Boia had for many ages ruled with absolute sway. Majdoddawla, a pusillanimous and indolent prince, the last of that race, resigned his sceptre without striking a blow, and approached Mahmud, in the vain confidence that his ready submission would, from the clemency of the victor, procure him back the crown he had thus voluntarily surrendered. Being brought into his presence, the sultan asked him if he had ever read the Shah Nama, or History of the kings of Persia, composed by Ferdusi. To which the captive monarch replied in the affirmative. Mahmud then demanded of him, "Whether he understood the game of chess;" and being again answered in the affirmative, addressed him in these terms: "Did you ever read in that book, or observe in that game, that two kings could exist together in the same place with an equality of power?" "No," returned Majdoddawla. "How came you, then," subjoined Mahmud, "to be so imprudent as to put yourself into my hands, and by that means to make me master both of your person and dominion?" He was afterwards conducted under a strong escort to Gazna, where he shortly after expired. In the treasury of the degraded king he found a million of gold dinars in coined money, and jewels that amounted to five hundred thousand

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 74.

dinars more. He likewise met with a vast quantity of gold and silver plate, and many other very valuable effects, with which, and a noble library, found in the palace of Ray, he returned once more to his capital*.

In a short time, finding his end approach, this brave and fortunate, but rapacious conqueror commanded that all the sacks of gold and caskets of precious stones, which were in the treasury, should be placed in order before him, on which having long and attentively fixed his eyes, he remained for some minutes silent, and then burst into tears. He ordered the following day, a review of his army, his elephants, camels, horses, and chariots, with which, having for some time feasted his eye from his lofty travelling throne, he again shed a flood of tears, and retired in anguish of heart to his palace. His disorder, which was a slow or hectic fever, occasioned by an ulcer in his lungs, daily gaining ground, he by a solemn deed, appointed his youngest son Mohammed, to succeed him in the sovereignty of all his vast dominions, except that of the Persian Irak, which he had given to Mussud, his eldest; and shortly after expired at the palace of Gazna in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, in the 421st year of the Hegira, and 1030 of the Christian æra.†

Sultan Mahmud, it is recorded, possessed many great and princely virtues; among them principally predominated a dauntless fortitude, profound political wisdom, and, on some occasions, he manifested a laudable spirit of inflexible justice; but they were all darkened by his execrable bigotry and his insatiable avarice. No man ever had such ample opportunities of gratifying it in its fullest extent. The wealth he amassed in his various wars, but particularly in his invasions of India, was of an enormous amount; and independently of

* Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 284.

† Abulfeda Annales Muslem. Tom. III. p. 77. I adopt here the Chronology of Abulfeda, as more correct than Ferishta's, who places this event in A. H. 419.

these, he had other occasional sources to fly to for obtaining treasure. In particular, at the storming of Bagdad, he extorted from the caliph Al Kader Billa, at once, five millions of dirhms. The splendour of his court attracted thither the most celebrated scholars and poets from all parts of Asia. Here they were hospitably and splendidly entertained, out of the overflowings of wealth too vast to feel the deduction, and contributed to swell the pomp of a monarch, more ostentatious than really generous; and far more eager to obtain praise, than anxious to reward it. Of this, his conduct towards the great poet Ferdusi, the Homer of Asia, was a striking proof. The reader will easily pardon me for transcribing the whole relation from the authentic page of Sir William Jones, who, with much of the poetic fire of Ferdusi, at an early period of life, experienced, from a great European sovereign, a similar ill treatment with that bard.*

"This most learned man, happening to find a volume of Persian history, of a very ancient date, read it with eagerness, and found it involved in fables, but bearing the marks of high antiquity: the most ancient part of it, and principally the war of Afrasiah and Khosro, or Cyrus, seemed to afford an excellent subject for an heroic poem, which he accordingly began to compose. Some of his episodes and descriptions were shewn to the sultan, who commended them exceedingly, and ordered him to comprise the whole history of Persia in a series of epic poems. The poet obeyed; and after the happiest exertions of his fancy and art, for near thirty years, he finished his work, which contained sixty thousand couplets in rhyme, all highly polished, with the spirit of our Dryden, and the sweetness of Pope. He presented an elegant transcript of his book to Mahmud, who coldly applauded his diligence, and dismissed him. Many months elapsed, and Ferdusi heard no more of his work: he then took occasion to remind the king of it by some little

* See the account of this matter as given by himself in the preface to Nadir Shah.

epigrams, which he contrived to let fall in his palace: but where an epic poem had failed, what could be expected from an epigram? At length the reward came; which consisted only of as many small pieces of money as there were couplets in the volume. The high minded poet could not brook this insult: he retired to his closet with bitterness in his heart, where he wrote a most noble and animated invective against the sultan, which he sealed up, and delivered to a courtier, who, as he had reason to suspect, was his greatest enemy, assuring him, that it was a diverting tale, and requesting him to give it to Mahmud, when any affair of state or bad success in war should make him more uneasy and splenetic than usual. Having thus given vent to his just indignation, he left Gazna in the night, and took refuge in Bagdad, where the caliph protected him from the power of the sultan, who demanded him in a furious and menacing letter."*

We are the more astonished at this unworthy treatment of the prince of Asiatic poets, because we are informed by all his biographers that Mahmud himself was a poet, and, at an early period of life, translated into verse a sublime treatise on government, composed by the Brahmins of India.†

Of the power, indeed, of elegant poetry to attract and mollify him, we have already given a striking proof in the pacificatory verses addresssd to him by the rajah of Callinger. His historians record another instance of its effect in soothing his turbulent passions, which is too curious to be passed over unnoticed. Mahmud seems, like other poets, to have occasionally indulged in the pleasures of the flowing goblet. In a moment of intoxication, he one night cut off the beautiful tresses of his favourite mistress. In the morning he was extremely afflicted for the outrage he had committed. The distracted state of his mind shewed itself in his wild and furious gestures. Nobody dared approach the agitated monarch. At length

* History of the Persian language, added to Nadir Shah, p. 167.

† See Fraser's Catalogue, added to *his* Nadir Shah, p. 20.

a celebrated philosopher and poet of the court addressed him in some beautiful lines artfully adapted to the sorrowful occasion. The sovereign's grief gradually subsided, and as the bard proceeded, he became so delighted with the effusion, that he ordered his mouth to be three times filled with jewels; an admirable mode of rewarding poetical merit, never, I believe, before or since practised! The sultan then, in spite of his zeal for the doctrines of the Coran, called aloud for wine, and seating the favourite poet by his side, forgot his cares in the renovated pleasures of the banquet.

Of his inflexible justice the following instance is inserted in Herbelot from the NIGHIARISTAN, composed by Al Kaswani.

A person, one day, in great agony of mind, abruptly rushed into his presence, while the king was sitting at his tribunal, and called loudly for JUSTICE. Mahmud desired him instantly to declare his complaint. He said, that he was a man in but indigent circumstances, but blest with a handsome wife, whose beauty had unfortunately excited the passion of an omrah of great wealth and rank; that the said omrah, with armed attendants, came frequently, at midnight, to his house, and after severely beating him, turned him into the street, while he gratified, by force, his libidinous desires. Tears of resentment and compassion started from the eyes of Mahmud, and he severely reprimanded the poor sufferer for not sooner preferring his complaint. The man replied that he had often attempted it, but could never gain admittance. "If," said Mahmud, "that omrah should ever trouble you again, let me know it without a moment's delay." Then ordering the guard to admit him at any hour, however unseasonable, he dismissed him. The third night following, the former outrage being renewed, the complainant hurried to the palace; but the king having retired to the haram, was refused admittance. Encouraged by the promises of Mahmud he now set up the most violent outcries, in hopes that the noise would alarm the court, and reach the ear of the king. The attempt

succeeded, and Mahmud snatching his robe in haste, followed the poor man to his house, attended by part of his guard. When arrived thither he immediately ordered the light to be extinguished, and cut the insolent omrah to pieces. After the execution he commanded a flambeau to be lighted, and then looked earnestly at the face of the criminal; this done, he prostrated himself, returned thanks to God, and called for some refreshment. The house of poverty afforded no other than some barley bread and a little stale wine, which however the sultan was contented with, and on the point of returning to his palace, was, after the most fervent expressions of gratitude, humbly solicited by the avenged husband to declare, why he ordered the light to be extinguished; why he prostrated himself after the death of the omrah; and lastly, how the fastidious appetite of a great king could put up with so beggarly a repast? The sultan with great condescension replied, that after his first complaint he conjectured that none of his numerous subjects, except his own son, would dare to commit an act of such horrible enormity in the capital where he resided; that determined to sacrifice so atrocious an offender to the justice of the laws, he ordered the light to be extinguished, lest compassion at the sight of so dear a relative should arrest his hand in the execution of that justice; that, finding it was not his son, he prostrated himself with grateful humility before God; and that he had eaten chearfully of his repast, however humble, because he had, on the instant of hearing his complaint, made a vow not to eat or drink till he had avenged himself on the base adulterer.*

Thus great, thus mean; thus formidable, thus contemptible; thus benevolent, thus cruel, was the potent Mahmud; whose empire extended from the shores of the Caspian to the mouth of the Indus; and from the Tigris to the Ganges. No Mohammedan prince before him, ever attained to so exalted a point of power and splendour, ever rolled in so much wealth, or was ever stained with so much

* Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 535.

blood. The liberal patron of the arts, at Gazna; at Delhi, the remorseless despoiler of their proudest monuments! affecting towards the Great Creator the most zealous piety, but acting towards his creatures with ferocious barbarity. So singular a compound of qualities the most opposite, has seldom occurred in the historic page; though, in *these* pages, but too many characters will hereafter pass in review, polluted with all the vices, unmitigated by the virtues of Mahmud. Of the atrocities that marked a GENGIS, a TIMUR, and an AURENGZEB, it will soon be my painful task to give the black details, and to trace through desolated India, their blood-stained steps. I shall attempt neither to disguise, nor to palliate their crimes; but display them, for the contemplation of future depredators, in all the horrors of native deformity; under whatever sounding title concealed, endeavour to detect and expose the sordid baseness of avarice, to ensanguined ambition hold up the genuine mirror. This is the duty of the historian at all times, but more particularly, of an historian of India; the *debateable ground*, if I may so term it, of ravaged Asia—the ACELDAMA of the earth.

END OF PART I.

THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN:

COMPREHENDING THAT OF

THE GREEK EMPIRE OF BACTRIA,

AND OTHER

GREAT ASIATIC KINGDOMS, BORDERING ON ITS WESTERN FRONTIER,

COMMENCING AT

THE PERIOD OF THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER,

AND

INTENDED TO BE BROUGHT DOWN TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

VOL. I. PART II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S;
AND SOLD BY J. WHITE, FLEET-STREET.

1802.

PREFACE.

THIS *Second* Part of the Modern History of Hindostan carries on the detail of Indian events nearly to the close of the fourteenth century; the *Third* Part, of which a considerable portion is composed, will bring it down to the termination of the seventeenth century, and the interesting and important transactions of the eighteenth century will occupy the whole of the *Fourth* and final Part. I must again beg permission to acquaint the Reader, that in these limited pages, he must only expect a very general sketch of the series of magnificent events that are perpetually occurring in the history of the empire of Hindostan. Those who are desirous of more circumstantial accounts will naturally consult the various authors who are my guides through the mighty labyrinth which I have attempted to explore.

The materials for the present undertaking, at first scanty and jejune, are now become abundant, and I trust that in the two Works, I mean its ANCIENT and its MODERN History, now before the indulgent Public,

notwithstanding it was necessary to *compress* as much as possible, consistently with perspicuity, there will still be found whatsoever is really important to be known concerning India, either in its fabulous or its serious history, during the extended period of nearly four thousand years; in the mythological part, from Brahma floating in his egg, on the primordial waters, to the last fatal avatar, beneath the resounding hoof of whose winged courser creation is to crumble into dust; in the portion of it unconnected with fable, from the sanguinary victories of an ALEXANDER and a TIMUR, to the necessary warfare, and justifiable conquests of a CORNWALLIS and a HARRIS!

It will not fail to be observed, that in one part of this Work Mr. Gibbon and myself tread nearly the same ground; but it will also be remembered, that the ground in question is properly *mine*, and that Mr. Gibbon digressed, when his eloquent pen pourtrayed the martial character and heroic feats of the great Gengis Khan. In respect to *his* history, that Tartar sovereign was a very remote actor on the historic drama; but, in regard to mine, he is a very near and important one, since the vast plains of Tartary form the northern boundary of Hindostan, and have ever cherished a hardy race of warriors, the scourge of her feebler progeny. The valour of Gengis, in particular,

crushed the renowned Charazmian dynasty established on its western frontier; and his blood rolled down, unviolated, through the veins of Timur, to Akber, and Aurungzeb. However, the field is immense; and though we meet, we do not clash. Both our orbits are rather eccentric, but the grand object of inquiry is never forgotten.

The coloured Map of India, according to its modern divisions and governments, promised my Subscribers in the first portion, and given in the present, will, I trust, meet with their approbation. It is the work of that excellent geographer, Mr. Arrowsmith, and, together with that of Ancient India, from the same hand, in the First Volume of Indian Antiquities, is amply sufficient for all the general purposes of information. Major Rennell's comprehensive Charts must be consulted by those who wish for minute particulars; but, alas! the ravages of time, and the desolating hand of barbarous invaders, have contributed to annihilate many of the proudest cities of the paradise of Asia.

A heart overflowing with grateful attachment to the elevated character, who was among the first in munificently patronising my historical labours, leads me extremely to lament that a few of the early copies of the First Part of this Volume were vended without that mark of respect which was intended by the Dedication

to be paid to THE SAVIOUR OF HIS COUNTRY. The omission arose from peculiar circumstances, which would have rendered its publication, *last February*, improper. It is here reprinted, and those Subscribers who have it not, are requested to order their book-binders to insert it in the First Part, immediately after the Title-page; for every successive day produces additional proof of the truth and justice of the sentiment contained in it.

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DIRECTION TO THE BINDER.

Insert the coloured Map of India opposite Page 1, in the First Part.

MODERN HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

BOOK III.

CARRYING ON THE INDIAN HISTORY TO THE TERMINATION OF THE YEAR OF CHRIST 1400.

CHAPTER I.

Mahmud's Successors on the Throne of Gazna.—2. MOHAMMED—*his short and unfortunate Reign.*—3. MASSUD—*attacked by the Seljukian Turks; marches into Hindostan, where he takes numerous Forts, and commits many Ravages and Massacres.—On his Return to Gazna, is defeated in a great Battle, by the Seljuks.—Quitting Gazna, he retreats to Lahore.—In that Retreat the Army revolts; the royal Baggage is plundered, and Massud shortly after assassinated.*—4. MODUD.—*Rebellion of his Brother.—The Seljuks seize on Persian Irak and Chorasan on the West, while on the East, the united Rajahs of Hindostan retake Naugracut, and many other Forts conquered by Mahmud, and march to besiege Lahore.—The latter are driven back, and the Seljuks eventually beaten.—Amidst the most strenuous Efforts to expel the latter from Chorasan, Modud is suddenly taken ill, and dies.*—5. MASSUD *the Second.—A civil War in Gazna occasions his Deposition, after a Reign of only six Days.*—6. ABUL HASSAN—*despoiled of the Southern Provinces of Hindostan by the Rebel* ALI—*and after a short Reign driven from his*

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THE life and exploits of Mahmud were, in the preceding book, given in more considerable detail, than it will be deemed necessary to speak of those of any of his *fourteen* successors on the throne of Gazna. They served as a proper introduction into the interior of India, and afforded an authentic portrait of the manners, the customs civil and military, the mode of government, and the surprising riches of that country, at the opening of the eleventh century. It is my intention to pass on, as rapidly as I may, without being obscure, in this wide survey of Asiatic transactions, connected with the history of India, through the remainder of this dynasty, and that of GAUR and CHARASM, selecting only, as I promised in the preface, the striking features and prominent events of the successive reigns of the monarchs that compose them, and principally those that have immediate relation to the country under consideration. These events will carry us forward about two centuries, when the last of

the above-mentioned dynasties became extinct in the person of the brave Gelaleddin, defeated by Gengis Khan, and a new dynasty of Mohammedan conquerors founded by Cuttub, or Cothbeddin Ibeck, as he is denominated by Herbelot and Orme, began their proud career of glory, as kings of Delhi. After the lapse of two more centuries, this dynasty was dissolved amidst the convulsions of Asia, by the arms of Timur, with whose death will terminate the present book.

The renowned prince, whose actions have lately engaged so large a share of our attention, left behind him two sons, Massud and Mohammed.

MOHAMMED, SECOND KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

Mohammed his younger son, in pursuance of his father's determination, taken up and promulged at rather a late period of his life, mounted the throne of Gazna, but enjoyed the imperial dignity only during a short interval. Massud, the elder, though only by a few hours, (for they were twins,) advancing from his government of the newly conquered Persian Irak, appeared in force on the borders of Chorasan, to dispute his claim to an empire which he deemed his birth-right. Mohammed, on the other hand, prepared to support his just pretensions to that sovereign authority, which had been solemnly delegated to him by the dying words and will of his father. With this view, he opened wide the royal treasury, and from that exhaustless hoard, poured upon his friends and dependents, a deluge of wealth, in order to bind them closer to his interests.

This profuse liberality, however, though it spread a momentary gladness through Gazna, by no means, firmly attached to himself, the hearts either of the citizens or the soldiery. They were fixed upon his brother, whom, in direct opposition to the royal intention, they had long regarded as the heir of the empire, and consequently, as the indisputable successor of Mahmud. For this high distinction

he seemed designated as well by the superior qualities of his mind, as the accidental advantage of his priority in birth. His lofty and indomitable spirit, that from his infancy disdained restraint, the fire of his extraordinary genius, and the undaunted fortitude that marked his character, evinced the future monarch; while his courteous affability, and boundless generosity to all ranks of people, pointed him out as the father and guardian of his people. The powers of his body were not inferior to those of his mind. The arrow sent from his arm, it is said, could pierce the strongest mail, and sink into the body of the stoutest elephant; and his iron mace was so ponderous, that no man of his time, could raise with one hand the deadly weapon. The natural impetuosity of his disposition had hurried him into many excesses, and involved him in many dangerous quarrels, which, with other acts of contemptuous disregard, had alienated the affections of his father, who, by degrees, transferred them to his brother; a prince equally beneficent and tractable, and who had never deviated from the most exact line of obedience.

Massud did not immediately or openly avow his designs. He pretended acquiescence with his father's dying commands; he gave out, that his visit was that of brotherly regard and respectful homage to the new emperor, and only solicited from the liberality of that brother, a larger portion of his vast domain, than was decreed him by the royal will; especially those regions which his own sword had added to the empire. Mohammed, however, contrary to the advice of his most judicious ministers, and instigated by the jealous hatred that had, from their youth subsisted, between the rival brothers, refused to receive his visit, or hearken to his moderate demands. He left Gazna, therefore, with intent to decide the matter by force of arms; but, in his march was deserted by his ablest generals, and himself, shortly after, by the perfidy of some disaffected omrahs, betrayed into the hands of Massud, who, for ever

barred all his future pretensions to sovereignty by depriving him of sight. He, who had but just before left Gazna at the head of a powerful army, surrounded with all the splendour and magnificence of a great empire, was now seen to return a miserable appendage to the greatness of another, robbed both of his sceptre and his sight, destitute, forlorn, and friendless. Justice compels us to add, that though the barbarous policy of Eastern kings dictated to Massud this cruel measure, yet he inflicted the most exemplary punishment on those perfidious generals and omrahs who had deserted and betrayed him; dooming some to immediate death, and others to perpetual imprisonment.*

MASSUD, THIRD KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

In A. H. 419, or A. D. 1028, exactly five months (but two years later according to the chronology of Abulfeda),† after the death of Mahmud, which was the short period of the former Sultanet, Massud was invested with the ensigns of royalty. A general release of all the state prisoners confined by his brother and father, announced his accession to the throne, and rivetted the affection of both court and people to the interests of a prince, who commenced his reign with diffusing the blessings of liberty. After the splendid ceremony of the inauguration was over, the oath of allegiance taken by the Omras, and the aspect of public affairs, after so sudden a revolution, grown somewhat serene, Massud found an ample field lay open for the exertion of his military talents in the reduction of rebellions at home, and the repulsion of invasion from abroad. Of the former, the most formidable was that of Ali Takin,‡ who had seized upon the cities of Bochara and Samarcand, and against whom

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 86; and Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. Art. Massud.

† Annal. Muslem. Tom. III. p. 77.

‡ Called in Ferishta *Ali Tiggi*, the Turcoman,

he sent the brave but unfortunate Altan Tosti,* the governor for himself of Charazm. The generals met at Samarcand, when a desperate battle ensued; in which the latter gained a victory at the expense of his life.

During the confusion that arose from the contentions of the rival brothers, many cities of Hindostan, reduced by Sultan Mahmud, had likewise revolted, against whom Massud determined to lead an army in person, and preserve, if possible, the verdure of the laurels so gloriously won on those plains by his father, from decay. In his precipitate ardour to engage on the field of those victories that made Mahmud immortal, he treated with too much contempt an inbred foe rising up to national importance in the very centre of his empire. This foe was the celebrated race of SELJUKS, whose ancestor of the same name was a chief of high renown, and the supreme head of one of the noblest families of Turkestan; but, from his great bravery, becoming an object of terror, and, from his increasing power, an object of jealousy, to the king of that country, was compelled to quit it, and secure to himself and dependents a settlement in the fertile district of Bochara. When Sultan Mahmud marched with an army to the assistance of the king of Mawaralnahr, this warlike tribe enlisted under his banners, and, by his permission, was afterwards imprudently permitted to settle in the plains of Chorasan. Of this step he, in a short time, found abundant reason to repent, and saw in their rising greatness the ruin of his own family. The Seljuks had already made vast and rapid strides towards the attainment of sovereign authority, and before Massud's return from Hindostan had not only subjected the greater part of Chorasan, but extended their ravages and authority widely over the Persian

* In Ferishta, *Altasash*. The Persian and Arabian historians differ exceedingly in their mode of writing the proper names of Eastern princes. As the present period of history is Arabian, in this place I chiefly follow the orthography of the latter; I mean, AL MAKIN, and ABULFEDA.

Irak. Of the astonishing power they afterwards arrived at, and of the dynasty they established in Asia, we shall speak more at large hereafter.

With far more zeal, therefore, for new conquests than prudence to preserve those already acquired, the Gaznavide monarch urged his course towards Hindostan by the higher route of Cashmire, and arriving before the fort of Sursutti, called by Abulfeda, *Sarsabi*, which commanded the passes, invested it with his whole force. Intimidated by the appearance of so vast an army, the inhabitants would willingly have averted his vengeance by proposals of surrender; but the piercing cries of some Mussulmen captives, in the Arabian language, detained prisoners in the fort, reaching his ear, checked the emotions of rising mercy, and determined him on their instant and total destruction. The vast surrounding foss was immediately filled up with felled trees and SUGAR CANES,* which abounded in that neighbourhood. The scaling ladders were immediately applied to the walls, which, after a bloody contest, were mounted, and the garrison, without distinction of age or sex, barbarously put to the sword. The place was then resigned to the plunder of the soldiers, and a part of the spoil soothed the sufferings of the imprisoned Mussulmen, whose effects had formerly been confiscated by the Indians, with the like undistinguishing rapacity.

In the year of Christ 1034, Massud sent an army under an Indian chief, named Ban, against Ahmud, who had rebelled in the government of Guzzurat; but when the rival armies met, Ban was defeated with great slaughter. Massud being informed of this disaster, highly incensed, dispatched Toulock, another Indian chief, who, coming to battle with Ahmud, gave him a total overthrow. He fled in great haste towards Munsura, Tatta, and the country near the mouth of

* This shews how early and abundantly the sugar cane was cultivated in India; Abulfeda also confirms this curious circumstance; *fossas lignis et arundine saccharifera opplenda.* Abulfed. Ann. Muslem. Tom. III. p. 83.

the Indus. Touluck pursued him so close, that many thousands of the fugitives fell into his hands; whom he treated in the most inhuman manner, cutting off their noses and ears. When Ahmud reached the banks of the Indus, he found himself, if possible, in greater distress than before; for collecting all the boats which the pressure of the enemy would permit, he endeavoured to cross the river. But the soldiers, fearful of being abandoned by their commander, hurried after him into the boats with such violence, and in such numbers, that most of them were either overset or sunk. A sudden storm, and an inundation of the river, added to the confusion of this dreadful scene; so that very few of the vanquished army escaped. The body of their chief was soon after found by the enemy, and his head sent to Gazna.

A new palace having been about this time finished at that capital, a massy golden throne, studded with jewels, was erected in a magnificent hall; and a crown of pure gold, weighing seventy maunds, darting lustre from innumerable precious stones, was suspended by a golden chain over it, by way of canopy, under which the sultan himself, refulgent in gold and purple, and covered with the diamonds and pearls of plundered Hindostan, daily sate in state, and gave public audience to his almost adoring subjects.

In A. D. 1035, he again bent his progress towards Hindostan, and attacked the strong fort and city of Hassi, the capital of Sewalic, a country near the supposed sources of the Ganges, and reckoned impregnable; for the Hindoos had been taught to believe by some of their prophets that it should never fall into the hands of the Mussulmen. But those prophets deceived their ignorant followers, for Hassi being stormed by the troops of Massud, in six days surrendered. In the temples and palace of that city he found immense treasures, which having carefully secured, he marched on without delay to the fort of Sunput, forty miles from Delhi, on the road to Lahore. At the conqueror's approach, Deipal, the Indian governor,

evacuated the fort and fled into the woods; but his treasure, which he had not time to carry off, became the property of Massud. Fired with the same rage against idolatry which inspired his father, he ordered all the temples of the captured places to be laid in ruins, and all the idols to be broken down. Deipal, driven from his government, appeared in arms to regain, if possible, his plundered treasures, but was surprised by the sultan, his army taken prisoners, and himself compelled to escape in the habit of a slave.

One of the most powerful and wealthy rajahs of those parts was Raum, towards whose territories Massud immediately directed his march; but the prudent chief, to divert the threatened storm, sent him presents of inestimable value, besides a vast train of elephants, excusing his own personal attendance on account of the infirmities of his very advanced age. The sultan accepted both his presents and apology, and taking possession of the whole country in his rear, proceeded to Lahore. He there appointed his son Mayudud to the government, conferred on him the drums and ensigns of state; and, for his more prudent administration of affairs, fixed at the head of his council, Eur, his favourite general, and an able and experienced statesman.

In a letter which Massud wrote from Hindostan to his omrahs at Gazna, during this expedition, he informed them of his having sacrificed to the religion of Mohammed fifty thousand infidels, taken seventy thousand prisoners, and acquired a booty, amounting to a million of dinars. A more tremendous scourge than the army of Massud, about this time, likewise visited that country; which, in many parts, was almost depopulated by the ravages of a pestilential disorder.

The progress, however, of farther desolation from the destroying arm of Massud was, for the present, prevented by urgent and repeated solicitations from the governors of Chorasan and Persian Irak, that Massud would immediately hasten to the relief of those

provinces from the inroads of the Seljukian Turks, who, he was informed, in the Eastern style of metaphor, were at first but ants, numerous but inoffensive, but were now become snakes, of matured growth, and, if they were not soon destroyed, would in a short time grow up to serpents, of a magnitude and venom too powerful for resistance, and too baneful for antidote.

Sensible of his own neglect in regard to these fierce marauders, Massud no longer delayed the execution of those measures which, if undertaken at an earlier period, must have insured success. After reducing the prince of Tabrestan, and reconquering the province of Gurgan, which had revolted, he led his army towards Balkh, whose governor Nur Takin had combined with the enemies of the empire to distress and plunder it. The terror which the approach of his numerous and victorious legions inspired, induced the enemy to evacuate that city and its neighbourhood, and they continued retreating before him, till at length, under Togrol Bek and Jaffar Bek, the grandsons of Seljuk, their whole force being collected together from all quarters, a general and most desperate engagement took place on the plains of Dindaka, the Zendekan of Herbelot. So vast were the numbers of the Seljuks, that they almost surrounded the royal army, while Massud, not at all daunted by their formidable appearance, coolly arranged his troops, and vigorously commenced the attack. The enemy advanced with equal impetuosity, and, by their prolonged and barbarous acclamations, endeavoured to intimidate the soldiers of Massud; who, astonished and confounded at this unusual mode of charging, began early to give way. But what most enraged the king was, that several of his generals deserted the imperial standards, and either joined those of the enemy, or fled to Gazna. At this trying crisis, the valiant Massud addressed himself to the few faithful chiefs that surrounded him, in language at once the most affecting and encouraging. He told them, that the fortune of the day was not yet wholly decided;

that the same strenuous efforts of valour which had obtained them victory in moments of former peril, might still, if exerted, snatch from their foes the doubtful laurel; that all that was dear or sacred to them, their own honour, the glory of their king, and the security of their country, depended upon one noble effort to revenge themselves upon their enemies, and those more hateful, because less generous, foes, who had so basely deserted their cause.

"Massud," says his Oriental biographer, "at that instant turning his horse to where he beheld the torrent of gleaming arms rolling on, plunged singly to oppose the stream, bearing down all before him, and exhibiting such acts of gigantic force and valour, as never king had before displayed. A few of his friends, roused by his words and actions, and that innate honour which inspires the brave, seconded their lord so well, that whithersoever he turned his fatal sword, the enemy were mowed down, or retreated before him." The faithful bands that surrounded him, however, were few in number, utterly inadequate to obtain or secure decisive victory over their hardy and numberless opponents. After having, therefore, in vain attempted, with that sword, to hew a passage through the line of the enemy, he endeavoured to collect to one spot his flying army, and the greater part having at length rejoined the royal standard, he led them by the way of Gaur to Gazna. There the generals who had so ingloriously deserted their sovereign in battle were, by his orders, seized, and doomed to perpetual banishment in a fort of Hindostan. After this defeat, Massud made many vigorous but ineffectual exertions to expel the invaders from the dominions they had usurped; but they had fortified themselves so strongly in many cities of Chorasan, and kept an army so formidable for its numbers and bravery, ever ready and even zealous to enter upon action, that he found it impossible, at this time, to exterminate them. Anxious, however, to retain Balkh in his possession, he dispatched his son Modud thither at the head of four thousand horse, as well to defend

it against the Seljuks, as to punish Nur Takin, the governor, for the black perfidiousness of his conduct. At the same time he ordered his other son Mayudud, who had hastened to his assistance with two thousand horse from Lahore, to secure Multan. Massud himself, foiled, but not desponding, resolved for the present to withdraw into Hindostan, till he could collect his forces, and by one grand decisive effort retrieve his perplexed affairs.*

With this view, he sent for all his wealth of various kinds, from the different strong holds, to Gazna, and, laying it upon camels, bent his way to Lahore. He likewise released his brother Mohammed from confinement, and compelled him to accompany his army. The slaves (by which word we are not to understand menial servants, but the captives and young children, bought by Eastern sovereigns, educated for the offices of state, and often adopted as their successors) being at that time numerous in the army, when it arrived on the banks of the Gelum, whose water, for its purity, is called the water of Paradise, confederated with those who guarded the camels to plunder the royal treasures. The troops, sensible of the declining state of the imperial power, and willing to reward their warlike toils by a share of the wealth they had assisted to acquire, immediately joined in the pillage, and in a moment all was

* These events are rapidly enumerated by Al Makin, to whose page we must now frequently revert to elucidate or corróborate Ferishta. Below is his jejune narrative.

Rex autem Massudus fugit in Indiam, et in regionem ejus penetravit, inque ea diù substitit, desertâ Chorasanâ: quam Salghucidæ, gnaviter se in ea gerentes, subjugârunt, et opibus spoliârunt; quod cum intellexisset princeps Masudus, reversus est, sed bello eum petiêrunt Salghucidæ, et in fugam verterunt.

Anno 431 prodiit Masudus, filius Mahmudi, contra Togrulbecum, eumque in fugam vertit, et multos de militibus ejus cecidit, et quosdam etiam cepit, cepitque arma eorum.

Anno 432 reversus est princeps Togrulbecus, Naisaburum, et fugit princeps Masudus, filius Mahmudi, filius Sebuctakini, Gaznam, ac potiti sunt milites Togrulbeci universa Chorasana, visique sunt tot homines occidere, ac tantum sanguinis effundere, ut comprehendi aut numerari non potuerint. Al Makin Hist. Saracen. p. 333.

uproar, ravage, and confusion. From plundering the king's treasures they began to make depredations on one another, and as each was superior to his neighbour in bodily strength, or force of arms, a larger proportion of the spoil became his property. Imagination cannot conceive any thing more terrible, than a whole army thus engaged in boundless spoliation. A number of lives were necessarily sacrificed during the contest, and when the sultan approached to punish the offenders, not an arm was found to execute the vengeance he denounced. All, in fact, were equally guilty, and in their just dread of punishment from the severity of Massud, had combined with one voice, to depose him, and raise the blind Mohammed to the throne. Rushing therefore in a body to his tent, they brought him forth with loud clamours, and publicly proclaimed him emperor.

In this dilemma, neither the dauntless fortitude of his mind, nor his gigantic personal strength were of any avail to Massud, for the infuriate multitude, resolved to protect their wealth by their disloyalty, and convinced, that rebellion alone could secure them the permanent possession of it, surrounded the unfortunate monarch, and bore him away prisoner to the new sultan. Touched with his melancholy and altered situation, Mohammed, on this occasion, manifested no signs of a tyrannic or sanguinary disposition; but informed him, that the security, not the destruction, of his person, was his object; and desired him to fix upon some fort in the circle of his dominions, whither he would choose to retire; promising him the consolation of his family to soothe the hours of confinement. Massud on the other hand, conducted himself with dignity and firmness; and solicited, if imprisonment must be his hard doom, to pass the remainder of his life in the castle of Kurri, or Kobra Kebir, as it is called by Mirkhond. So reduced were the circumstances of the degraded sultan, that he was compelled to apply to the generosity of his brother for money, to pay the salaries of his menial attendants. That

brother, far less generous than merciful, sent him the pitiful sum of five hundred dirms to relieve his exigency. It was then that Massud, for the first time, felt the misery of his deplorable state, and in the anguish of his heart, exclaimed; "Oh! cruel reverse of fate! Yesterday I was a mighty prince; three thousand camels bending under my treasure. To-day, I am forced to beg, and receive but the mere mockery of my wants." Indignant at this treatment, Massud borrowed a thousand dirms from his servants. and bestowed them as a present upon his brother's messenger, who had brought the five hundred dirms, which he desired might be punctually re-delivered into the hands of his bountiful master.*

Mohammed, not long after his second accession, perceiving that the loss of sight, of which he had been deprived by Massud, rendered him incapable of business, resigned the sceptre to his son Ahmed, who not thinking himself secure upon the throne, while Massud lived, without consulting his father, went in person to the castle where he was confined, and with the assistance of two desperate ruffians assassinated that unfortunate prince. Modud, then at Balkh, having heard of the tragical end of his father, was filled with rage, and vowed revenge against the murderers. He immediately left Balkh, and at the head of a well disciplined army, advanced to Gazna, where he was received by the citizens, with the loudest acclamations of joy and welcome. Impatient to engage the sanguinary usurper, he then hastened to meet the enemy, who were advancing from Multan, and the two armies coming to an action, near the banks of the Indus, the forces of Ahmed were completely routed, and both himself, Mohammed, and the two murderers taken prisoners. These were all immediately ordered for execution; and thus was the death of Massud amply and instantaneously avenged, by the zeal and affection of his son. In commemoration of this great victory, Modud erected a city upon the spot where he ob-

* Mirkhond in Texeira, p. 294. Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 100.

tained it, and called it Fatte-Abad, which signifies the City of Victory. He afterwards marched back to Gazna, whither he carried the remains of his father to be interred, and without farther opposition ascended the vacant throne.

Massud reigned nine years and nine months; and was assassinated in A. H. 433. A. D. 1041.

He was a brave and magnificent prince; affable, of easy access, and so decidedly the friend of learning and genius, that men of that stamp ever found in his court a ready and hospitable asylum. As an instance of his munificence, Abu Keihan of Charasm, a great philosopher and astrologer of that age, having composed a most excellent treatise upon astronomy, was rewarded by the sultan with an elephant made of silver. So extensive was his general charity, we are informed, that some days in the month of Ramazan, he often bestowed a lac of dirms upon the poor. In the beginning of his reign, he built many noble mosques, and endowed many colleges and schools, which he erected in different cities of his wide dominions.*

MODUD, FOURTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

The tide of good fortune which had already attended Modud in his progress to the throne of Gazna, did not desert him when that throne was secured. Nami, another son of Mohammed had, previously to the last fatal engagement, been appointed governor of Peishore and Multan, and remained in those districts with a considerable force. While, therefore, the new sultan was engaged in arranging the public concerns at Gazna, he dispatched Nisir Ahmed, the late vizier, to reduce that country to obedience, which he happily effected, but not without the death of the governor.

A foe, far more formidable, in the person of Mayudud, his own brother, who was in possession of Lahore and its dependencies, was

* Ferishta, in loco citat. Herbelot under the article Massud. Abulfeda, Tom. III. p. 115. Al Makin, p. 334.

shortly after in motion. Determined to obtain a share of that empire, to the sovereignty of which Modud had been advanced by such a train of rapid successes, he refused to acknowledge his authority, and had already seized on the whole country lying between the Indus, Hassi, and Tannasar. Equally determined, at every hazard, to maintain his pretension to an undivided empire, the sultan led forth the royal forces with alacrity to engage his rival, who on hearing of his motion advanced to the contest from Hassi, the place of his residence, with his whole force. So powerful, as well as numerous, was that force, the army of Modud shrunk back at their approach, and several of the chiefs deserting their colours, enlisted themselves under the banners of the enemy. At this critical period, fortune, or perhaps treachery, befriended the sultan. In the morning of the ide of sacrifice, Mayudud was found dead in his bed, without any previous complaint, or apparent cause of his decease. But what seemed most to evince the hand of treachery was, that the next day his counsellor and friend, was found dead in the same sudden and unaccountable manner. Their leader being extinct, the rebel army enlisted under the royal banners, so that there remained no power at present able or inclined to cope with this vast army, either in the north or south of Hindostan.

Intimidated by this amazing acccession of power, the great province of Maver-ul-nere, which had for some time asserted its independence, now bowed in submission to his authority. The Seljuks, however, who had erected their infant state into a regular monarchy, continued their depredations unawed by his authority, and unsoftened by his forbearance. Togrol Bek, who had been solemnly inaugurated under an instrument of investiture from the caliph Al Kayem, reigned uncontrouled in Persian Irak, while his brother, Jaffar Bek,* by agreement between the invaders, enjoyed the

* Jaffar Bek is called by other Oriental writers, Jakar Bek Dawd: in Ferishta, it is written Chukher Beg Daood: Jakar is only a corruption of Jaffar.

province of Chorasm. Against their combined force, Modud led army after army, with various success, and in the attempt to subdue them exhausted the resources of his remaining empire. Those invincible enemies, who made war their profession, in the distant provinces firmly maintained their ground, and in spite of some repulses nearer home, were daily advancing, with hasty strides, towards the capital itself.

Burning with resentment against the whole family of Mahmud Gaznavi, for the dreadful and sacrilegious devastations they had, during a period of forty years, committed in Hindostan, in A. D. 1041, the rajahs of the northern provinces combined together, to expel his posterity from all its boundaries. The apparent imbecillity of the Gaznavian empire, drained both of its soldiers and treasure, by frequent and bloody contests with the Seljukian Turks, gave new animation to their hopes of revenge; and the Brahmins, actuated by a holy fury, against the fierce destroyers of their idols, endeavoured by every possible artifice, to keep alive the fire of that impetuous zeal that glowed in every bosom. At the head of this combination, as first in power and eminence, was the rajah of Delhi, who left that city with a most numerous army, that in its progress, multiplied itself in such a degree, as to sweep all before it. The recovery of the castle of Hussi was the first object of their attack. This they effected without difficulty; as no force which the Mohammedans had in that district, could resist the assault of so mighty an army. Tannassar, long defiled by the unhallowed footsteps of Mussulmen, again opened her gates to receive the devout worshippers of her numerous, but degraded divinities. The fort of Naugracut was the next object of assault, but being a more important post, was both more strongly fortified, and more vigorously defended. For four months the resolute garrison, expecting daily succours from Lahore, resisted with equal firmness, every hostile attack, and every overture for accommodation, from the besieging enemy. That the

ardour of the assailants might not grow languid during this investment, a story was propagated through the camp, to which the enthusiasm of those bigots, listened with extreme avidity, and which not a little contributed to their ultimate success.

It was reported that the rajah of Delhi had seen a vision, in which the great idol of Naugracut, whose image had been first mutilated, and then sent to Gazna by Mahmud, had appeared to him, and informed him, that having now revenged himself upon Gazna, he would meet him at Naugracut, in his former temple. The rumour of this vision, industriously spread far and wide by the interested policy of the Brahmins, drew from all quarters, the infatuated populace, who eagerly enlisted under the banners of a chieftain marching to battle by the command and under the auspices of heaven. By this pious fraud, the multitude were wrought up to such a pitch of superstitious frenzy, as rendered them absolutely irresistible, and the garrison of Naugracut, wearied out, and almost famished for want of provision, were at length compelled to capitulate. It is impossible to describe the general and frantic joy, which this event inspired, especially when the idol itself, or rather an exact representation of it, made at Delhi, and secretly conveyed by the Brahmins, under cover of the night, into the fort, appeared the following morning, conspicuously erected in the centre of the consecrated grove. At the sight of the idol, a shout of tumultuous ecstasy burst from the throng, who exclaimed, that their divinity was returned from Gazna. They then bore him on their shoulders in triumph, to his ancient temple; with circumstances of great pomp and magnificence, celebrated his restoration to his former honours; and renewed their pious vows with additional fervour.

The fame of this idol was henceforth so widely and generally diffused through that country, that thousands came daily to worship at his shrine, from all parts of Hindostan. Others came to consult him as an oracle, upon all occasions of importance, and no

expedition was undertaken without the sanction of the god. The mode of consultation was as follows: The person who came to inquire into futurity, after taking some dose of an opiate quality, administered by the Brahmins, reposed on the floor of the temple at the foot of the idol, till the morning, when relating his dreams to those artful priests, the chimæras of a heated and distempered brain, were interpreted by them to be the irrevocable decrees of destiny, productive of the fortune, and generally favourable to the suit, of the inquirer.

Animated by the success of the rajah of Delhi, the different rajahs that reigned throughout the district of Panjab, who, from being more particularly under the eye, were restrained from hostility, by a more immediate awe of their haughty tyrants, now began to assume bolder confidence, and openly set their masters at defiance. Three of those rajahs with ten thousand horse, and an innumerable army of foot, advanced to Lahore, and invested that ancient city. The Mohammedans, in defence of their laws, families, and effects, exerted all imaginable valour upon this occasion, during the space of seven months; defending the town, street by street: for the walls being decayed, were soon laid in ruins. Finding, however, that in the end they must be rooted out by this defensive mode of war, unless they had speedy succours from Gazna, they bound themselves by a solemn oath, to devote their lives to victory or martyrdom, and suddenly sallying out of the city, presented themselves before the enemy's camp in order of battle. The Hindoos, astonished at their unexpected appearance, or intimidated by the daring resolution they displayed, betook themselves instantly to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter, by the triumphant foe.

M. D'Herbelot relates this part of Indian history with some variation in point of circumstance and *time*, observing, that about A. D. 1044, the Indian rajahs, who had been vassals to Modud, revolted against him, united their forces, and, with their combined army,

marched to Lahore. But this confederacy, how formidable soever it might at first appear, was soon dissolved: the members of which it was formed, almost immediately after the commencement of the military operations, falling at variance amongst themselves. They even at last came to an open rupture, some declaring for, and others against Modud. The former of these finally prevailed; for being joined by a body of troops, sent by that prince to the relief of the place, they fell upon the others with such fury, that they obliged them to submit to the sultan, and lay down their arms. By these exertions, the spirit of discord was somewhat allayed. The fire so universally kindled in Hindostan, was not, however, extinguished, till the following year, when, according to the same writer, the rebellious rajahs were finally reduced, and the conquered places, except Naugracut, retaken by the arms of Modud.*

The remaining part of this reign was spent in perpetual contests, between the emperor and the Seljuks, who now daily advanced in power; and, in civil concerns, paid little deference even to the authority of the caliph himself. Impelled by this boundless thirst of conquest, they directed their march towards Gazna, and plundered the palace of Bust. In their progress, they were met by Togrol, the general of Modud, and were not only defeated in a great battle, but vigorously pursued in their flight, and driven from all the neighbouring region with disgrace. After this victory, Togrol marched against the Turcomans of Candahar, and defeating them also, took many prisoners, whom he brought to Gazna.

This fortunate general, however, inflamed with vanity, in consequence of his uncommon success against these restless enemies of the empire, in a succeeding expedition, undertaken against the same foes, reared himself the standard of rebellion; but, his views

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 105; Herbelot, article Modud; Abulfeda, Tom. III. p. 121; who only observes, eodem anno expugnabat exercitus Maududi, filii Massudi, filii Mahmudi, Gaznevidæ, COMPLURES INDORUM ARCES.

not being seconded with that ardour he expected by the troops under his command, he was, for the present, compelled to seek his safety in voluntary exile from Gazna. We shall, in a future reign, see him return thither in very different circumstances from those of a distressed fugitive. He was succeeded in command by Ali ben Ribbi, who, already celebrated for his valour, afterwards became more conspicuous through that inordinate ambition, which nothing but the sovereign authority could satisfy. Another of these aspiring chiefs was Hajib, who, in the course of two or three succeeding years, defeated the Seljuks, and other nations at enmity with the crown of Gazna, in several obstinate engagements, and was rewarded with high and distinguished honours.

These various successes of the Gaznavian generals roused all that latent fire, and kindled anew all that spirit of heroism which had originally marked the mind of Modud, and which neither time nor a long and painful series of adverse fortune could abate. The moment seemed at length arrived in which by a full and well-directed effort of its power, the dignity of the empire might be vindicated, and its ancient splendour re-established. Influenced by these motives, and resolved, if possible, to recover Chorasan out of the hands of its usurpers, Modud commenced his march for that province, by the way of Cabul, at the head of the collective forces of the whole empire. When the army reached Lowgar, they besieged the fort of Sancoot, where a considerable treasure was lodged. In this place the Sultan was seized with an afflicting disorder in his liver, which daily gaining strength, he was compelled to return, with the utmost regret, in a litter to Gazna: while that active and indefatigable enemy, the object of his expedition, having invaded Sejestan, rendered the presence of the imperial army, commanded by Rysac, the vizier, in person, necessary in that quarter. The disorder with which the sultan was afflicted, and which other Oriental writers affirm to have been a violent fit of the cholic, was of such a desperate kind, that,

in a week after his arrival at the capital, he fell the victim of it, and was numbered with his fathers in Heg. 441, A. D. 1049, after a reign of nine years.*

MASSUD II. FIFTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

That turbulent and ambitious spirit which, in the reign of the former sultan, began at intervals to manifest itself, now broke forth in the most undisguised manner, in the declared opposition of the generals Ali and Hajib, each of whom endeavoured to advance to the imperial dignity the creature most subservient to his own private views. The former, with remote though concealed intentions of usurping the crown, brought forth Massud, the son of Modud, then an infant of the age of four years, and placed him on the musnud. Hajib, on the other hand, to whom a great part of the army was devoted, enraged at not having been consulted in this measure, drew off with the forces attached to his interest, and prepared to resist with open violence both the pretensions of the infant sultan, and the assumed authority of his rival. The sultan he proposed was Abul Hassen, another son of Massud, who had escaped the resentment of the aspiring Ali, and being of mature age, seemed to possess an indisputable title to the supreme authority. With Hajib were united many of the ancient omrahs of the court, and Turks of noble extraction, who filled at that time the higher departments of the state, and could not brook being governed by a child of such tender years; independently of their just apprehensions of those civil dissentions too generally attendant on government during a minority. Thus was the kingdom rent asunder by two contending factions of equal power; impelled to action by a rival spirit of enterprize; and engaged in the same strenuous exertions to support the favourite candidate, whose cause they adopted.

Expectation did not long wait in suspense. The morning that

* Abulfeda, Tom. I. p. 133; and Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 108.

was to decide the fate of a vast empire rapidly advanced, and victory declaring in favour of Hajib, the unfortunate Massud was, after a reign of six days, deposed, and Abul Hassen, his elder brother, exalted to that imperial station, which at this crisis seemed equally fraught with danger and with glory.*

ABUL HASSEN, SIXTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

Abul Hassen, on mounting the throne of Gazna, to render his seat upon that throne more secure, immediately married the wife of Modud. In the mean time the vanquished Ali, resolved to distress the empire of which he was unable to obtain the government, in association with Mirik, an omrah of a rapacious and sanguinary character, broke open the royal treasury, and taking out a vast quantity of gold and jewels, fled, with a company of the slaves and some rebellious chieftains devoted to their cause, to Peishore. There they were joined by the natives, who flocked in great numbers to their standard, raised an immense army, and reduced Multan and Sind to their obedience; making, at the same time, a great slaughter of the Afghans or Patans, who, rushing from their mountainous regions, had taken advantage of the public disturbances, and ravaged the country far and near.

Whether the reigning sultan was unable or unwilling to contend with this formidable adversary does not appear from any accounts transmitted down to us; but he seems to have remained in his usurped authority over the provinces of Southern Hindostan without molestation, until the beginning of the ensuing reign of Abdul Reshid, or Abdalrashid, as it is more commonly written; who had sufficient address to allure him from those provinces to Gazna.

Abdalrashid was the son of Sultan Mahmud, and had been, by the order of Modud, imprisoned in a castle near Bust. When, previously to that prince's sudden death, his wazir, or vizier, Abdol

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 109.

Rysac, marched to repel the invading Seljuks from Sejestan, as has been before related, intelligence was brought him, during the expedition, that the master he served was no more. That faithful vizier, uninfected with the prevailing contagion of ambition, was willing to confer the crown where priority of birth seemed to determine its disposal, and actuated by these sentiments, immediately released Abdalrashid from his confinement.

While the contending factions at Gazna had successively placed the sceptre in the hands of Massud the Second, and the governing emperor, the party who espoused the cause of Abdalrashid was daily at a distance gaining strength, and in the second year of Abul Hassen's reign, with confident hopes, approached the capital.

The astonished sultan, to crush this new competitor for dominion, opened the inmost vaults of the treasury, and let the golden inundation flow widely through every rank of his subjects. But chiefly among the military classes his prodigality was displayed; and in a short period an army was collected that seemed fully adequate to his security.

An unbounded profusion of wealth, however it may gain temporary partizans, can never afford a lasting basis for success. Prudence and vigour, not gold alone, are necessary to the accomplishment of undertakings of high importance. These indispensable adjuncts to wealth on such a momentous occasion were wanted by the emperor, and however flattered he might have been by the representations of those whom his favours had conciliated, when the day of trial came his hopes were miserably disappointed. The event was, that Abdalrashid having reached Gazna at the head of an army, attached to him by nobler motives than those which animated the forces of his enemy, gained a complete victory over them, and immediately ascended the throne.

The unfortunate and fugitive sultan was shortly after seized by certain Zemindars of the country into which he had fled, brought

back a prisoner before his successful antagonist, and doomed to confinement in the fort of Didi.*

ABDUL RESHID, SEVENTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

This monarch began his reign about the year 1052 of the Christian æra. By various offers, he prevailed upon the disloyal Ali, who still reigned uncontrolled in Hindostan, to submit to his allegiance and return to Gazna. Over its extensive and important provinces he appointed Hajib, another chief of that name, governor, who had been very early and active in promoting his cause; and a noble army attended him to Lahore. That army was intended to operate against the fort of Naugracut, which was once more taken by assault, after a close and vigorous investment.

The singular success, the revolt and flight of Togrol, the former general of Modud, have been already noticed. During his absence from Gazna, his great military talents rendered him a desirable acquisition to any party with whom he chose to associate himself, and the reigning sultan had, in a particular manner, experienced the advantage of a union with him. Those talents for command, were again called into action, as soon as he had ascended the throne, and forgetful of his former baseness, the emperor sent him into Seistan, invested with powers beyond any former governor, and armed with authority, that in the end proved fatal to himself. After regulating the affairs of that important province, and having a fine army at his command, Togrol conceived hopes of reaching the summit of political eminence, and formed the blackest design the bosom of ingratitude ever harboured. This design was to march to Gazna, dethrone the monarch who had heaped favours upon him with so liberal a hand, and, without the smallest regard to the numerous descendants of the race of Subuctagi, ascend himself the

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 111.

throne of the deposed monarch. The treacherous resolution was no sooner formed than executed. Gazna was invested, and the unhappy sultan with the rest of the royal family, obliged to retire into the castle for security. The imperial army being absent with Hajib, there were but few troops left in the city, and those by no means equal to its defence against the brave and numerous forces that assailed it. Togrol, having soon made himself master of the city, vigorousl y attacked the citadel, which he carried by assault, after a resolute defence on the part of the garrison. A scene of blood and horror now took place, that makes humanity shudder. The sultan and nine of the blood royal, were instantly put to death by command of the savage conqueror. Two only escaped the general destruction, Ferokhzad and Anca, the son and daughter of Massud. The former of these found means to make his escape; the latter suffered a severer fate, being compelled to wed the inhuman murderer of her race. He now seized upon the royal diadem, assumed the title of sultan, and summoned the distant governors to acknowledge his authority, and repair to Gazna to render him homage, as to their lawful sovereign.

Among the commanders called upon by this public test of obedience, to give their sanction to usurpation, was Hajib, the newly appointed governor of the Indian provinces dependent on the crown of Gazna, who, instead of submitting to so degrading a humiliation, returned an answer full of contempt, and breathing the bitterest reproaches for his bloody and perfidious conduct. At the same time, he dispatched other letters privately to the princess Anca, who burned with no passion for the tyrant, but revenge, as well as to the principal omrahs of the court, who he knew still retained their loyalty to the imperial family, and conjured them to attempt some method of ridding the earth of so abhorred a monster. So general was the detestation in which his treachery, cruelty, and ingratitude were holden throughout the empire, that the whole

nation was already ripe for revolt, and he was universally denominated Kafernamet, or the Ingrate. Little instigation was therefore, wanting to induce the courtiers to engage in any effectual project for their emancipation from so horrible a tyranny. Ten of the noblesse, men of the most determined bravery, immediately entered into a combination for this purpose. As the tyrant sate on his throne, in all the pomp of assumed majesty, to receive the compliments of the grandees, on the day that ushered in the new year, those virtuous patriots, under pretence of paying their submission to him in form, approached the mockery of majesty, and at one and the same instant drawing their scymitars, buried them in his malignant heart.

After this important transaction, Hajib arrived at Gazna with the army, and calling a council of state, inquired whether any yet remained of the insulted race of Subuctagi. He was informed, that in a certain fort there remained, still imprisoned, Firoch Zaad, Ibrahim, and Suja. These he ordered to be brought from their confinement, and it being agreed that fortune should decide by lot, who of them should ascend the throne, she favoured Firoch Zaad, who was accordingly raised to it, and received the allegiance of the enraptured courtiers. The reign of Abdalrashid comprehended only one year. He was not a prince of great capacity, but deserved a better fate. It is related, that Togrol being one day asked by an intimate friend, what induced him to think of aspiring to the empire, replied that when Abdalrashid signed the instrument by which he was created governor of Seistan with such ample powers, he observed that his hand trembled, from which circumstance he concluded, that he was destitute of that resolution and fortitude which are the necessary accomplishments of a great monarch.*

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 113. Abulfeda, Tom. I. p. 141.

FEROCH ZAAD, EIGHTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

Feroch Zaad, or Ferokhzad, immediately on ascending the throne, in the overflowing gratitude of his heart, gave the reins of administration into the hands of Hajib, who had called him from obscurity to empire. Jaffar Bek, the chief of the Seljuks, ever watchful of an opportunity to crush the power of the Gaznavian sovereigns, on hearing of the commotions that agitated the empire, seized upon that favourable opportunity to invade Gazna. He immediately advanced to that capital with a formidable army, and the Gaznavian general collecting all his forces, without reluctance issued forth to give him battle. The engagement was long and obstinate. "From the rising to the setting of the sun, the warriors on both sides laboured in the field of death, and though thousands fell at their feet, they seemed insensible of their own mortality." Victory at length declared for Hajib, while his enemies betook themselves to flight, leaving all their camp equipage and baggage on the field, to the conquerors, who returned in triumph to Gazna.

Animated by this signal success, which at once established him firmly on the throne, and evinced that the military ardour of the nation was not, as its enemies falsely conjectured, on the decline, Firokhzad, from being the assailed, became the assailant, and poured a great army into Chorasan. He was there met on the part of the enemy, by Callisarick, one of their principal omrahs, with a numerous force; "but the gales of victory again fanned the royal standards of Gazna," and both Callisarick and many other omrahs of high distinction were taken prisoners.

Wounded to the quick by this second defeat of his army, Jaffar assembled together the whole of his forces, and giving the command of them to his son Arsilla, a prince of great expectations, ordered him without delay, to engage the sultan. A vigorous action

immediately commenced, in which Arsilla, engaging with undaunted resolution, recovered the honour of the Turcomans, drove the enemy from the field, and took many of the omrahs prisoners in the pursuit. He did not, however, think proper at that time, to make further trial of his good fortune, and while the vanquished enemy took their route to Gazna, Arsilla returned to receive the congratulations of his father.

When the sultan arrived at his capital, he called Callisarick and all the prisoners of the Turcomans into his presence, bestowed upon each of them the honour of the kelat, and gave them their liberty. The liberated Turcomans returning home, represented in so strong a light, the humanity of the emperor, that the Seljukian prince, ashamed to be outdone in a virtuous action, ordered the prisoners of Gazna to be also released.

No other remarkable occurrences on record distinguished this reign, which was but of six years duration, till A. D. 1057, when the slaves of Ferokhzad, having been instigated to a conspiracy against his life, made an attempt to assassinate him in the bath. But the sultan having valiantly wrested a sword out of the hand of one of them, killed many, and defended himself against the rest, till his guards, alarmed by the noise, came in to his assistance; upon which, all the slaves were put to instant death. He did not, however, long survive this desperate attack upon his life, for the following year nature put a period to his earthly existence.*

IBRAHIM, NINTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

To the empire, or rather to the shadow of the great empire of Gazna, which its Seljukian enemies had now reduced to very narrow limits, succeeded Ibrahim, the son of Massud, the second sultan of that name. He was a prince remarkable for morality and devotion, having in the flower of his youth, amidst a paradise of pleasure,

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 115.

conquered all the sensual appetites, and added two months more to the Mohammedan feast of Ramazan, which he kept with unprecedented severity. He, at the same time, gave proper attention to the affairs of government, and the due administration of justice, and opened wide the hand of charity to the poor. This prince, we are told, excelled in the art of fine writing; and in the libraries of Mecca and Medina, there are two copies of the Koran, written with his own hand, which were sent as presents to the caliph. In the first year of his reign,* having received intelligence that Malec Shah, king of the Seljukian Turks, had collected a great army, with an intention to invade Gazna, Ibrahim, conscious of his own inferiority in the field, by a well-contrived artifice, diverted his hostile intentions. Not long after, he concluded a treaty of peace with those disturbers of the national tranquillity, ceding to them all the country they had seized, upon condition that they would not extend the hand of violence any further over his dominions. To strengthen this new alliance, he married his son Massud to the daughter of Malec Shah, and this politic measure seems to have secured the repose of his realm from that quarter, during the remainder of his long and prosperous reign.

Equally zealous with his ancestors, for the propagation of the Mohammedan faith, and determined, if practicable, to retain in subjection to his authority the conquests in Hindostan, he sent a considerable army into that country, and, in addition to those conquests, took possession of many places yet unsubdued by the Moslem arms. In A. D. 1079, he marched thither in person, and extended his conquests to the fort of Adjodin. This place being taken, he turned to another fort, called Rupal, which was built upon the summit of a steep hill. A river inclosed it on three sides, and a

* According to the date mentioned in Ferishta, but much later in this reign, according to other Arabian writers, for Malec Shah was not sultan of the Seljukian Turks, till after the death of his father, Alp Arslan, by assassination, about the year 1072.

small peninsula joined it to the other hills, which were entirely covered with an impervious wood, and much infested by venomous serpents. This circumstance, however, did not discourage the sultan from the attempt. He ordered several thousand hatchet men to clear away the wood, which they effected in spite of all opposition, and the rock being soft, the miners forced their way in a short time under the walls, which were brought down in ruins. The place was immediately taken, and the garrison made prisoners.

The sultan marched thence to another town in the neighbourhood, the inhabitants of which came originally from Chorasan, and were banished thither with their families, by a former king of Persia, for their frequent rebellions. Here they formed themselves into a small independant state, being encircled by impassable mountains, and had preserved their ancient customs and rites without intermarrying with any other people. Having with infinite labour cleared a road for his army over the mountains, the sultan advanced towards the town, which was strongly fortified. He was overtaken by the rainy season, his army was greatly distressed, and during three months, he was obliged to remain inactive before it. But when the rains began to abate and the country to dry up, he summoned the town to surrender, and acknowledge the faith.

Ibrahim's proposals being rejected with scorn, he commenced the siege, which continued some weeks with great slaughter on both sides. The place at length was taken by assault, and the Mussulmen found much wealth in it, and one hundred thousand unfortunate Hindoo prisoners, whom they carried bound to Gazna. Some time after, the king accidentally saw one of those unhappy men carrying a heavy stone with great difficulty and labour, to a royal palace which was then building. This awakened his pity; he commanded him to throw it down, and gave him his liberty: giving orders that it should not be removed, though somewhat inconvenient, from the highway where it was deposited, but remain there,

" as a memorial of the misfortunes of war, and the compassion of the conqueror."

Ibrahim's victories in Hindostan were so numerous and illustrious, that they obtained him the names of Al Modhaffer, and Al Mansur; that is, the conqueror and the triumphant. Notwithstanding, however, the frequent wars he was engaged in, he bore the character of a very charitable, just, and religious prince, and during the intervals of peace, was continually employed in building mosques, oratories, hospitals, and other edifices of national ornament and utility. After a reign of forty-two years, he died in A. D. 1088, leaving thirty-six sons and forty daughters, the latter of whom he gave in marriage to learned and religious men who frequented his court.*

* Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 125.

CHAPTER II.

Digression concerning the Seljukian Dynasty.—Its four great Chieftains, Jaffar Bek, Togrol Bek, Alp Arslan, Malec Shah.—Division and Ruin of the Seljukian Empire.—Massud III. tenth King of Gazna and India—a wise and politic Prince.—His Generals extend their Conquests beyond those of Mahmud, eastward.—Arsilla, eleventh King of Gazna and India.—His short Reign that of Blood and Turbulence.—Dethroned by Sinjar, the Seljuk Sultan, and succeeded by Byram, twelfth King of Gazna and India—a liberal Patron of the Arts and Sciences.—Invades India twice with Success, but by putting to Death the Prince of GAUR, *brings down upon himself the implacable Vengeance of the Sovereigns of that Dynasty.—Gazna taken by the latter, and Byram, in his Flight to Lahore, perishes the Victim of Grief and Despair.—Chosro I. thirteenth King of Gazna and India.—Makes the Indian-City of Lahore his Capital. Gazna and its Inhabitants delivered over by its Gauride Conquerors, during seven Days, to boundless Pillage and Slaughter.—He rules the Indian Provinces in Peace—and dies after an inglorious Reign of seven Years.—Chosro II. fourteenth and last King of India, of the Race of Mahmud Gaznavi.—Attacked by Mohammed of Gaur, and besieged in Lahore.—That Capital, after baffling the Besiegers in two Assaults, is at length taken by Stratagem.—Extinction of the Gaznavian Power.—The* GAURIDE *Dynasty.—Mohammed first Gauride King of India.—Marches an Army into Hindostan.—Dreadful Battle with the Kings of Ajmere and Delhi.—Deserted by his Omrahs, and suffers a disgraceful Defeat.—The War renewed with rekindled Fury.—The Hindoos utterly routed.—Rise of* CUTTUB.—*Attack and Defeat of the Rajah of Canouge.—Benares and other Cities beyond the Ganges taken and plundered.—*

Unsuccessful War in Transoxiana.—Attack and Defeat of the Gickers, or wild Mountaineers of Lahore.—Mohammed Gauri assassinated by a Banditti of that Tribe, after a Reign of thirty-two Years.—Mahmud, second Gauride King of India—after a short Reign, conquered by the great Mohammed, Sultan of Charazm, who puts a Period to the Gauride Dynasty.

EARLY in the reign of Ibrahim, the last sultan, at no very distant interval one from the other, died Jaffar Bek, and Togrol Bek, the founders of the great Asiatic dynasty of Seljukian Turks; those dreadful scourges of the Gaznavian empire, and relentless enemies of the house of Mahmud. The former had long reigned uncontrolled in Chorasan, where he died, bequeathing the ample domain which his arms had acquired, to his son, Alp Arslan, who himself, shortly after, made a conspicuous figure on the great theatre of his father's glory. The latter had, in the course of a long life, more widely extended his empire, having reared his victorious standards in the citadel of Bagdad, and exterminated the dynasty of the Boiades, which had continued one hundred and twenty-seven years possessed of the supreme regal authority. The glory of this conquest, however, was tarnished by the dreadful outrages and wanton barbarities committed by the Turks, of whom his army was composed, who carried fire and sword into every quarter of that renowned capital, and spared neither sex nor age; but in hopes of finding concealed treasures, sacrilegiously broke open and plundered the very sepulchres of the dead.*

Notwithstanding this tremendous violation of every thing dear and sacred in the eyes of Moslems, the conqueror was dignified by Al Kayem, the reigning caliph, with the title of Rocnoddin, or the pillar of faith; with his own hand he publicly invested him with the imperial robes; adorned him with the collar and bracelets of

* Mirkhond, apud Texeira, p. 289, 298.

royalty, and solemnly crowned him sultan of Bagdad. Thus highly distinguished, however, when a few years after, Togrol solicited in marriage, SEIDA, the beautiful daughter of the same caliph, he refused his solicitation, though earnestly repeated, thinking it too great an honour to mingle the blood of the sacred caliphate, with that of the despicable race of Turkestan, however exalted by fortune, and resplendent with military triumphs. This conduct in the caliph, occasioned many embassies and menaces on the part of the sultan; and the former continuing obstinate in his refusal, the latter retrenched, by degrees, the revenues annually paid him, and forbade his officers to touch the public money. Thus reduced to the last extremity, the haughty caliph at last yielded, and the princess set out from Bagdad to meet her betrothed husband at Ray, the capital of Persian Irak, where the most splendid and magnificent preparations were made for her reception. But this bright prospect was suddenly overclouded, for on her arrival at that city, she found Togrol, her intended lord, had died some days before of a dysentery, so violent as to defy all the efforts of medicine.* The climate of Ray was indeed sultry and unhealthy, and a Persian poet, composing a distich on this occasion observed, "that the country of Ray was an enemy to strangers, and that if its air did not occasion the sultan's death, the predestined hour of his departure was come." He was near seventy years old at the time of his death, and was succeeded by his nephew, Alp Arslan, in whose person centered the sole sovereignty over all the extensive dominions of the Seljukian empire. Togrol Bek was the Togrolipix of the Greeks; was a prince deeply versed in the art of government, and on account of his prudence and valour, exceedingly feared by all the neighbouring princes.†

Although it was by no means my intention to mingle with this short history of the Gaznavide sultans, any extended account of the

* Al Makin's Hist. Saracen. p. 276. † Herbelot, article Thogrul Beg, p. 128.

Seljukian emperors, yet as about this period the history of the latter is deeply connected with theirs, as well as with that of Asia in general, and as, in the end, the former empire was entirely subverted by the descendants of the latter, we cannot pass them over entirely unnoticed.

The sublime post of EMIR-AL-OMRA, or general of the omrahs, which had been enjoyed by Togrol Bek, was upon his death conferred by the caliph, on Alp Arslan. Prayers were likewise read in his name, and he was publicly invested with the imperial regalia, as king of Bagdad; and he was even honoured with the title of Protector of the Faith. In military ardour he by no means degenerated from his predecessor, and in point of success, was far superior, since he may be said to have obtained the uncontrolled sovereignty of Asia. He overthrew in a great battle, the sultan of Karazm, who had aimed at independence, and made the government hereditary in his family. In a still greater and more memorable engagement, he defeated Romanus Diogenes, the Greek emperor, in Armenia, at the head of 100,000 men, took him prisoner, and exacted from the miserable captive, by way of ransom, a million of crowns in gold, besides a vast annual tribute. Alp Arslan is also said, in consequence of this victory, to have got possession, among other rich plunder, found in the emperor's tent, of a pearl of great magnitude and exquisite beauty, valued at ninety thousand golden crowns, and known over all the East by the name of *the Orphan*. He afterwards added Gurgistan, or Georgia, to his empire, and finally met his fate, in attempting to conquer Turkestan, from the assassinating hand of an exasperated Charazmian chieftain, whom, after an obstinate resistance, he had compelled to surrender.

Alp Arslan, partly by hereditary right, and partly by that of conquest, was the sole and absolute monarch of all the vast tract lying between the Oxus and the Tigris, comprehending Persia, or Iran, in its fullest extent, and was justly esteemed one of the most puissant

potentates that ever reigned in Asia, of which Herbelot, from Khondemir records this remarkable proof, that there might be sometimes seen at the foot of his throne, no less than twelve hundred princes, or sons of princes, doing him the homage of vassals.

Malec Shah, whom his father with his dying breath had appointed to succeed him, though not the eldest son, was immediately acknowledged his lawful heir and successor, at the head of the armies which he had commanded; and the caliph of Bagdad, not only sent him the instrument of investiture, confirming to him the title and power of sultan; but he likewise added thereto, the sublime title of Commander of the Faithful, which the caliphs till then, had reserved to themselves, without conferring it on any other Mohammedan prince. Early in his reign, he conquered the whole of Syria, and, marching into Transoxan Tartary, defeated Soliman, its monarch, with great slaughter, and brought him captive to Ispahan, at that time the capital of his dominions. The Seljukian empire was, in his time, one of the most potent monarchies that had ever been erected in the East, extending from the borders of Egypt to a considerable distance beyond the Oxus. So high was his renown, an alliance with him was no longer deemed disgraceful. That honour which his predecessor so long refused his grandfather, was now solicited by the reigning caliph, Al Moctadi, the successor of Al Kayem; for he eagerly solicited and espoused the daughter of Malec Shah, a princess of the most transcendant beauty, on whose entry into the capital of Bagdad, such public rejoicings took place, as far surpassed every thing of the kind that had before occurred in the Moslem world. All the streets of the city were on this grand occasion illuminated with torches, and the caliph, to demonstrate his affection for his charming bride, prepared for her a most magnificent banquet, in forming the desert of which, according to an Eastern writer, cited in Herbelot, no less than 24,000 pounds weight of sugar was consumed.* Every

* See Biblioth. Orient. Art. Moctadi, p. 591.

other article of this most superb entertainment was proportionably grand. This auspicious beginning, however, did not secure to his marriage any lasting felicity, for two years afterwards the princess, in spite of her sugared nuptials, became acrimonious and spleenful, left Bagdad in disgust, and retired to her father at Ispahan, where she died. Malec Shah was not only a great warrior, but the friend of science, and the patron of literary men. During the excursions which he frequently made to every part of his extensive dominions, he caused many noble mosques, colleges, caravanseras, and hospitals to be erected; and repaired the bridges, high roads, and canals, wherever he journeyed. His charity was unbounded, and in administering justice he was inflexibly severe. Among other acts of piety and beneficence, he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca with incredible expense. Besides abolishing the usual tribute which the pilgrims paid, he laid out very large sums in building towns amidst the inhospitable deserts through which they passed, and ordered a great number of wells and cisterns to be made for their refreshment, and water to be conveyed to them from all sides. Such exertions are truly worthy of a great king, and they, as well as his great conquests, render the name of Malec Shah by far the most celebrated and revered of the princes of the Seljukian dynasty. Malec Shah, however, though he raised the empire to the highest point of grandeur it ever arrived at, consisting in his reign of Syria, or at least the most considerable part of that vast region, Mesopotamia, Fars, Kerman, the Persian and Arabian Iraks, Chorasan, Charazm, Rum, or Anatolia, Great Bokharia, the kingdom of Kasghur, or little Bokharia, extending to the borders of Tibet, and several other large provinces, yet in reality, he laid the foundation of its future destruction, by dividing it, even in his life time, among his relations and favourites, and permitting them to enjoy an unusual and almost an unlimitted power in their several districts. These potent viceroys, by degrees, grew independent of the crown, and as many kingdoms

were formed on the ruins of the great empire to which they were formerly an appendage.

His vizier, Nizam al Molc, was not less celebrated than his master for wisdom and for valour. He had been originally preceptor to Alp Arslan, and afterwards acted in capacity of vizier to both father and son. For thirty years this great man, as well by the exertions of his pen and his sword, proved himself to be what his name implies, the defender of the empire. Presuming, however, too much in the decline of life, upon his unbounded influence with his sovereign, and exalted station, his conduct occasioned a warm expostulatory letter from the sultan, in which he demanded of him, "whether he were in reality his partner in the empire, or only his vizier." An intemperate reply of the vizier, in which he told the sultan that the empire owed its prosperity not less to the *inkhorn* of the vizier, than the *turban* of the sultan, caused his immediate degradation, and, not long after, he was assassinated by a slave, at the instigation of the president of the divan, who succeeded to his high office. Before the vizier expired, he wrote a letter to the sultan, couched in very different terms from the former, and highly becoming the situation of a great minister, whose period of glory was about to close for ever. After modestly enumerating his long services he observes, "I am now going to give an account of my administration to a greater sovereign than your majesty, the King of Heaven! I perish, in the ninety-third year of my age, by the dagger of an assassin. If I have had errors, forgive them; if virtues, reward them, by protecting my son." The palace of this great man was open to all learned and virtuous men, to whom, like his master, he always professed himself a patron; which is not to be wondered at, as he was himself, in a high degree, both learned and virtuous. Malec Shah survived his vizier only a fortnight, being attacked with a fever, the consequence of a surfeit at an entertainment after hunting, which, in a few days carried him off. In a Persian poem, composed

on his death, it is remarked, "The old vizier dies in one month, and the young king follows him in the next. The power of God discovers to us the imbecility of princes, to the end that we should adore him alone, the King of all, and not attach ourselves too closely to any thing mortal." The life of this celebrated minister, Nizam Al Molc, so famous over all the East, has been written by several of the best Oriental historians and biographers.*

After the death of Malec, the great Seljukian empire was rent asunder by the ambitious contentions of his surviving family; and four inferior dynasties sprang up from its ruins: those of *Iran* and of *Rum*, or the Greek empire (though still denominated *Roman*) long upheld the grandeur and renown of the Seljukian name. The exploits of many of the warlike sovereigns of these dynasties are about this period intimately blended with the events peculiar to this history, and the reader on that account will doubtless excuse this digression in regard to one of the most celebrated and powerful race of conquerors in the annals, and on the plains, of Asia.

MASSUD III. TENTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

Massud, the son of Ibrahim, mounted the throne upon the decease of his father. Generous, hospitable, and benevolent, he was not less renowned for his justice than the soundness of the political maxims by which he governed. He revised the ancient laws and regulations of the state, and abrogating such as were thought unreasonable, substituted others in their place, founded upon more enlarged and generous principles. He took the daughter of Sinjar, successor of Malec Shah, king of the Seljuks, in marriage, which cemented between them a firm and durable peace.

Unlike that of his predecessor, his reign was the reign of peace in the western districts of his empire, and afforded ample leisure to his generals to extend their arms eastward in Hindostan, even

* Herbelot, article Selgiuki. p. 800; and Leb Tarikh. p. 41.

beyond the farthest boundaries of the conquests of the great Mahmud himself. They crossed the river Ganges, and having plundered many rich cities and temples of their wealth, returned in triumph to Lahore; which, being more remote from the Seljukian dominions, now became the favoured residence of the Gaznavian kings, and, in some measure, to be reckoned the capital of the empire.

After a reign of sixteen years, without domestic troubles or foreign wars, "he entered his eternal abode," in the latter end of the year 508, or A. D. 1114, and Arsilla his son, having imbrued his hand in the blood of Shire, the rightful heir, with the same hand assumed the sceptre and the diadem.

ARSILLA, ELEVENTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

The sanguinary mind that doomed a king and a brother to destruction, now exerted itself in acts of tyranny towards his remaining brothers. They were all cruelly and closely confined. One of them, however, Byram, evaded the vigilance of his keepers, and fled for protection to his uncle Sinjar, who, on the part of his brother Mohammed, king of Persia, then ruled the province of Chorasan. Sinjar instantly demanded the releasement of his nephews, and on the refusal of Arsilla to liberate them, advanced, with Byram, towards Gazna, to enforce that justice the usurper denied.

Alarmed at this hostile measure, Arsilla wrote letters of complaint to Sinjar's elder brother, the emperor Mohammed, requesting that he would command him back, and that monarch pretended an inclination to mediate between them; but Sinjar still continuing his march, convinced Arsilla that the sword alone must determine the point in dispute. Mehid, princess of Persia, the widow of Massud, at that time resided at the court of Gazna, and burned with secret revenge for the murder of one child, and the imprisonment of the others. With well dissembled affection, she prevailed upon the

deluded monarch to send her to negociate a peace between them, and charged with a great sum of money, sufficient to re-imburse her brother Sinjar for the expense of his expedition. When arrived in the camp, she, by every effort in her power, animated her son and brother, to pursue without a moment's delay the expedition they had began, and delivered for the purposes of war and vengeance the money destined to purchase a dishonourable compromise.

Sinjar immediately marched from Bust in Chorasan, where he then lay, with 30,000 horse and 50,000 foot, and without opposition advanced within one pharsang of Gazna, where the army of Arsilla was drawn out in order of battle to receive him. The line of Sinjar was immediately formed, the horse were divided into squadrons, with battalions of spearmen in the intervals, and the elephants brought up the rear. Encouraging then his troops, he advanced slowly towards the enemy, who stood firm to receive the charge. "The shock was so violent on both sides that order and command yielded to rage and confusion. The gleam of arms that illuminated the field was soon quenched in blood, and darkened by clouds of dust that took away all distinction." At length the troops of Gazna were put to flight, and Arsilla, unable to renew the combat, fled with the remains of his army towards Hindostan.

Sinjar entered Gazna in triumph, where he remained forty days, and after having established Byram on the throne of that kingdom, returned to his own country. Arsilla, having heard of his departure, instantly collected all the troops in the Gaznavide provinces of Hindostan, and hastened back at their head, to recover his capital. Success crowned his expedition, till Sinjar, again marching to Gazna, drove him once more from its walls, and pursued his routed army quite into Hindostan. In that pursuit, his omrahs, conspiring together against him, in order to screen themselves from the vengeance of Sinjar, seized on the wretched Arsilla, and delivered him bound, to that prince, who, acting on the maxim of *blood for blood*, ordered

him to be put to death, after a short but turbulent reign of three years.

BYRAM, TWELFTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

Byram, who now, without a rival, succeeded to the throne of Gazna, was in every respect the counterpart of the malignant and blood-thirsty Arsilla. He was the friend of literature, liberal, hospitable, and benevolent. Under his patronage the famous Indian book of fables called Killila Jumna, pregnant with the soundest precepts of morality and policy, and replete with entertainment, was translated into Persian.

This book, Ferishta informs us, was sent previous to the dissolution of the Hindoo empire, by the king of that country, accompanied with a chess table, to Nushirwan, sirnamed the Just, king of Persia. That prince's vizier, sirnamed the Wise, was so well versed in all the Asiatic languages, that in a few days he translated the Killila Jumna into ancient Persic, to the astonishment of the ambassador, who imagined the Sanscreet language was entirely unknown in those parts. But he could form no conception of the chess-board, as that game was, at that time, unknown in Persia. He therefore had recourse to the ambassador, who was esteemed the best player in Hindostan, to have this matter explained to him, who having accordingly discovered to him the principles, the vizier sat down with him to play. The first game he obliged the ambassador to draw; the second he chased his king solitary; and the third he gave him check-mate. The ambassador was so mortified to be foiled at his own weapons, that he would play no more. The same vizier then invented the game of backgammon, returning a set of those tables by the ambassador, who having related his adventure with the vizier, and given an account of the genius and government of Nushirwan, his master gave up all thoughts of an invasion, which he had been meditating against that king. The present of the chess-board

was intended as an experiment upon the genius of the minister, and to indicate that, in the great game of state, attention and capacity were better friends than fortune.

Byram, in the days of his prosperity, is recorded to have penetrated twice into Hindoston, chastising his refractory subjects and collectors of the imperial revenue. The first time he went to reduce Balin, who had possession of the government of Lahore, on the part of his brother the emperor Arsilla, whom he defeated and took; but having pardoned him, upon swearing allegiance, he was again reinstated in his government, and the king returned to Gazna. In the mean time, Balin built the fort of Nagore, in the country of Sewalic, whither he conveyed all his wealth, family, and effects; then raising an army, composed chiefly of Arabs, Persians, Afghans, and Chilligies, he committed great devastations upon the Indian independent princes; which success so mightily inflamed his ambition, that he aspired at length to the empire. Byram being apprized of the intentions of Balin, collected his army, and a second time marched towards Hindostan. Balin, with his ten sons, who had each the command of a province, advanced to meet the king, as far as Multan, with a powerful army. A dreadful battle ensued; but the curse of ingratitude was poured, in a storm, upon the head of the perfidious rebel, who, in his flight, with his ten sons and attendants, fell headlong into a deep quagmire, where they were totally overwhelmed, and every one of them perished.

The king, after this complete victory, settled the affairs of the Indian provinces, and, appointing Hussein to the chief command of the conquered part of India, returned himself to Gazna. He soon after caused to be publicly executed Mohammed prince of Gaur, who was son-in-law to the rebel Balin. *This, in its consequences, proved the ruin of the family of Gazna,* for Seif ul Dien, prince of Gaur, brother to the deceased, raised a great army to revenge his death. He marched directly to Gazna, which Byram, unable to

oppose him, evacuated, and fled to a place called Kirma, upon the borders of India. The fort of Kirma had been built by the Afghans to guard a pass in the mountains. The prince of Gaur, without further opposition, entered the capital, where he established himself, by the consent of the people, sending Alla, his brother, to rule his native principality of Gaur. Notwithstanding, however, every effort to render himself popular, at Gazna, the people, from long attachment to the imperial family, began to dislike his government, and secretly wished the re-establishment of their former king. Some of the omrahs, who were of the same principles, taking advantage of this favourable disposition, informed Byram of their ripeness for an insurrection, if he could by any means favour it.

It was now the depth of winter, and most of the followers of the prince of Gaur had returned, upon leave, to their families, when Byram, unexpectedly, appeared before Gazna, with a great army. Seif ul Dien being then in no condition to engage him with his own troops, and having little dependance upon those of Gazna, was preparing to retreat to Gaur, when the Gaznians entreated him to engage Byram, assuring him they would exert themselves to the utmost in his service. This was only a subterfuge, intended as an opportunity to put their design in execution. As the unfortunate prince was advancing to engage Byram, he was surrounded by the troops of Gazna, and taken. The unhappy captive was inhumanly ordered to have his forehead made black, and then to be placed on a sorry bullock, with his face turned towards the tail. In that disgraceful manner he was led round the whole city, insulted and hooted by the mob. He was afterwards put to the torture, and his head sent to Sinjar, king of Persia, while his vizier, Seid Mujud, was impaled alive.

When this news was carried to the ears of his brother Alla, his soul burned with rage and indignation. Determined to take a deep revenge, he instantly, with all his united powers, invaded Gazna.

Byram, informed of his approach, as readily prepared to receive him. He addressed him in a letter, and endeavoured to intimidate him by displaying the superiority of his troops, advising him not to plunge the whole family of Gaur into the same abyss of misfortune. Alla in reply, told him, that his threats were as impotent as his arms: that it was no new thing for kings to make war upon their neighbours; but that barbarity like his was unknown to the brave, and such as he had never heard to have been exercised upon princes, the vicegerents of God. God, therefore, had forsaken Byram, and ordained Alla to be the instrument of that just, that terrible vengeance which was denounced against him, for putting to such an inhuman death the representative of the renowned, the independent, and very ancient family of Gaur.

All temporizing was now at an end; Byram intrepidly advanced at the head of a numerous army, to give the invader battle. The offer was exultingly accepted by his adversary, and the bloody conflict commenced with great fury on both sides. At first the troops of Gazna, by their superior numbers, bore down those of Gaur; till Alla, seeing his situation almost desperate, called out to two gigantic brothers, whose name was Chirmil, the greater and the less, whom he saw in the front, like two rocks, stemming the torrent of battle. He forced on his elephant towards Byram, these two heroes clearing the path of death before him. Byram observing him, stood aloof; but his son Dowlat, accepting the challenge, advanced to oppose Alla. The elder of the valiant Chirmils rushing forward, with his sword ripped up the belly of Dowlat's elephant, and was himself killed by its fall. Alla, in the mean time, nailed the brave prince, with his spear, to the ground. The younger Chirmil, furiously attacked the elephant of Byram himself, and after inflicting many desperate wounds, brought the enormous animal to the ground. With it he also fell, and while he was rising from under the elephant's side, extremely bruised by the fall, Byram escaped

with his life, and instantly mounting a horse, joined in the flight of his army, which was now repulsed on all sides. The troops of Gaur, indeed, emulating the bravery of their leader, had made so impetuous an attack as to put all resistance at defiance.

Byram, with the scattered remains of his army, hastened towards Hindostan; but he was overwhelmed with his misfortunes, and sunk under the hand of death, in A. D. 1152, after a reign of thirty-five years. He was, upon the whole, a virtuous prince; though his precipitate severity, in the case of the prince of Gaur, cannot be reconciled to humanity or sound policy, and in fact, as before observed, caused the total downfal of the Gaznavide dynasty.

The extended reign of Byram was peaceable but inglorious; the empire had long verged towards its decline; and though he was a virtuous prince, he had not sufficient abilities to recover its decaying vigour. Sinjar, his uncle by the mother's side, the sixth emperor of Iran, of the Seljukian dynasty, sat upon the throne, in full possession of the empire conquered by his ancestors, when Byram became king of Gazna. The Indian provinces subject to Gazna, remained entire to Byram.

CHOSRO I. THIRTEENTH KING OF GAZNA AND INDIA.

Chosro, the son of the emperor Byram, upon the death of his father, continued his march to Lahore, leaving the kingdom of Gazna to his enemies, and was there saluted king, by the unanimous voice of the people. In the mean time, the enraged, the inflexible conqueror entered Gazna with little opposition, and that noble city was given up to the accumulated horrors, of flame, slaughter, rapine, and devastation. The massacre continued for the space of seven days, during which time, says our florid author, pity seemed to have fled the earth, and the fiery spirits of demons to actuate the bodies of men. For this act of atrocious cruelty the barbarous

Alla was thenceforth justly stigmatized with a title that signifies the Incendiary of the World. Insatiable in his revenge, this monster carried a number of the most venerable priests, learned men, and citizens, in chains to Gaur, to adorn his savage triumph. There, horrible to relate! he ordered their throats to be cut, tempering earth with their blood, with which he cemented the walls of his city!

After the return of Alla to Gaur, Chosro, in the vain hope of recovering his lost kingdom of Gazna, and depending upon the assistance of Sinjar, king of Persia, collected all his forces, and marched from Lahore. But when he had arrived upon the borders of Gazna, he received intelligence that Sinjar had been defeated and taken prisoner by the Gazan Turks, who were then marching down with a great army to Gazna, to appropriate that kingdom also to themselves. This obliged him to retreat again to Lahore, since he was in no condition to oppose them. He governed the Indian provinces in peace, with the common justice of virtuous kings; and died A. H. 555; or A. D. 1159, after he had reigned seven years, with no great splendour; though he deserved and obtained the character of a peaceable and benevolent prince.

The Gazan Turks in the mean time drove out the troops of Gaur, and kept possession of Gazna for two years. But they were expelled in their turn by the Gaurians, who did not long enjoy it for that time, being vanquished by Assumud, general to Chosro, the second of the name, who, for a short space, recovered and held that kingdom.

CHOSRO II. FOURTEENTH AND LAST KING OF THE GAZNAVIDE DYNASTY.

On the death of his father, Chosro the Second ascended the throne, which he adorned with benevolence and justice, extending his dominions over most of the provinces formerly possessed by the emperors

Ibrahim and Byram. But Mohammed, brother to the prince of Gaur, with rage yet unsatiated, attacked and ravaged the kingdom of Gazna, which he wholly reduced, and not satisfied with that ample spoil, marched an army into India, over-running the provinces of Peishore, Afghanistan, Multan, and the Indus. He advanced at length to Lahore, and, in A. H. 576, invested the emperor Chosro in his capital, but finding it impossible to take that strong city, he entered into a kind of treaty with the besieged prince. Mohammed in consequence evacuated the country, carrying away Chosro, the son of the emperor, a child of four years of age, as an hostage for the performance of the treaty.

The terms of that treaty not being properly adhered to by Chosro, Mohammed, shortly after, returned to Lahore, and besieged it again with fruitless toil. He, however, subjected the open country to fire and sword. He then built the fort of Salcot, where he left a strong garrison, and afterwards returned to Gazna. In his absence, the emperor Chosro, in alliance with the Gickers, besieged the fort of Salcot, but that enterprise also proving unsuccessful, they were compelled to desist.

Determined to put an end to the dynasty of Gaznavide sultans, and to drive them from Lahore as he had already exiled them from Gazna, the following year Mohammed collected all his forces, and marched towards that vast and well fortified metropolis. But as he knew it was impregnable to external assault, he attempted its reduction by treachery, in the following manner. While he was preparing for the expedition, he gave out, that it was intended against the Seljuks, at the same time informing Chosro by letter, that he was desirous of accommodating all their differences, by a lasting treaty of peace. To convince him of the sincerity of his intentions, he now returned his son Chosro, with a splendid retinue, who had orders to make short marches; while the emperor, his father, impatient to see him, advanced a part of the way to meet him. In the

mean time, Mohammed, with twenty thousand horse, with incredible expedition marched by another route, round the mountains, and cut off Chosro from Lahore, having surrounded his small camp in the night. The emperor awaking in the morning from his dream of negligence, saw no hope of escape left, and was therefore compelled to throw himself upon the mercy of his adversary. The sultan immediately demanded possession of the capital as the price of the king's release. Accordingly the gates of that great city were thrown open to receive him, and thus without a blow did this vast empire pass from the house of Gazna to that of Gaur.

The year A. H. 580, or A. D. 1184, in which the family of Gazna became extinct, proved also fatal to the elder branch of the royal family of the Seljuks, settled in Iran. Disputes relative to the succession, and the weakness of the princes who reigned after Sinjar, combined to effect the ruin of an empire, which fell almost as suddenly as it rose. The governors of the Asiatic provinces, assumed independence with great facility, when their sovereigns had not talents of mind, or vigour of arms sufficient to counteract the power which the crown vested in its viceroys. Some governments, amidst the distractions of the empire, became hereditary, and many ambitious omrahs rendered themselves independent, in the debilitated reign of the second Togrol of the Seljuk dynasty. Among others, TACASH, the father of the great Mohammed, viceroy of Charazm for the Seljuk sultan of Iran, about this period, not only assumed the ensigns of royalty in his government, but, being warmly invited into western Persia, annexed that country also to his new kingdom, and by the defeat and death of Togrol himself, laid the foundation of the power and glory of the renowned CHARAZMIAN DYNASTY, which will soon take its turn to appear upon the ample theatre of this history.

THE GAURIDE DYNASTY.

MOHAMMED.

There is no necessity for us to trace back with Ferishta, who is very copious on this subject, the genealogy of the Gauride emperors, and of this particular prince. We have seen in the last reign, that, acting nominally as general for his elder brother, who sate on the Gaznavide throne, but, in reality invested with all the authority of a great monarch, he took Lahore the new capital of the race of Mahmud, by stratagem, and extinguished in the second Chosro, who, with his whole family, was shortly after put to death, that renowned dynasty. According to Ferishta, who must now, for a long time, become our principal guide, the attention of the Moslem historians of this period being almost engrossed by the history of the caliphs, and the various fortune of the Seljukian princes, Mohammed after the conquest of Lahore, did not make its superb palace his place of residence, but gave the government of that city and province to Ali, viceroy of Multan, and returned to his brother at Gazna. In the year 587, or A. D. 1191, he is said by Ferishta, to have marched again towards Hindostan, and proceeding to Ajmere, that country so difficult to subdue, to have taken the capital of Tiberhind, where he left Malleck Zea, with above a thousand chosen horse, and some foot, to garrison the place. He himself was upon his return, when he heard that Pittu Rai, the prince of Ajmere, with his brother Candi Rai, king of Delhi, in alliance with some other Indian princes, were marching towards Tiberhind, with two hundred thousand horse, and three thousand elephants. Mohammed determined to return to the relief of the garrison. He met the enemy at the village of Sirauri, upon the banks of the Sirsutti, fourteen miles from Tannasar, and eighty from Delhi, and gave them battle. Upon the first

onset his right and left wings retired, being outflanked by the enemy, till, joining in the rear, his army was gradually formed into a circle. Mohammed, who was in person in the centre of the line when first formed, was told that his right and left wings were defeated, and advised to provide for his own safety. Enraged at this counsel, he smote the imprudent adviser, and rushed on towards the enemy, among whom he commenced, with a few followers, a great slaughter. The eyes of Candi Rai, king of Delhi, fell upon him. He drove the elephant, upon which he was mounted, directly against him. Mohammed rising from his horse, threw his lance with such force at the elephant, that he drove out three of his hinder teeth. In the mean time the king of Delhi, from above, pierced the sultan through the right arm, and had almost thrown him to the ground; when some of his chiefs advanced to his rescue. This gave an opportunity to one of his faithful servants, to leap behind him as he was sinking from his horse, and supporting him in his arms, he carried him from the field, which, by this time, was deserted almost by his whole army. The enemy pursued them near forty miles.

After this defeat, and the recovery from his wound at Lahore, he appointed governors to the different provinces he possessed in India, and returned in person to Gaur with his army. At Gaur he disgraced all those omrahs who had deserted him in battle. He obliged them to walk round the city, with their horses mouth-bags, filled with barley, hanging about their necks; at the same time forcing them to eat, or have their heads struck off; the former of which they chiefly chose to do.

Upon the retreat of Mohammed, the allied rajahs continued their march to Tiberhind, which they besieged for one year and one month, and at last were obliged to grant favourable terms of capitulation. Mohammed remained a few months with his brother at Gaur, who still kept the imperial title, but not the power, and then

returning to Gazna, spent the ensuing year in indolence and festivity. But ambition again fermenting in his mind, he recruited a noble army, consisting of one hundred thousand chosen horse, Turks, Persians, and Afghans, many of whom had their helmets ornamented with jewels, and their armour inlaid with silver and gold. With these he marched in martial splendour, from Gazna towards India, without disclosing to his friends any part of his intentions.

When his victorious spears had advanced as far as Peishore, at the request of a venerable sage of Gaur, who bore almost a prophetic character, and implored the boon, he sent back an order to Gazna, to release the disgraced omrahs from their confinement, and that such of them as were desirous of recovering their honour, might now attend his stirrup. They accordingly obeyed the order, and were each honoured with a chelat, according to their rank. The next day the royal standard was put in motion, and the army advanced to Multan, where Mohammed conferred titles and employments upon all who had been firm to his interest. He then proceeded to Lahore, whence he dispatched Humza, one of his principal omrahs, ambassador to Ajmere, with a declaration of war, should the Indians reject the true faith.

Pittu Rai, king of Ajmere, gave a disrespectful answer to the embassy, and immediately wrote for succours to all the neighbouring princes. Nor did his allies delay their march, and therefore he soon advanced to meet Mohammed, with an army consisting, according to the lowest and most moderate account, of three hundred thousand horse; besides above three thousand elephants, and a great body of infantry. The Hindoos again waited to receive Mohammed upon the former field of battle. The two armies encamped in sight of each other, with the river Sursutti between them.

The Indian princes, of whom there are said to have been one hundred and fifty, in this enormous camp, having assembled, after

performing solemn acts of a religious nature, swore by the water of the Ganges, that they would conquer their enemies, or die martyrs to their faith. However, being lulled into security by an artful proposal of a truce from the invader, the Hindoos spent the night in riot and revelry, while he was preparing for a surprise. He accordingly forded the river a little before the dawn of the morning, drew up his army on the sands, and had entered part of the Indian camp, before the alarm was spread. Notwithstanding the confusion that naturally reigned on this occasion among the Hindoos, their camp was of such an amazing extent, that the greater part had sufficient time to form the line which served to cover the rout, so that now they began to advance with great resolution and some order, in four vast lines.

Mohammed, upon seeing this, ordered his troops to halt, and his army, which had been also divided into four parts, were commanded to renew the attack by turns, wheeling off to the rear after they had discharged their bows a certain number of times upon the enemy, and giving ground gradually as they advanced with their elephants. In this manner he retreated and fought, till the sun was approaching the west, when thinking he had sufficiently wearied the enemy, and deluded them with a security of victory, he put himself at the head of twelve thousand of his best horse, whose riders were covered with steel, and giving orders to his generals to second him, he made a resolute charge, and carried death and confusion among the Hindoo ranks. The disorder increased every where, till at length it became general. The Mussulman troops, as if now only serious in fight, made such a dreadful slaughter, that this prodigious army once shaken, like a great building, was lost in its own ruins.

Candi, King of Delhi, and many other princes, were slain in the field, while Pittu Rai, King of Ajmere, was taken in the pursuit, and aftewards put to death. The spoil of the camp, which was immensely rich, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and the forts of

Sursutti, Samana, Koram, and Hassi, surrendered after the victory. Mohammed in person went to Ajmere, and took possession of it, after having barbarously put some thousands of the unfortunate inhabitants to the sword, reserving the rest for slavery. But, upon a promise of a punctual payment of a large tribute, he gave up the country to Gola, the son of Pittu Rai. He then turned his standards towards Delhi, but he was prevailed upon by the new king, with great presents, to abandon that enterprize. He left his faithful slave and friend CUTTUB in the town of Koram, with a considerable detachment, and marched himself with the body of his army, towards the mountains of Sewalic, which lie to the north of India, destroying and plundering all the countries in his way to Gazna. After the return of Mohammed, his general, CUTTUB, who had been formerly a slave, raised an army, and took the fort of Merat, and the city of Delhi, from the family of Candi Rai. It was from this circumstance that foreign nations say, that *the empire of Delhi was founded by a slave.* In A. H. 589, or A. D. 1193, he also took the fort of Kole, and making Delhi the seat of his government, there established himself in security, obliging all the districts round to acknowledge the Mussulman faith.

Mohammed, in the mean time, marched from Gazna towards Canouge, and engaged Rai Joy, who was prince of Canouge and Benares,* and who commanded a very numerous army of horse, besides four hundred elephants. This prince led his forces into the field between Chundwar and Atava, where he received a total defeat from the vanguard of the Gaznavian army, led by Cuttub, and all his baggage and elephants were taken. Mohammed then marched to the fort of Assi, where Rai Joy had laid up his treasure, which in a few days he took; and found there, gold, silver, and precious

* Here we have a proof of what was hinted before, that the vast kingdom on the Ganges had two capitals, Canouge and Benares; they were once, probably, Canouge and Palibothra.

stones, to a great amount. He marched from thence to Benares, and broke down the idols in above one thousand temples, which he purified and consecrated to the true God. Here he also found immense plunder. Concerning, however, this attack and plunder of Benares, some further particulars will occur in a future page, under the reign of Cuttub, the first regular Mohammedan sovereign of Delhi. He returned then to the fort of Kole, where he again confirmed Cuttub in the viceroyship of India, and from thence, laden with treasure, he took the route of Gazna.

In the mean time one of the relations of the late king of Ajmere, whose name was Himrage, invaded Gola, the son of Pittu Rai, and drove him out of that subah. Gola immediately had recourse for assistance to Cuttub. Cuttub, without hesitation, in the year 591, marched from Delhi against Himrage, who, having collected a great army, gave the Mussulmen battle, in which he lost the victory and his life. Cuttub, after this victory, appointed a governor of his own faith to superintend the young Raja, then led his army to Narwalla, the capital of the province of Guzerat, and defeating Bim Deo, took ample revenge for the overthrow given to his lord. He plundered that rich country; but he was soon recalled, by orders from Gazna, and commanded to proceed immediately to Delhi.

In the year 592, Mohammed again formed a resolution of returning to Hindostan, and proceeded to Biana. He took that rich province, and conferred the government upon Togrol; then leaving with him the body of his army, he commanded him to besiege Gwalior, and returned himself to settle some affairs at Gazna. In the mean time, the strong and almost impregnable fort of Gwalior was taken, after a long siege. Togrol, flushed with success, and ambitious of extending his conquests further, now led his army against the Rajaputs of the south. But he received a terrible defeat, and was obliged to take the protection of his forts. In the year 593, Cuttub marched again from Delhi, and reduced Narwalla of

Guzerat, with all its dependencies. After his return, he seized upon the forts of Callinger, Calpee, and Budaoon.

Mohammed was in the mean time engaged in an expedition towards the frontiers of Persia. News was there brought to him of the death of his brother Yeas ul Dien, who, however, had long possesssd nothing of the empire but the name. Mohammed, upon receiving this intelligence, returned to Gazna, where, according to the will of the deceased emperor, he was crowned in form; and mounted the imperial throne.

In the same year, he was informed of the death of Zireck, prince of Murve, and in the beginning of the next, marched to the conquest of that country, advancing by the way of Charazm, where Tacash, its self-made sovereign, not able to oppose him in the field, shut himself up in the city. The king pitched his camp on the banks of the great canal, which the Chilligies had formerly dug to the westward of that city. He immediately attacked the place, and in a few days lost many brave nobles in the pursuit of glory. In the mean time news arrived, that Aibeck, the general of the king of Tartary, and Osman, king of Samarcand, were advancing with great armies, to the relief of Charazm. Mohammed was so unwilling to abandon his hopes of taking the city, that he lingered in its suburbs till the allied armies advanced so near, that he was under a necessity of burning all his baggage, and to retreat with the utmost expedition towards Chorasan. The brave Charazmians, now rushing forth from the city, pressed so close upon his rear, that he was obliged to give them battle. He was totally defeated, losing all his elephants and treasure.

In the mean time, the confederate kings, who had taken a circuit, to cut off Mohammed's retreat, met him full in the face, as he was flying from the king of Charazm. Urged by this fatal necessity, he was obliged to rally his army, that now saw no safety in flight. Surrounded thus by the enemy, he commenced a desperate carnage.

But valour was overpowered by numbers, and of his late mighty army, there soon remained scarcely a hundred men, who still defended their king, and in spite of innumerable foes, with the fury of despair, hewed him out a passage, and conducted him safe to the fort of Hindohood, which was at a small distance from the field. Mohammed was here besieged by the enemy, but upon paying a great ransom to Osman, king of Samarcand, and surrendering the place, he was permitted to return in sorrow to his own dominions.

When the emperor was defeated, one of his officers of state, named Birka, escaped from the field, and imagining the king was slain, with very great expedition made his way to Multan. He waited immediately upon Hassen, governor of that province, and told him that he had a private message from the king. Hassen retired with him into his closet, where the villain, whispering in his ear, drew out a dagger, and stabbed him to the heart. He ran instantly to the court-yard, where he proclaimed aloud, that he had killed the traitor, Hassen, in obedience to the king's command. Producing then a false order and commission, to take the government into his own hands, he was acknowledged by the army and the people.

The chief of the hardy and formidable tribe of mountaineers, called Gickers, at this time, hearing that the king was certainly slain, aspired to the empire, and raising a great army, advanced towards Lahore, kindling the flame of war between the rivers Gelum and Sodra. When Mohammed, from the fort of Hindohood, had arrived at Gazna, his own slave Ildecuz having seized upon the supreme authority in the city, presented himself to oppose his entrance, which obliged the king to continue his route to Multan. There Birka also rebelled against him; but Mohammed, being by this time joined by many of his friends, gave him battle, and, obtaining a complete victory, took the traitor prisoner. He then, with all the troops of the borders of India, who now joined his standard, marched

to Gazna, and the citizens, presenting him with the head of the rebellious slave, obtained their pardon. Mohammed soon after concluded a treaty of peace with the king of Charazm; and then, in order to chastise the Gickers, drew his army towards India. Cuttub attacked them on the other side with his army from Delhi, and the Gickers being defeated and dispersed, the king parted, at Lahore, with Cuttub, who returned to his government of Delhi.

During the residence of Mohammed at Lahore, another tribe of Gickers, who inhabited the country from that branch of the Indus which is called the Nilab, up to the fort of the mountains of Sewalic, began to exercise unheard-of cruelties upon the Mussulmen; so that the communication between the provinces of Peishore and Multan was entirely cut off. These Gickers were a race of wild barbarians, without either religion or morality. It was a custom among them, as soon as a female child was born, to carry her to the market-place, and there proclaim aloud, holding the child in one hand, and a knife in the other, that any person who wanted a wife might now take her, otherwise she was immediately put to death. By this means, they had more men than women, which occasioned the custom of several husbands to one wife. When this wife was visited by one of her husbands, she set up a mark at the door, which being observed by any of the other, who might be coming on the same errand, he immediately withdrew, till the signal was taken away. This barbarous people continued to make incursions upon the Mohammedans, till, in the latter end of the emperor's reign, their chieftain was converted to the Mussulman faith, by one of his captives. Upon this change of principles, he addressed the king, who advised him to endeavour to convert his people; and at the same time honoured him with a title and dress, and confirmed him in the command of the mountains. A great part of these mountaineers, being very indifferent about religion, followed the opinions of their chief, and acknowledged the true faith. At the same time, about four hundred thousand of the

inhabitants of Teraiba, who inhabited the mountains between Gazna and the Indus, were converted, some by force and others by inclination.

Mohammed having settled the affairs of India in peace, marched, in the year 602, from Lahore to Gazna. He conferred the government of Bamia upon his relation Baka ul Dien, with orders, that when he himself should move towards Turkestan, to take satisfaction for his former defeat, to march at an appointed time, with all the forces of those parts, and encamp on the banks of the Amu, where he would receive further orders, and at the same time to throw a bridge over the river.

The emperor, upon the second of Shabaan, having reached the banks of the Nilab, one of the five capital branches of the Indus, twenty Gickers, who had lost some of their relations in their wars against Mohammed, entered into a conspiracy against his life, and sought an opportunity to put their infamous purpose in execution. The weather being close and sultry, the king ordered the canats, or the screens, which surround, in the form of a large square, the imperial tents, to be struck, to give free admission to the air. This gave them an opportunity of seeing the king's sleeping tent. They cut their way through the screens in the night, and hid themselves in a corner, while one of them advanced to the door; but being there stopt by one of the guards, who was going to seize him, he buried his dagger in his breast. The groans of the dying man being heard within, alarmed the rest of the guards in the outer tent, who running hastily out to learn the cause of the disturbance, the other assassins took the opportunity of cutting their way through the hinder part of the king's tent. They found him asleep, with two slaves fanning him, who stood petrified with horror, when they beheld the assassins advancing with their drawn weapons towards the emperor. They at once plunged all their daggers in his body. He was afterwards found to have been pierced with no less than forty wounds.

Thus tragically fell that great king and renowned conqueror Mohammed Gauri, in A. H. 602, or A. D. 1205, after a reign of thirty-two years from the commencement of his government over Gazna, and three from his accession to the empire, the honours and titles of which he nobly permitted his elder brother to enjoy during his life. The treasure he amassed is almost incredible; he is said to have possessed in diamonds of various sizes alone, five hundred maunds; for he had made nine expeditions into Hindostan; returning every time, but twice, laden with its wealth.

MAHMUD, THE SECOND GAURIDE KING OF INDIA.

Mahmud, the nephew of Mohammed Gauri, was the second sultan of that dynasty, who was properly king of Gazna, though being of a timid and indolent disposition, he thought proper to reside at his capital of Gaur, and continue ELDOZE, (the same person called by Herbelot and Orme TAGEDIN-ILDIZ, which I mention to prevent the confusion resulting from a varied orthography,) that ELDOZE who had been one of the favourite slaves of his uncle, in the government of Gazna, to which he had been recently appointed by Mohammed. He also continued that other still more favoured slave of his uncle, CUTTUB, in his Indian viceroyship, or rather kingdom, of Delhi, content with receiving from these as well as Nassereddin, governor of Sind and Multan, a large annual tribute, towards the support of that luxury and those pleasures to which he was so greatly addicted. Of a pusillanimous character like this, so different from his martial ancestor, no exploits worthy of record can be expected, and all we know of his fate is, that having, contrary to his general conduct, engaged in a dispute with Mohammed, sultan of Charazm, that puissant monarch marched an army into his territories, and made himself master of the thrones of both Gaur and Gazna; that afterwards, like his uncle, he perished

by the hands of assassins, who had privately entered his palace and murdered him in his bed, and that the remains of this last sovereign of the house of Gaur were interred in the great mosque of Herat, which his father had begun, and himself had finished.* These circumstances naturally and necessarily introduce to our notice, the Charazmian dynasty, not extended in time, but vast in power, and finally subverted by the great Gengis Khan, who, according to his biographer, at this very period, A. D. 1212, was storming the towers of imperial Pekin, preparatory to his consequent unbounded devastation of the fertile regions of southern Asia.†

THE CHARAZMIAN DYNASTY.

The chiefs of this dynasty, as has been hinted above, owed the origin of their power and splendour to the fall of the Seljukian sovereigns of Iran, whose governors for Mawaralnahr or Transoxiana, they successively were. By a series of perfidious acts, aggravated by the blackest ingratitude to their generous benefactors of that race, and finally by the slaughter of the unfortunate Togrol the Second, the last of its sultans, by Tacash, mentioned above as the father of Mohammed, in about A. D. 1193, they were exalted to their honours and their throne. Tacash himself was the sixth of the Charazmian dynasty, which, under his successor, rose to a point of power and splendour unrivalled at that time, by any power of Asia.‡

* D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 361. Orme's Introduction, p. 11.

† M. Petit de la Croix, History of Gengis Khan, p. 109.

‡ Consult Abulghazi Bahadur's Hist. Tartars, Vol. II. p. 421. The author, himself was sovereign of Charazm at a later period.

MOHAMMED THE GREAT, KING OF CHARAZM AND INDIA.

In numbering this prince, and his son Gelaleddin, among the sovereigns of India, I mean western India, dependent on the empire of Gazna, I follow Orme and Herbelot, rather than Ferishta, who, from Mahmud Gauri, immediately hastens on to the history of CUTTUB. But as both Gazna and Gaur were conquered by the Charazmian monarch in the zenith of his power, we may be certain that the Indian territories annexed to those crowns, Cabul, Lahore, and other countries lying about the Indus, possessing no means of resistance, were for a time under his control. Cuttub, or Coth-beddin, was as yet but young in his assumed authority at Delhi, and it was the subsequent irruption of Gengis alone, urging the Charazmian behind, and driving him and his son before him, through Asia, that secured to Cuttub the undisturbed possession of the country properly called Hindostan, of which the new capital was Delhi. The consequences also of the irruption of Gengis, and the subversion of the Charazmian empire, upon the affairs of Asia, are of too important a nature, to permit us, in a general history like the present, to pass wholly unnoticed, the events that, about this momentous period, took place in its northern regions.

Mohammed, on the decease of Tacash, fired with all the ambition for glory and empire that distinguished his predecessors, immediately commenced the conquest of IRAN, or Persia at large, of which the Seljuks possessed only a part; that called the Persian Irak. He then successively seized on Chorasan, the ancient Bactriana, Gazna, Gaur, and Lahore, and afterwards added to his immense domain, the whole region of Mawaralnahr, or Transoxiana. He affected, in military concerns, to take Alexander for his model, and aspired like Alexander, to be master of the subject world. In the pomp and magnificence of his court, he surpassed all the preceding sovereigns

of the dynasties of Chosro and Seljuk; a remarkable instance of which is given by his biographer, who records, that every morning and evening, at the gates of the palace, the drums of state were beaten by twenty-seven khans, or sovereign princes, with drum-sticks of gold, richly inlaid with precious stones.*

His dominions to the north and east, were bounded by those of the great Gengis Khan, who, in the course of a no very extended period, had subjugated to his sovereign control the innumerable tribes of Moguls and Tartars diffused over the whole northern Asia, from the Volga to its most eastern extremities. The ravaged empire of China had already deeply felt the vengeance of this destroyer of nations, in the conflagration of her noblest cities, and the slaughter of her bravest youth. The vast plains of Turkestan were drenched with blood; and to the rapid succession of barbarous victors that had, for ages, been desolating southern Asia, was now about to be added a despot more terrible than Catebah, and more sanguinary than Mahmud. Than the collision of two such mighty potentates as Mohammed and Gengis, nothing can be conceived more dreadful and destructive; the one, absolute lord of an empire extending from the northern limits of Charazm, quite to the arctic circle; the other, reigning equally despotic, over a tract of country commencing at the same boundary, and terminated by the gulph of Persia.

The real source of their quarrel must, to every reflecting reader, be evidently conspicuous in the character and views of the rival sovereigns, but as the lust of conquest and aggrandizement never wants a pretext to act upon, the following cause is assigned for their rupture, by the flattering historians of Gengis.

* Nisavi, a Persian historian cited by M. Petit de la Croix, History of Gengis Khan, p. 132. under A. H. 614. A. D. 1217.

GENGIS KHAN'S INVASION OF SOUTHERN ASIA.

Triumphant on every field where his banners had hitherto been displayed, they represent to us the emperor of the Moguls as content with his large acquired moiety of divided Asia, as anxious to cultivate friendship and commerce with the Charazmian monarch; as sending successive ambassadors to announce these friendly sentiments, and confirming them by ample presents of the richest productions of his country. The stern, suspicious, unaccommodating nature of the sultan, led him to consider those presents as snares, and those ambassadors as spies. His haughty soul brooked not a rival, especially an infidel rival; and secretly meditated that dreadful blow which, though it convulsed Asia, and plunged myriads of human beings into the abyss of eternity, he seemed to think deserving of the great Mohammed, in the full career and confidence of victory, to strike. The species of insult which he offered to Gengis, was of a nature never to be forgotten or forgiven. In every age, and among the most barbarous people, the character of an *ambassador*, the image of the sovereign, has ever been held sacred. The arrestation and murder, by his order, of three ambassadors and a caravan of peaceable merchants at Otrar, instantly became the bloody signal of a war interminable, unextinguishable, but by the death of one or of the other of the royal champions. Called upon by fresh ambassadors, dispatched by the policy of Gengis to demand an explanation of the fact, the sultan returned no other answer than a repetition of the daring crime; and the heads of three other noble Moguls, severed by the sabres of his attendants, while delivering their master's commands, stained with blood the foot of the throne of the perfidious tyrant. Gengis, on receiving this intelligence, in the fury and anguish of his heart, is said to have separated himself for three days and three nights, from his family, and during that space, to have devoutly supplicated the assistance of heaven against a monster

black with so many crimes. It is added, but by a Christian historian, (Abulfarajius,) that on the third night, a person in the habit of a Christian monk appeared to him in a dream, and encouraged him to fear not, but instantly lead his troops to battle;* a relation justly rejected by his more modern biographer, as unworthy a Christian monk, and the God of Christianity. The spirit that incited Gengis to arms was the dæmon ambition, and the vision which he beheld was the vast and beautiful landscape of southern Asia, full of noble cities, abundantly stored with the costly articles of a luxurious commerce reciprocal among various and distant nations, that had grown rich under the protection of the more peaceable sultans of the Gaznavide and Seljuk dynasties. Though plunder and aggrandizement were the real, the primary object of Gengis; yet the murder of his ambassadors was a theme on which he neglected not to expatiate in terms of the warmest and bitterest invective, imparting in a bold and manly strain of eloquence, the fire and vengeance that glowed in his own bosom, to those of his sons and his courtiers. The battalions of his immense army were instantly put in motion; the arms of the common men were the sabre, the bow, the quiver full of arrows, and the battle-axe. All the officers of this army were clothed in complete suits of mail, and their horses also wore breastplates of iron, and other defensive armour, impenetrable by the arrows of the enemy. The positive order of Gengis was, that every man should fight in his station till he conquered or fell; the flight of individuals or of single squadrons, was to be punished with instant death, by their nearest comrades. By a singular law of the military code of Gengis, it was ordained, that if *ten* commanders at the head of their combined squadrons, the whole army being divided into bodies regulated by that number, should think it necessary to *retreat*, they were at liberty to do so; but smaller parties, by a retrograde movement, rushed only on inevitable destruction.† In this

* Abulfarajii Hist. Dynast. p. 28. † Hist. Gengis, p. 153.

manner disciplined and armed, the soldiers of Gengis, under the command of himself and his four valiant sons, marched forth to battle, and on a review previous to the engagement, were found to consist of no less than seven hundred thousand men; MEN, says the historian, of an athletic make, of high-braced vigorous sinews, impatient for action, breathing nothing but war and blood; yet though fiery, perfectly obedient to their prince: MEN, who, unlike the dainty Moslems, could banquet on any kind of food, wolves, bears, and dogs; MEN able to brave the rigours of every climate, and soundly slumber on a bed of flint.

Mohammed, without terror, heard from his scouts the details of their number and ferocity. He considered these savage hordes as utterly destitute of all true military science, and as unable to stand before the veteran conquerors of Persia, who had triumphed over the bravest nations of Asia, and who themselves amounted to four hundred thousand fighting men, being the flower of the warlike regions dispersed over the domains of this mighty prince in Iran, Transoxiana, Chorasan, and all the vast frontier of Western India. The terrible concussion of two such immense armies can be better conceived than described. It took place, according to Le Croix, at KARAKU, near Otrar, north of the river Jaxartes, in A. H. 615, or A. D. 1218, a memorable epoch in Eastern annals, being the date of the first grand irruption of the Moguls and Tartars into Southern Asia, and with such intense fury did the battle last, that the darkness of the night alone separated the contending armies. The ensuing morn discovered a sight horrible to humanity, one hundred and sixty thousand Charazmians, and a still more numerous body of Moguls, weltering in an ocean of human blood. A dreadful pause ensued; the Charazmian army retired within its lines, where for some days it remained strongly intrenched, to avoid the hazard of surprise from the Moguls, and at length a retreat before so potent and still numerous an enemy was resolved upon, and effected. All the considerable

cities and strong holds of Charazm and Transoxiana were powerfully reinforced with fresh troops; and the sultan hoped to retard, at least, if not to weary out, the Mogul emperors, by the length of tedious sieges, and the desultory harassing attacks of a large flying army of horse, of one part of which he took himself the command, and gave the other to his brave son, Gelaleddin, who had gloriously distinguished himself during the late severe engagement. But Gengis had four sons, lions in courage like himself, and these were placed at the head of armies vast in numbers, and ever supplied with fresh recruits from the still overflowing tribes of the north. Opposition from a routed and dispirited army was utterly fruitless. Otrar, though it had been recently strengthened with a body of no less than sixty thousand troops, after a desperate resistance of five months, fell beneath the vigorous assaults of his sons OCTAI and ZAGATHAI. The subjugation of the other great cities lying on or near the Jaxartes, particularly the celebrated and well fortified city of Cogende, situated in about the latitude of 41° 25′, was committed to his eldest son TUSHI; and it must be owned, that if the besiegers shewed invincible courage in assailing, the besieged, in every instance, resisted with an ardour and an obstinacy that evinced equal loyalty to their prince, and love of their country. But the due reward of unsuccessful valour was not allotted to the unfortunate Charazmians by the ungenerous Moguls. After being despoiled of their property they were generally led forth to be butchered in cold blood, without distinction of either age or sex, by their savage conquerors, who, under the pretext of avenging the outrage and murder at Otrar, seemed to delight in shedding torrents of Mohammedan blood; unconscious of pity, and callous to all remorse.

While the three elder sons of Gengis were thus employed in the neighbourhood of the Jaxartes, Gengis himself, assisted by the warlike talents of his youngest son, TULI, was pressing forwards at the head of two hundred thousand men, to the reduction of Bokhara and

Samarcand, into both of which cities, rich as they abundantly were in the productions of nature, to obviate the dread of famine, the provident sultan had conveyed very ample military supplies, but particularly into Samarcand, an imperial residence, whither he had himself retired, and in which, on his subsequent retreat over the Oxus into Chorasan, he left a garrison of no less than one hundred and ten thousand men. As these renowned cities have, already, been the object of considerable and deserved attention in the history of a country to which they gave, in the family of Timur, (a remote descendant of Gengis,) a long race of illustrious princes, I think myself justified in being somewhat more particular in relating the events that occurred during their investment, and in sketching the sad catastrophe, under the unsparing Gengis, of the loveliest and most interesting region of Asia, equally the seat of commerce, and the nurse of the arts. The very term indeed of *Bukhar* is said, in the Mogul language, to signify *a learned man*, and Bokhara was of old celebrated through the East, for its university, in which the most famous poets of Asia were bred, and where the great philosopher and physician, Ebn Sina, or as we call him, Avicenna, had early and deeply imbibed the richest stream of genuine science. But the splendid bazar of commerce, the venerated mosque of religion, and the sublime temple of science, were doomed alike to bow the head beneath the barbarity of Mogul despotism.

Early in the spring of A. D. 1220, the siege of this important city commenced with the accustomed vigour of Tartar assault. The outer fortifications, described in a preceding page,* were quickly carried, and the beautiful suburbs destroyed by the trampling of innumerable cavalry. The whole garrison, shortly after, consisting of twenty thousand men, commanded by three generals of high reputation in the Charazmian army, one night made a desperate sally; but being repulsed with great slaughter, and, possibly,

* See of this volume page 200.

despairing by any future efforts to defend the city against such formidable assailants, after they had compulsively re-entered the city by one gate, escaped out of it by the opposite gate, trusting that their precipitate flight would be concealed by the darkness of the night. The due reward, however, of their perfidy to their king and the miserable people of Bokhara, was at hand, for the Mogul emperor, on receiving intelligence of their flight, dispatched after them a body of thirty thousand horse, who overtaking them on the banks of the Oxus or Amu, attacked them with such impetuous valour, that they were a second time defeated, and nearly all put to the sword

Distracted at seeing themselves thus wholly abandoned by those who were placed within their walls, on purpose to defend them, the citizens of Bokhara resigned themselves to the wildest emotions of grief and despair. Some were for instantly laying the keys of the city at the feet of the Grand Khan, and throwing themselves upon his mercy; others, dreading his well-known cruelty, and at the same time, willing to deprive Gengis of the honour of conquering the capital of Transoxiana, were for setting fire to all quarters of the city, and perishing on their swords, beneath the flaming ruins. A dauntless band of young citizens, headed by the governor, flew to the old castle, a fortress of great strength, detached from the city, which they fortified in the best manner the exigency of affairs would allow, and determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. While the remainder continued thus irresolute, Gengis, who was well acquainted with their distracted situation, was preparing to make a general assault, and already the vast battering rams were advancing close to the ramparts of the city, when on a sudden the gates were thrown wide open, and discovered a long train of magistrates, lawyers, and chief men of Bokhara, advancing in melancholy procession, to the tent of the emperor, earnestly imploring mercy and life; a boon which was readily granted on the express condition

of their never affording, within their walls, shelter to the bloody sultan of Charazm, nor concealing in their houses any of the officers and soldiers of his army. This injunction they bound themselves by a solemn oath to obey, and Gengis, the castle still holding out, entered the city in triumph, accompanied by his beloved son and general, TULI KHAN. As they rode through the spacious streets of Bokhara, the eye of Gengis was arrested by the almost unparalleled magnificence of the great mosque. He stopt, and inquired if that were the palace of their sultan? he received for answer, that it was *the house of God.* He then, according to Abulghazi Khan,* without ceremony, rode into the midst of the mosque, and, alighting, gave the reins of his horse to be holden by the principal magistrate, while he ascended the gallery where the Mullahs usually range themselves, and contemptuously taking up the Coran, threw the holy volume under the feet of his horses. The whole assembly was seized with trepidation and horror, when they beheld this profane act, and far more so, when Gengis having seated himself in the gallery, they beheld the soldiers beginning to eat and drink in that venerable sanctuary, as if it had been a tavern. He afterwards addressed the Moslem inhabitants in a florid speech, in which he told them, they must consider *him* as a scourge in the hands of the Almighty, to punish their nation, as well for their own crimes, as those of their perfidious prince, who had so inhumanly caused his ambassadors to be assassinated; that they had done wisely in furnishing his army with all necessaries from the ample magazines of the city, but they must do more than this, they must bring forth all their hidden treasures, and put them into the hands of the proper officers appointed to receive them, and as they valued their existence, avoid giving shelter to any of the soldiers of the sultan.

* Hist. of the Tart. p. 110. Fadlallah cited by Le Croix, says, he respectfully alighted at the door, and walked in; but the Khan of Charazm's account is more consistent with the ferocity of his character.

Bokhara being the centre of a vast commerce, the gold, silver, precious stones, and the quantity of gold and silver stuffs brought in, was immense in quantity and value; of this, one moiety was set apart for the royal treasury, the other was divided among the officers, while the common soldiers amply enriched themselves by the plunder of private houses and wealthy individuals.

But universal plunder and beggary were not the greatest evil that befel the inhabitants of this great and opulent city. The express orders of Gengis were, that neither soldier nor officer of the sultan's army, however dearly related to any of them, should be cherished under their roof, and that if one were found concealed within the walls of the city, it should be reduced to ashes. The tender ties of friendship or kindred had induced some of them to violate this command; intelligence of which being carried by some of his officers, who delighted in blood and plunder, to that insensible barbarian, in a paroxysm of rage he immediately issued the destructive mandate. The vast capital of Bokhara, except the palace, the citadel, and some other public buildings, being remote from any region whence stone could be procured, were constructed of wood; and fire being set at once to its several quarters, the whole city was presently in a blaze. The public edifices just mentioned, being of brick, alone resisted the boundless conflagration, that devoured the most exquisite labours of art, and desolated the loveliest beauties of luxuriant nature. So rapid were the flames, so wide and sudden the destruction, that the same sun, whose morning beam had illumined with glory the gilded spires and domes of one of the proudest and wealthiest cities of Asia, diffused its reluctant evening splendours over what was now little better than an immense heap of ashes.

Amidst this dreadful scene of devastation, the heroes who had taken possession of the castle of Bokhara still resolutely refused to surrender. The strenuous efforts of the whole army, together with those of most of the inhabitants, compelled by Gengis to act against

their fellow-citizens, were now, therefore, directed to that object. Pots of burning NAPHTA, and other combustibles, used in the barbarous warfare of that age, were, without intermission, thrown in upon them on every side; and at length the gates being in flames, they were compelled to admit the conqueror, who satiated his vengeance in the indiscriminate massacre of all the officers and soldiers that had actually been in the service of the sultan, and pardoned the others. Irritated by the resistance made by the garrison, and determined to leave no strong hold in his rear to thin his army and give him future trouble, he ordered the fortress to be demolished, and razed the lofty walls to the ground.*

* The preceding chapter, though the pages of it are not loaded with references, is the result of a diligent comparison of Ferishta, *where possible*, with the Dynasties of Abulfaragius, the Annals of Abulfeda, Herbelot's Biblioth. Orient. in the articles that treat of the Gaznavian and Gauride dynasties, the Leb Tarikh, and Le Croix's Hist. of Gengis Khan. Ferishta is the principal authority, and must continue to be so, for such details as are purely Indian. The other authors are the vouchers, under the respective years of the Hegira, for the Mohammedan irruptions. In so immense a field of history I find it absolutely necessary to *generalise*, since minuter details, and multiplied recitations would swell this Work to a magnitude inconsistent with my PROPOSALS.

CHAPTER III.

The Attack and Capture of the Imperial City of SAMARCAND, *by* GENGIS KHAN.—*The Siege and Plunder of* CHARAZM, *and utter Subversion of the Charazmian Empire, by that Invader.—Death of Sultan* MOHAMMED, *and Defeat of his Son* GELALEDDIN.—*Detailed History of the first Dynasty of Mohammedan Kings of Delhi.* 1. CUTTUB: *originally a Slave of Mohammed of Gaur, he seizes on the Province over which he was appointed Governor, makes himself independent in that Capital, and establishes himself on its Throne.*—2. ELDOZE, *another Slave of the same Prince, establishes himself in his Persian Dominions, defeats Cuttub in Battle, and for a Time possesses his Throne.*—3. ARAM, *Son of Cuttub, a weak pusillanimous Prince, reigns for the short Period of a Year, and is dethroned by*—4. ALTUMSH, *a wise and warlike Sovereign, reigns twenty-six Years.*—5. FEROSE I. *a luxurious and effeminate Prince, after a Reign of six Months dethroned by*—6. SULTANA RIZIA, *a Princess of undaunted Courage, and great Talents for governing, but eventually dethroned and put to Death by*—7. BYRAM II. *a jealous and suspicious Prince, in his Turn dethroned by his Vizier.*—8. MASSUD IV. *for Injustice and Oppression, and other Vices, driven by his Omrahs from the Throne.*—9. MAHMUD II. *a Prince distinguished for Learning, Justice, and Temperance.*—10. BALIN, *as renowned for Valour, Generosity, and political Wisdom. Under him the Kingdom of* DELHI *reached its proudest Height of Glory.*—11. KEI KOBAD.—*His Reign and Character a perfect Contrast to that of the former Sovereign.—Effeminate alike in Body and Mind, he resigns himself to his Pleasures, and suffers the Empire to be distracted by Faction within, and by Invasion from without—*

assassinated after a short inglorious Reign. In him became extinct the Line of Delhi Princes of the Gauride Dynasty, descended from CUTTUB; *and to them succeeded the Princes of the Tribe of the* CHILLIGIES.

ALTHOUGH the army of Gengis had experienced no considerable diminution in the course of the preceding attack, yet the forces which had been sent against Otrar, and which, about this period, triumphantly returned to his camp, under the command of the princes Zagathai and Octai, proved by no means an unacceptable addition to it, since it was his immediate intention to march against the widely-extended, well fortified, and imperial city of SAMARCAND. In this city, it has been already observed, sultan Mohammed, when he fled from it into Chorasan, had taken the precaution to leave a body of not less than one hundred and ten thousand men, independent of the numerous regular garrison. Of these sixty thousand were Turcomans of experienced bravery, commanded by generals of consummate skill; and among those Turks, says Mirkond,* were some who would not shrink back at the sight of an angry lion, or an elephant in its fury. The extent of the fortifications of this renowned city have already been, in part, described from Ebn Haukal; but above two centuries having elapsed from the period of his visit to that of the irruption of Gengis, it may not be amiss to add some further particulars, from the authorities cited by our author. He tells us, that the exterior wall or inclosure had twelve iron gates, a league distant from each other; that at every two leagues there was a fort, able to contain a large body of troops: that the walls were likewise fenced with battlements and towers, and surrounded with a very deep and broad ditch, through which an aqueduct was laid, conveying thither by leaden pipes the water of the Sogd, and thence into the city, which stood on the south side of

* Cited in the Life of Gengis, p. 222.

it: by which means every great street had a canal of water running through it, and every house a fountain, as well as garden. The inner city or inclosure had four gates, but the walls were defenceless; within it stood the great mosque or temple, and the superb palace where the prince resided. The outer inclosure of the city was of such extent as to include ploughed lands, fields, even mountains and valleys, together with an infinite number of gardens; and, in viewing the city from the top of the fortress, one could see nothing but lofty embowering trees, and the roofs of splendid edifices. *

On the arrival of Gengis, he ordered the city to be closely invested, which, being of so great an extent, could only be done by an army immense as his own. The line of defence and attack being so prodigious, at the various posts, numerous actions at one and the same time took place, which, from the number of the persons engaged, and the obstinacy with which both parties fought, might be denominated battles, considerable enough to decide the fate of kingdoms. A succession of these conflicts contributed greatly to diminish the number of troops on both sides; but their fury remained unabated: the engines, as fast as they were advanced to the walls, were thrown down, or set on fire; the ramparts were daily covered with the dead, and the ditch grew less from the number of the slain that found a grave in its watery bosom. Accident, at length, effected that which even Mogul valour would have found it difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. Among the innumerable multitude of various languages, nations, and sentiments, that had taken refuge within the walls of Samarcand, a spirit of discord very generally prevailed; a large party, actuated by the dread of certain destruction, should the Moguls take the city by storm, declaring themselves inclined to surrender up its keys to an enemy whom they deemed invincible; the other party, with Alab Khan, the go-

* Life of Gengis, p. 220.

vernor, at their head, confiding in their own number and valour, determined to hold out to the last extremity, and preserve unshaken their loyalty to the sultan, and their fidelity to that religion whose sacred mandate forbade the devout Moslem to yield to infidels the laurel of victory. Thus divided in sentiment, each party prepared to consummate its own plans. Those bent on resistance immediately fortified themselves in the castle, and seized on all the posts most advantageous for defending themselves, or annoying the enemy. Those inclined to capitulate, by a desperate effort, made themselves masters of one of the principal gates of the city, and thus obtained a certain channel, by which, whensoever they pleased, they might open a communication with the besiegers. Among these latter were the cadi, the mufti, and most of the great lords of Samarcand, natives of the country, who were naturally anxious to preserve, if possible, their estates from plunder, and their families from promiscuous slaughter. It was not long before they determined to make those humble submissions which they knew could alone prove successful with the haughty Mogul. The cadi and mufti, arrayed in their official robes, bore to his camp the repentant sorrows, for having so long opposed his invincible arms, of the citizens of Samarcand. They were received with benignity, and orders were issued that all those of the party, solicitous of peace and protection, were to march forth from that devoted city into a vast adjoining plain, where, on being mustered, they were found to amount to fifty thousand. A powerful detachment was immediately sent to take possession of the gate through which they had been permitted to retreat, and the most vigorous assaults, by the united army of Gengis, recommenced against the remaining garrison, who, greatly reduced in number, were now pursued from one strong hold to another, till after a continued contest of four successive days, the fifth morning beheld the brave governor of the few faithful bands who fought by his side, driven into their last intrenchment, where, seeing them-

selves beset by enraged foes on every side, and no hope of escape left, but in some desperate effort of valour, they unanimously came to the resolution of cutting their way, sword in hand, through the centre of the Mogul army, which at a favourable moment they successfully accomplished, after making in their progress an immense slaughter. About thirty thousand of the garrison, less resolute and intrepid than their comrades, still remained in different parts of the extensive lines, who, as the Moguls rushed in, like a torrent, at every breach, were instantly put to the sword. The whole city was then given up to unlimited spoliation; the men, women, and children were made slaves of, and divided among the great omrahs; and those who had already experienced the Khan's benignity, were obliged to pay, as their ransom, two hundred thousand gold dinars. At Samarcand there could not, on the whole, have fallen less than one hundred thousand victims to Mogul fury, and a circumference of twelve leagues, full of splendid temples and palaces, and rich in cultivated fields and gardens, was in a manner depopulated and rendered desolate.

Transoxiana, however large and beautiful a region, was only a province of the vast empire of the sovereign of Charazm. The kingdom properly so called, lay on the west of it, and for the reduction of it and its capital, Gengis immediately dispatched his three elder sons with the half of his army. The greatest preparations for the expedition were immediately made, and the siege of that great city commenced on their arrival, with the most active vigour; but its fortifications were immense; the garrison was numerous and brave, consisting of the flower of the troops of the whole empire. The struggles on both sides were great and animated; every foot of ground was obstinately disputed by the besieged; as the vast engines of attack successively approached the walls, they were overthrown or set on fire; the storm of arrows from the ramparts was incessant; and the atmosphere seemed on flame from the number

of fire-darts, and other combustibles hurled into the town by the besiegers. On this subject, the historian of Gengis enters into very extended details, which are not necessary to be repeated here. It will be sufficient to mention, that after sustaining an obstinate siege of seven months, in which prodigies of valour were performed on both sides, Charazm was taken, plundered and burnt, and that not less than two hundred thousand persons are supposed to have perished by the sword, or in the flames. From the capital, the torrent of destruction rolled on towards the inferior cities and towns of that kingdom; Cath, Faraber, Dargan, and Corcange, places now scarcely known, but at that time highly populous and celebrated, and driving a great traffic with all the neighbouring provinces of Asia, bowed their heads in dust beneath the exterminating fury of the sons of Gengis.

But the devastation of the empire of his mighty rival, was by no means sufficient to pacify the fury of Gengis, or esteemed an adequate atonement for the outrage at Otrar. All the efforts of vengeance that did not reach and ingulph the guilty author, in his opinion, fell short of the mark. Having, therefore, received intelligence, that when Mohammed left Samarcand, he had fled by the way of the river Oxus to the country of Termed, resolved to arrest his flight, and, if possible, gratify his revenge by getting possession of his person, he sent after him thirty thousand picked soldiers, commanded by three of the most expert generals in his service, with express orders to pursue sultan Mohammed throughout Persia, if necessary, even to Derbend, or the *barrier*, at the foot of Mount Caucasus. "Wherever, (said the enraged Gengis), he lies hid, seize him, and bring him a prisoner to my camp; in your progress, if any prince, or people, offer to protect him, or arm in his cause, ravage their country, and give no quarter to them in battle. Molest not those who quietly submit and court our alliance. Trample down every obstacle that may rise to impede your march to the borders of

the Caspian Sea; make the circuit of its unknown shores; conquer the savage tribes that inhabit them, and join my army on its return, at Kapshak, in my Tartarian dominions." *

Arduous and hazardous in the extreme as was this enterprise, it was nevertheless successfully accomplished by the vigour and perseverance of the generals employed. Separating in three distinct divisions, each at the head of ten thousand men, they first spread themselves over Chorasan and the countries bordering on the Indus, in search of their object, who, unable to make any effectual stand against them, continually fled before them, and in that flight traversed the whole extent of Persian Irak, trusting that, finally, he should either weary out or elude the pursuing foe. But that foe was neither to be wearied out nor eluded, and in their rapid course, sometimes pressed so close upon the fugitive monarch, that, while he was escaping by one gate of a city, the van of the Mogul army was entering it by another. The severe orders of the khan were rigidly executed on those who afforded him the least succour, or raised an arm in his defence; and as Persia contained many loyal princes and governors, acting according to the predominant sentiments of pity or valour, the greatest part of their route was a scene of horrible carnage.

In the progress of his precipitate flight, and in the apprehension of being overtaken, having stopped at Bestam, a strong city and fortress of Taberestan, the sultan took Omar, the governor of the castle, and an old servant of his houshold, aside, and confided to his care ten caskets, closely sealed with the royal signet, which he told him were full of jewels, some of them of inestimable value. These he commanded him without delay to see conveyed to the still stronger castle of ARDAHAN in that country, which command was immediately obeyed. Relieved from the anxiety and incumbrance of this vast treasure, he proceeded with accelerated speed towards

* Life of Gengis, p. 230.

the borders of the Caspian Sea, in a small town, near the coast of which he passed some time in disguise; and, being at length taught by calamity to seek solace in religion, daily attended the public mosque, and poured forth many fervent vows and promises of amendment to heaven. His retreat, however, being discovered, the town was suddenly surrounded by the Moguls, and the wretched monarch had just time to elude their furious pursuit by hurrying on board a vessel, which the prudent caution of his friends had provided against this expected emergency. Scarcely was it launched from the shore, when the Mogul cavalry arrived at the spot; and in the impatience of rage, some of them plunged into the waters and were drowned, while others as fruitlessly discharged vollies of arrows after the receding bark. Conceiving that the sultan's intention was to take shelter in some port of his own kingdom, the western region of which, it has been observed, is washed by the Caspian, the pursuing generals immediately dispatched the swiftest messengers to the grand khan to inform him of the route he had apparently taken, and in consequence large squadrons of horse were ordered to line the shores, and search the towns of that now desolated realm. A far different fate awaited the miserable sultan, who exhausted equally with fatigue of body and distraction of mind, was seized with a violent pleurisy, which defied all the skill of his physicians, and compelled him to land at ABISCON, a small uninhabited island, lying in the south-west corner of the Caspian Sea, where humbled grandeur felt, and agonizing nature expressed, those pangs which may possibly, in part, expunge the crimes of inordinate ambition. "Alas!" exclaimed the dying sultan, "of all my immense empire are only a few cubits left for the interment of my lifeless body? How uncertain an abode is this transient world; how fleeting is life; how darkened by misfortune are its brightest prospects!" In this afflicting situation the unhappy king lingered for some days, during which his eldest son, the prince Gelaleddin, accompanied by two of his brothers,

having obtained intelligence of the place of his retreat, came secretly to visit their dying parent. By the solicitation and intrigues of the dowager queen, who bore an implacable hatred to Gelaleddin, Mohammed, at a former period, had been induced to exclude him from that throne which was his birthright, and by a public act had nominated his younger son, Cothbeddin, as his successor. Relenting nature, however, now resumed her empire in his bosom, and before the few assembled nobles that remained in his train he solemnly revoked the unjust deed, girded on him the sword of empire, charged his younger sons to obey him, henceforth, as their rightful sovereign; and, animating him to attempt the recovery of a throne that but lately had surpassed in power and splendour the proudest of the recorded dynasties of Asia, dispatched him to that field of arduous contest, in which he afterwards obtained such high and deserved renown. A few days after his departure, under the cover of a wretched tent, erected on the shore to shield him from the inclement skies, in A. H. 617, or A. D. 1220, this mighty monarch breathed his last, and far from receiving the funeral honours due to departed majesty, had no distinction paid to his remains above the poorest Mohammedan. His dead body was unceremoniously washed by a lord of his bedchamber, and, for want of linen, was wrapt up and interred in the shirt and other vesture which covered him. On that shore long continued to moulder the corpse of Mohammed the Great; but, some years after, the sultan Gelaleddin caused it to be taken up and buried with great pomp in the fort of Ardahan.*

GELALEDDIN.

The dying injunction and the sufferings of his father, added to the natural ardour of his own ambitious and enterprising spirit, roused in the young sultan those sentiments of revenge and glory that impelled him to instant, however unequal, contest with the

* Fadlallah apud Le Croix, p. 238. Abulghazi Khan, Vol. I. p. 131.

formidable invader of the empire of Charazm. Hastening to Nishapour, the capital of Chorasan, he immediately assumed the title of sultan, and the imperial regalia; and by means of the treasures deposited in ARDAHAN, which were delivered up to him by the governor, raised a considerable army, and was shortly after engaged in two actions with the Moguls, in the former of which he was victorious, but in the latter defeated, with the additional misfortune of having two of his brothers slain, and nearly all his men cut to pieces. Undaunted amidst this new calamity, he urged his way to BOST, a city of Sejestan, where he succeeded in raising a new army of 20,000 men. But Gengis had full 300,000 men with him, and with that comparatively small number could not be successfully opposed in the field. He was determined, therefore, to get possession of Gazna, a strong city and fortress, easily defended against a very superior force, but which, during the late distractions in the government, had, with many other cities, thrown off its allegiance. When, however, the brave son of their deceased sovereign appeared in arms at its gates, rebellion hid its hydra head; those gates were thrown widely open to receive him; and the inhabitants gladly enrolled themselves beneath his banners. *

In the mean time, the immense army of Moguls, under Gengis himself, was rolling on to overwhelm the more southern regions of Asia. Having passed the Oxus, he first marched to Balkh, on which city and its inhabitants, for having recently given shelter and protection to Gelaleddin, he wreaked his severest revenge. Balkh was at that time one of the finest cities of Asia; full of monuments for ages erected by kings and nobles, of great magnificence and of exquisite workmanship, and among the rest, it boasted of no less than twelve hundred temples for Mohammedan and Magian worship, and as many public baths. These proud edifices were levelled by the unsparing hand of Tartar barbarity, and by the same hand all

* Le Croix's Hist. Gengis Khan, p. 302.

the inhabitants, being commanded to go forth into a vast plain without the city, except the very juvenile classes that could be sold for slaves, were inhumanly massacred;* at the same time the plunder, from the place being full of merchandize, was prodigious. Termed, Meru, Nishapour, and whatever other city had espoused the cause of that unfortunate prince, suffered the same dreadful fate; its wealth was plundered, its walls levelled, and its inhabitants exterminated. At Termed, in particular, the resistance of which city was more than usually protracted and obstinate, a new and dreadful species of barbarity was practised. A woman having swallowed *a pearl* of considerable value in hopes of preserving it, an enraged soldier with his sabre ripped up her belly to obtain it, and succeeded. His success induced others to be guilty of the like enormity; and multitudes were seen thus lacerated in various quarters of the city, exhibiting a spectacle horrible to human nature. At length, fortune seemed somewhat to relent in favour of the prince, and a ray of light, strong but transient, broke through the gloom of calamity that seemed on every side to surround him.

By the loyal zeal of the Gaznavians, powerful reinforcements were raised in his favour among that hardy and valiant people; and shortly after a Persian nobleman, named Amin Malek, joining him with ten thousand resolute Turkish cavalry, he laid aside his scheme of defence and hastened to raise the siege of Candahar, at that time surrounded by an army of Moguls. The governor was a nobleman of tried loyalty, determined, while there was a hope of relief left, firmly to hold out against the superior multitudes that invested the fortress. That resolution was cherished by a message secretly conveyed to him from Gelaleddin, that his deliverance was at hand. To effect it with the greater certainty, the two commanders resolved to fall upon the besiegers, who were far from suspecting any enemy

* Le Croix's Hist. Gengis Khan, p. 285; and Abulghazi Hist. Tart. Vol. I. p. 130.

to be in their rear, at the dead of night. The town had already been taken and plundered by those savage marauders, and it was with equal silence and intrepidity that the Charazmian troops ascended the height of that famous mountain on which the citadel stands, and penetrated undiscovered to their lines of investment. Arrived there they rushed upon them with resistless fury, and the garrison, at the same time, pouring down upon them from above, a terrible slaughter commenced; for the Moguls, struck with dismay and ignorant of their numbers, scarcely lifted up a weapon in their own defence, and were cut down by whole battalions. Scarcely a man of them escaped; and the booty which they had acquired in their march thither, together with a certain portion of what they had obtained in the plunder of the city, fell to the lot of the victors, and rewarded their toil and their valour. The city and fortress of Candahar were afterward completely repaired by Gelaleddin, and he returned with Amin Malek to Gazna, which they entered together in triumph; that nobleman, by the most solemn vows, engaging never to separate himself, or his troops, from the fortunes of the young and valiant sultan.*

Gengis received intelligence of this disgraceful defeat and slaughter of his troops, while he was carrying on the siege of BAMIAN, a strongly fortified city of Zablestan, ten days journey from Balkh, which had for some days withstood the whole of his immense force. He was extremely exasperated at it, as well as at the obstinate resisistance of the city, which retarded his progress to Gazna. The assault was, therefore, now made with redoubled vigour; vast mounds of earth were thrown up and towers erected, commensurate in height with the walls of the city. The latter covered with raw hides of animals, daily killed in multitudes for the purpose, in order to prevent the effect of the wild-fire, and other combustibles, perpetually darted from the almost impregnable works of the vigilant

* Le Croix's Hist. Gengis Khan, p. 305.

adversary. At no place had he witnessed such undaunted valour or such unabated perseverance. To add to his fury, he was informed that Gelaleddin had been reinforced by thirty thousand fresh troops, collected and brought into the field by three Turkish princes of the adjoining districts, who, individually dreading the ferocity of a Mogul victor, united with Gelaleddin in one common plan of vigorous defence, and determined to conquer or die together. As it was impossible for the sultan himself to quit the siege of Bamian, he immediately dispatched KUTUKU, one of his ablest generals, at the head of eighty thousand men, in pursuit of them, or at least to watch them, and keep them in check, till the main body should be at liberty to act. Gelaleddin, however, hearing that the Mogul general had reached Birwan, a place within one day's march of Gazna, boldly resolved to seek them at the head of his forces, and, notwithstanding the inferiority of his troops in number, to give them battle. His army was eager for action, and glowed with all the ardour of their general. The prudent Mogul was by no means anxious for immediate engagement with troops flushed with recent victory, and would have gladly permitted that ardour to cool. He, consequently, began to throw up intrenchments at Birwan, within the lines of which he drew his army, and hoped to delay the action till the arrival of the khan in person. But Gelaleddin was too politic a general not to penetrate into his designs, and, marching up directly to the front of the enemy, prepared to force them in their intrenchments. The spirit of a soldier could not bear to be thus braved by an inferior force, and ambition and honour dictated what duty and prudence forbad. He marched out of his intrenchments, and intrepidly led his troops to battle.

The van of the Charazmian army, led on by Amin Malek, rushed to action with such resistless violence as to overthrow the foremost squadrons of the van of the Mogul, commanded by an omrah of distinguished valour; but Kutuku supporting them with fresh troops,

they renewed the attack, and, in their turn, routed that of the enemy. The sultan immediately caused his main body to advance, and, placing himself at their head, made an impetuous attack on the enemy's centre, in which Kutuku fought with rival heroism. The concussion of two such mighty armies must have been terrible, especially when it is considered that every individual, in the Charazmian army at least, breathed the spirit of his general, and knew that their ALL was at stake. Prodigies of valour were performed on both sides, and for several hours the event was doubtful. At length victory declared for the sultan; the Moguls, every where broken and dispersed, in great disorder flying to the mountains, sheltering themselves in the forests, and at the same time leaving on the field of battle an immense number of wounded and slain. Prisoners too were brought in multitudes, and, on this occasion, Gelaleddin, rouzed to vengeance by the wanton and continued massacre of his subjects by the Moguls, forgot his usual magnanimity; for after having caused them to be assembled in his presence, and severely upbraided them for their sanguinary atrocities, he ordered nails to be driven into the ears of those unfortunate people. A considerable booty was acquired, and ordered to be divided among the victorious troops, according to the laws of war. A general joy pervaded the army. The cause of injured kings seemed again to be befriended by righteous Heaven, and the most vigorous preparations were instantly commenced to follow up the blow, and to secure ultimate and complete success.

Intelligence of this second defeat of his troops having reached Gengis, he became almost frantic with rage, especially as he had lost in the engagement several excellent officers, on whose valour and conduct he greatly relied. He swore to take ample revenge for the loss on the people of Bamian, and on the sultan himself, if ever he should fall into his hands. He renewed the siege with tenfold fury, and in the violence of the assault a beautiful youth, the son of prince Octai, tenderly beloved by Gengis, while endeavouring by

superior exertions to merit the applause of his grandfather, was pierced by an arrow, shot from the walls of the city, and fell dead at his feet. The soul of Gengis was overwhelmed with anguish at the sight; but he repressed his own acute feelings to soothe those of the youth's distracted mother, promising her a most ample and sublime revenge on his murderers. And now the torrent of mingled passions that agitated his stormy bosom transformed the almost savage into a perfect brute. With promises of high reward, and lavish distribution of gold and silver, he animated the soldiers night and day to continue their operations, till at length, the walls being reduced to a heap of dust, they entered unresisted the desolated town. He gave it up, not to *their* fury, which might be tinctured with compassion, but to the fiend-like rage of a provoked hyæna, the mother of the slain prince! Her savage orders were, and she attended in person to see them executed, to massacre every man, woman, and child, nay more, every living animal, within its boundaries; and so rigidly were these orders executed, that the bellies of pregnant women were ript up, and the infant destroyed, that there might not remain a vestige or a remnant of this miserable race. To all this was added the utter demolition of the mosques and every other edifice, public and private, in the place; so that ever after, to the time of Abulfaragius,* Bamian bore the name of MANBALIG, which in the Tartar dialect signifies *the unfortunate abode.* Such was the melancholy fate of Bamian, which Ebn Haukal, who wrote two centuries before Gengis, describes as a town half as large as Balkh.† According to Abulfeda, it was situated in the latitude of 34° 5′, on a steep mountain, whose foot is watered by a river that, after various meanderings, falls into the Oxus. A castle, surrounded by strong walls, has since been built upon its ruins.‡

The vengeance of Gengis and his grand-daughter being now

* Hist. Dynast. p. 293. † Ebn Haukal's Geography, by Ouseley, p. 225.
‡ Abulfedæ, Tab. Geograph. p. 19.

amply gratified by the destruction of Bamian, and the extermination of its inhabitants, impatient to involve Gelaleddin and his army in similar destruction, he immediately commenced his march for Gazna, and so rapid were his motions, that he scarcely allowed his soldiers time sufficient for the necessary sustenance and repose of wearied nature. When by these forced marches he had arrived at Gazna, to his extreme grief and astonishment, he found that the Charazmian sultan had left that city fifteen days before; for some dispute having unfortunately arisen between the officers of his army and those of the Turkish auxiliaries, that had recently joined him, the latter had, in the rage of disappointment, deserted him. Gelaleddin, therefore, unable, with his diminished forces, to defend the vast city and fortifications of Gazna, had been compelled to retreat towards the Indus. Those auxiliary bands had, shortly after, ample reason to repent the rash step they had taken, and when too late would gladly have rejoined the sultan; but Gengis having obtained intelligence of the dissention and their consequent retrograde movements, prevented that junction, by detaching no less than sixty thousand horse to seize upon all the passages of the mountains by which it could be effected. It remained for Gelaleddin, with only thirty thousand men, to wage an unequal contest with three hundred thousand of a brave, a vigilant, and a determined enemy.

His conduct proved him equal to all that could be effected by desperate valour on so trying an occasion. He chose for his station, on the banks of the Indus, a place where the nature of the country, mountainous and rocky, would prevent the enemy, consisting chiefly of cavalry, from bringing the whole of his force into action; and that no hope for safety in flight might be indulged by the less valiant among his troops, he contrived to fix upon a spot where the stream was most boisterous and rapid; ordering at the same time all the boats in the neighbourhood to be removed. After making these arrangements, hearing that the vanguard of the enemy had

arrived at a place not remote from his camp, called Hardar, though he himself, from the violence of an affection in his bowels, which had tormented him ever since he left Gazna, was scarcely able to bear the motion of a litter, yet he resolutely mounted on horseback, and selecting for the expedition the bravest squadrons of his army, at the dead of night marched to attack them, which he did with his accustomed vigour, utterly defeated them, cut them nearly all in pieces, without the loss of a man, and returned with an immense booty to his camp.

At this unexpected, this daring movement, from an enemy whom he considered as dispirited and fugitive, Gengis was struck with consternation, and, for the future, towards so vigilant an adversary, conceived it necessary to act with the utmost circumspection. At length, when the day of dreadful trial came, the khan drew up his army in order of battle, as follows: he gave to Zagathai the command of his right wing, to Octai that of his left, and reserved the centre to himself, surrounded with six thousand picked soldiers of his body guard, all men of veteran knowledge, of Herculean strength, ardent in loyalty, and invincible in courage. On the other side, Gelaleddin, reserving also his centre for his own command, conferred that of the right on Amin Malek, and to his vizier consigned the left, drawn up under the shelter of a mountain, which prevented the enemy's right from acting all together, and charging in a body.*

The action commenced with a furious attack made by Amin Malek, at the head of the right wing, on the left wing of the Mogul, which he forced to give way, notwithstanding the vast body of troops by which it was sustained. The Mogul right wing also, from its situation before described, being pent up and unable to extend and exert itself, afforded an opportunity to Gelaleddin to employ detachments of his left wing, which was opposed to it, where wanted,

* Le Croix Hist. Gengis, p. 316. Abulghazi Khan Hist. Tart. Tom. I. p. 125.

in other parts of the field, for the relief of the weary, and the support of the weak. Against so expert as well as so brave a general, the full display of the great military genius and dauntless courage of the grand khan was now become absolutely necessary, and they were exerted to the utmost. One horse had already been killed under him, but quickly mounting another, he was seen riding from rank to rank, in every part of the field, encouraging his officers and men to do their duty, and not suffer the laurels they had so gloriously earned to be tarnished. In the mean time Gelaleddin, at the head of the whole body that formed his centre, strengthened by a large detachment from the left wing, broke in upon the centre of the enemy, who, according to the custom of the Tartars in battle, began those horrid outcries with which they wished to terrify the assailing foe: their present foe, however, was not to be so terrified; but by their resolute attack threw them into disorder, and with their sabres hewed themselves a broad path through the midst of their line, the sultan aiming to penetrate to the imperial quarters, where he thought Gengis remained with his chosen bands. That commander was posted where he could do his foes more essential injury; for, observing their left wing so greatly weakened, he ordered a general named BELA, with a considerable force, by certain bye-ways of which he was informed by a native of the country, to march round to the other side of the mountain which sheltered them, and to fall upon them behind. Between rugged rocks and dreadful precipices that general forced his way without much loss, and falling with fury on their rear, compelled the sultan to return to their relief. In his retreat he was pursued by Gengis at the head of the main body, by his exertions rallied again into order and discipline, while, at the same time, a large body of horse, that had not yet engaged in action, attacking his right wing, at one time victorious, but now nearly exhausted with continued and severe fighting, drove it also back, and secured the victory to the Moguls.

One part of the Charazmian army was driven into the river, where many were drowned, though some swam over in safety to the opposite banks; another part sheltered themselves from the pursuing cavalry among the rocks that line, in that place, the shore of the Indus. Gelaleddin himself, however, who with only thirty thousand men had now been engaged for ten hours in combat with an army of three hundred thousand, disdained to give over the conflict. A body of seven thousand valiant men still remained firmly fighting by the side of their prince, and these Gengis had surrounded with his army, which ranged itself in the form of a bow, of which the river Indus represented the string. Determined, if possible, to take Gelaleddin alive, he forbade his soldiers to aim at him the destructive weapon; but the havoc made of those around him was dreadful. At length, the sultan deeming death or capture inevitable, having first ordered all his treasures to be sunk in the river, and taken an affectionate farewell of his family, throwing off the heavier articles of his armour, and mounting a fresh horse, resolutely spurred him into the waves, where most tumultuous, at whose furious raging the startled beast at first recoiled, but Gelaleddin urging him on, the noble animal exerted himself to save his master. Gengis, apprised of his flight, hurried down to the side of the river, and beheld him with astonishment braving the impetuous billows. But much more was he astonished when, regardless of his own safety, he saw him stop in the midst of the river to insult him, and discharge at himself and his retinue, though ineffectually, his whole quiver of arrows. Several of the brave and indignant Mogul captains would have plunged after him into the river, but Gengis would not permit them, and spoke in terms of the highest praise of his conduct and valour; adding, that *happy was the son who could boast of such a father!**

Arrived on the opposite or Indian shore, Gelaleddin was joined

* Fadlallah apud Le Croix, p. 319; and Herbelot, article Gelaleddin.

by many of his officers and soldiers, who had crossed higher up the river, where it was less rapid and dangerous, and, their numbers continually increasing, he soon found himself again at the head of a formidable body of men, firmly attached to him, and ready to brave every danger for him. With these he is positively said, by Le Croix's authorities, to have made conquests in India, to have established himself at Multan,* and to have remained there till the year 1224; but his increasing power alarming the princes of the country, they united their armies, marched against him, and compelled him to recross the Indus. This is confirmed by Ferishta, who, in a future page, records his defeat, first, by ALTUMSH (the ILETMISCHE of Herbelot) at Lahore, and, secondly, by Nasir, on the western banks of the Indus, who pursued the fugitive prince "through Cutch and Macran, the maritime provinces of Persia."† He afterwards, however, recovered the sovereignty of a considerable part, and repeatedly beat the Mogul armies in the field; but was eventually betrayed and murdered four years after the death of Gengis, in A. D. 1231, in the province of Curdistan.‡ With him the line of Charazmian sovereigns became extinct. The Persian and hereditary domains of that dynasty continuing in the possession of the successors of Gengis, and those of India in the hands of CUTTUB and his posterity, whose history we shall commence after a cursory survey of the events that befel Gengis, and the army by which Gelaleddin was defeated.

Gengis Khan's admiration of the undaunted courage of Gelaleddin did not prevent his basely putting to death all the males of the family of that unfortunate prince. By employing expert divers he recovered from the river the greatest part of the sultan's immersed wealth, and with it liberally rewarded his army, of whom twenty thousand had fallen in the last dreadful conflict, and, in all, two hundred thousand since the battle with the sultan's father; but the myriads that tenant

* Nisavi apud Le Croix, p. 333. † See page 401, succeeding where Ferishta is abridged. ‡ Le Croix Hist. Gengis, p. 377.

the vast plains of Tartary were ever ready to replenish his diminished ranks. He wintered on the frontiers of India, and probably would have passed those frontiers into that envied country, had he not received intelligence that his presence was become necessary in Tartary, for that the Chinese, in consequence of his long absence, were on the point of throwing off his yoke, and that the khan of Tangut had actually done so. In the spring, therefore, of A. D. 1222, he marched back to Candahar, which fortress he retook with little trouble; and thence very large detachments of his army were dispatched into Iran, as well as to take exemplary vengeance on Gazna and all the cities in that quarter, that had favoured the cause of Gelaleddin. The grand khan then continued his march towards Balkh, Bokhara, and Samarcand, or rather their dreadful ruins, which awaked no remorse in his flinty heart. With so numerous an army, however, and encumbered with such immense plunder, he reached not the last city till near the close of the year 1223. Here he issued orders for an assembly of all the princes and generals of his vast empire to be held at Toncat, a city of Turkestan, 250 miles north-east of Samarcand. On a plain adjoining to that city, seven leagues in length, but scarcely able to contain the infinite multitudes collected together upon its surface, were displayed all the spoils of his wars, and the utmost pomp of barbarous magnificence. We have not room to delineate the stupendous picture. Suffice it to say, that, after recovering Tangut by his arms, and awing China to peace by the terror of his frown, this great, this politic, but stern and sanguinary prince, being seized with a fever, the consequence of extreme grief for the loss of his most beloved son, Tushi Khan, expired on his march into the latter country, in the latter end of A. H. 623, or A. D. 1226, in the seventy-third year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. He who without pity had slaughtered above two millions of the human race, had made so many children fatherless, and so many fathers childless, yet could not bear the loss of one

son, though three remained to cherish his declining age: astonishing proof of exquisite sensibility and the most callous ferocity dwelling in the same bosom.* His successors in the various kingdoms of Asia will occasionally attract notice in our future pages; but, particularly, that line of his descendants who reigned after him in Transoxiana, of which Zagathai was the head, and with which seems, unmitigated, to have been transmitted down their spirit of barbarity, their thirst of plunder, and their delight in human carnage. For from this particular branch, about a century and an half, afterward, sprang the inflexible TIMUR BEC, that second great scourge of Asia, and remorseless despoiler of India. From the bosom of Tartary emerged both these congenial savages, for savages they certainly were, both by nature and habit; yet, astonishing as it may seem, both were the promulgators of codes highly celebrated in Asia: absurdly affecting to instruct mankind in the great principles of equity, while they themselves were daily outraging every principle of justice and humanity, and attempting to reform the world with laws, while they were constantly depopulating it with their merciless swords.

To return more immediately to India, our proper field of investigation, from all the preceding statements it is evident, that during the reign of Mahmud, and the whole Gaznavian dynasty, as well as during that of Gaur and Charazm, India boasted no supreme imperial head, no pre-eminent royal dynasty, no powerful prince, like Sandracottus and Bickermajit, to direct its internal concerns, or point its thunder against a foreign assailing foe. If that had been the case, he must have been conspicuously prominent on the great theatre upon which we have recently observed so many fleeting actors rise to glory, or sink in disgrace. If the Maharajah sate on the throne of Canouge or Delhi, his rank, and dignity, and power

* Le Croix's Hist. Gengis Khan, p. 381; Abulghazi Hist. Tart. Tom. I. p. 146; and Herbelot, under the article Gengis Khan.

could be only *nominal;* when the existence of the empire was at stake, he might take the command in the field, and be reverenced amid the danger and turbulence of war, but he possessed, in peace, no decisive power to controul the different factions that convulsed it from one end to the other, and had caused the partition of its provinces among the superior line of rajahs who headed them. Their unsatiated invaders from the western frontiers were, in fact, as long as their tyranny respectively lasted, the lords paramount of India; the tribute was regularly transmitted to Gazna and Gaur, by those Indian chieftains who chose to be at peace, and numerous armies of hardy Afghans were ever ready to march down from those mountains to punish the refractory. The Decan or southern peninsula was still unannoyed, and remained, with exception to some of the districts on its coast visited by the fleets of Egypt and Arabia, in quiet subjection to its ancient chiefs of Indian descent. Thus it continued till the reign of Ferose the Second, in A. D. 1293, when the ferocious Alla first devastated its peaceful and fertile valleys, and poured the storm of Mohammedan war on palaces and temples, till that time sacred from the violence of barbarian outrage. No dynasty ever wielded the sceptre of imperial power with more despotic sway than that whose history we are immediately about to record; a dynasty which sprang up out of the ruins of the Gauride family; and the fruits of their despotism are evident in the splendid misery and final massacre of most of the individuals that composed it. Some of them, indeed, were truly great characters; distinguished by exalted wisdom in the cabinet, and, in war, renowned for humanity and valour; but the picture, on the whole, exhibits a disgusting scene of royal perfidy and murder, combined with vulgar artifice and ingratitude, enough, one would think, to startle ambition in the impetuous career of blood, and cure the ardent fever of even Asiatic intemperance.

CUTTUB, FOUNDER OF THE FIRST MOHAMMEDAN DYNASTY OF KINGS OF DELHI.

Four other princes of the Gauride dynasty are enumerated in Herbelot. Their reigns were short, their actions not worth recording, and with India they have no other connection than receiving the tribute sent them, from Delhi and Multan, by the respective governors; governors, their panders and favourites, who, for the most part, had risen from the rank of *slaves* to the highest honours of the state. The most aspiring and distinguished of these was CUTTUB, (called by Herbelot, and Orme after him, COTHBEDDIN IBEK) who, we have already seen, had, by the consent of Mohammed Gauri, established himself in Delhi, where he founded the first Afghan dynasty of kings, who reigned in that capital, and over all Hindostan, till the invasion of Timur Bec, in A. D. 1398. We have, therefore, nearly two hundred years more to travel over before we can arrive at the commencement of the still greater Mogul dynasty, founded by Timur and his successors, in this part of Asia. Could I have had, as before, the benefit of the information and corroborative evidence of Abulfeda and the other great Moslem historians, I should have been tempted very much to prolong this portion of my labour, but till some more light than emanates from the page of Ferishta alone, shall irradiate this obscure period, I must content myself with selecting, as usual, the great leading events only in the reigns of these respective monarchs, leaving to those who may succeed me in this line of historical inquiry, and who may possibly, hereafter, obtain more ample materials, the task of filling up omissions, and correcting inaccuracies. During the whole of this dynasty, I shall have little more to do than to transcribe, with occasional alterations and emendations, the account of this writer, as given by his translator in no inelegant language, though, it is said, with considerable latitude of interpretation, a circumstance which operates

as a still farther inducement to me to persevere in selecting only the prominent facts of each reign.

After the decease of Mohammed, Ferishta observes, the unambitious character of the surviving princes of the family of Gaur afforded an opportunity to two of the imperial slaves to divide among them the vast empire, which Mohammed had been at so much pains to acquire, and to establish. The one, Eldoze, kept possession of Gazna and the northern provinces; and the other, Cuttub, the favourite friend and faithful servant of the late emperor, caused himself to be invested with the imperial regalia at Delhi. It will be proper to commence the history of his exploits in India a few years previous to the death of his master. In the year of the Hegira 589, (to which æra, as the history is Mohammedan, we shall now principally refer,) being the year after he had taken possession of Delhi, the Jits, or Jauts, (possibly the remains of the ancient Getes,) who were subject to the prince of Narwalla, in Guzerat, advanced with an army to besiege Hassi. Cuttub marched with his forces to protect it, and obliging them to raise the siege, pursued them to their own frontiers. In the year following, he crossed the Jumna, and took the fort of Kole by assault. He found there a thousand fine horses, and much spoil, and being informed of Mohammed's expedition towards Canouge, he thought proper to proceed as far as Peishore to meet him, presenting him with a hundred fine horses, and two great elephants, one of which carried a chain of gold, and the other a chain of silver. He mustered there, before the king, fifty thousand horse, and was presented with an honorary dress, and with the command of the van of the royal army.

With the van he defeated the prince of Benares, who, upon seeing his army retreat, pushed forward his elephant, in despair, against his enemy; but Cuttub, who excelled in archery, sunk an arrow in the ball of his eye, which brought him down from his elephant to the ground. It is said, that the number of slain was so great, that

the body of the rajah for a long time could not be found by his friends, who were permitted to search for it. But, at last, he was discovered by his artificial teeth, which were fixed in by golden wedges and wires. The emperor Mohammed, following with the body of the army, entered the city of Benares, and took possession of the country, as far as the boundaries of Bengal, without opposition. He broke down all the idols, and loaded four thousand camels with the most valuable spoils. Cuttub presented the king with above three hundred elephants, taken from the rajah of Benares.

Cuttub, after the departure of the king, remained some days at Hassi, where the rajah's treasure was found. He then returned to Delhi, and there received advice that Himrage, the cousin of the discomfited prince of Ajmere, was marching down in great force from the mountains of Abugur; that he had driven Gola, the reigning prince, towards Rantampore, in the eastern quarter of that soobah, and that Himrage's general was also marching, with another army, towards Delhi, before which he soon arrived, and began to destroy the country. Cuttub marched out of Delhi to chastise the latter, and separating twenty thousand horse from the rest of his army, he set out in front, and engaging the enemy, put them to flight. The enemy, some days after, rallying their defeated army, retreated towards Ajmere, and were pursued all the way by the conqueror. Himrage being joined by his general, in confidence of his superior numbers, formed his army in order of battle. When they came to engage, he distinguished himself by his bravery, as well as by his conduct; but being slain, his army took the path of infamy, and fled.

In the year 590, Cuttub turned his arms towards Narwalla, of Guzerat, and Setwan, the general of Bimdeo, who was encamped under the walls, fled upon his approach. But being pursued, he drew up his army, and fought till he lost his life, and then his army resumed their flight. Bimdeo, upon intelligence of this defeat, fled from his dominions, and Cuttub ravaged the country at leisure, and

found much spoil. He marched from thence to the fort of Hassi, which he repaired, and, after having visited Koram, returned to Delhi. He in the mean time received advice, from the governor of the districts near Rantampore, that the brother of Gola, prince of Ajmere, who lived in the hills, was marching down with an army to invade him. This obliged Cuttub to move immediately to his relief; but the enemy, upon hearing the report of his approach, fled; and Cuttub paid a visit to Gola, who entertained him magnificently, and, at his departure, presented him with some fine jewels, and two melons of gold.

About this time, tidings arrived at court, that many Indian independent princes had entered into an alliance with the king of Narwalla, and had formed a design to recover Ajmere from the Mohammedans. The troops of Cuttub being dispersed over the provinces, he was forced to march against the daring race of Rajapouts with that very small part of the army which lay in Delhi, to prevent their junction with the forces of Narwalla; but he was defeated, received six wounds, and was often dismounted; yet still he continued the combat with undaunted perseverance. Compelled at last, by his own friends, to abandon the field, he was carried in a litter to Ajmere.

Tittura, chief of the Indians, rejoicing at this victory, joined the forces of Narwalla and Guzerat, and sat down before Ajmere. Intelligence of this unfortunate event coming to the emperor Mohammed, he sent a great force from Gazna, to the relief of Cuttub. Ajmere held out till the arrival of the Gaznawians, who obliged the enemy to raise the siege. Cuttub pursued them to Narwalla, in the year 593, taking, in his way, the forts of Tilli and Buzule. He there received advice that Walin and Darapariss, in alliance with the king of Narwalla, were encamped near the fort of Abugur, to guard the passes into Guzerat. Cuttub, notwithstanding the difficulties of the road, and disadvantages of ground, resolved to attack them, which

he did with such bravery and conduct, that, having trodden down their ranks, above fifty thousand of the enemy, with their blood, tempered the dust of the field. Twenty thousand were taken prisoners, and an immense spoil fell into his hands.

When he had given his army some respite from slaughter and fatigue, he pursued his route into Guzerat, and ravaged that country without further opposition, taking the city of Narwalla, where an omrah with a strong garrison was left. He then returned to Delhi, by the way of Ajmere, and sent a great quantity of jewels and gold, and also many slaves, to Mohammed, at Gazna, and divided the remainder among his trusty partners in the glories of the field. In the year 599, he mustered his forces, and marched to the siege of Callinger, where he was met by Gola, the tributary prince of that country, whom he defeated; and dismounting his cavalry, began to besiege him in his fort. Gola, seeing himself hard pressed, offered Cuttub the same tribute and presents which his ancestors had formerly paid to the emperor Mahmud. The proposal was accepted, but the vizier, who wanted to hold out without coming to any terms, found means to make away with the rajah, while the presents were preparing to be sent. The flag of hostility was again hoisted upon the fort, and the siege recommenced. The place, however, was in a short time reduced, on account of the drying up of a spring upon that hill whereon the fort stood, and which supplied the garrison with water.

When Mohammed of Gaur, after his defeat in Turkestan, returned to India, he was joined by Cuttub, by whose valour and fidelity he defeated the Gickers in several actions, and recovered his fallen glory. When matters were peaceably settled in this quarter, he returned to his government; and the emperor, upon his way to Gazna, was inhumanly assassinated by the Gickers. Mohammed's nephew, Mahmud, assumed the imperial titles at Gaur, and upon his accession, sent all the ensigns of royalty, a throne, an umbrella,

standards, drums, and the title of king, to Cuttub, desirous of retaining him in his interest, as he was by no means able to oppose his power.

Cuttub received those dignities with a proper respect, at Lahore, where he ascended the throne in the year 602; returning from thence in a few days to Delhi. In the mean time, Eldoze, who still retained Gazna, marched from that capital, with an intention to take Lahore, which he effected by the treachery of the governor. Cuttub advanced to dispute the point with Eldoze, as soon as he received intelligence at Delhi of this transaction. The year 603 was consumed on both sides in a series of desperate contests for the mastership of that great and rich city. Victory finally declared for Cuttub. Eldoze was beaten out of the city, and obliged to fly towards Kirman. Cuttub pursued him as far as Gazna, in which city he caused himself to be again crowned, taking that kingdom into his own hands.

Cuttub, after this, unaccountably gave himself up to wine and pleasure, till the citizens of Gazna, disgusted with his luxury and indolence, sent privately to Eldoze, acquainting him of the king's negligence, and intreating his return. Eldoze, upon this, recruiting an army with the utmost secrecy and expedition, advanced towards Gazna, and in a manner surprised Cuttub, who was so buried in intemperance, that he had no intelligence of his design till the day before his arrival. It was now too late to put himself in a proper state of defence, and he was obliged to abandon the kingdom, and retire to Lahore. He then became sensible of his own weakness, repented of his evil habits, and exercised himself in the practice of justice, temperance, and morality. He regulated his kingdoms according to the best laws of policy and wisdom till his death, in the year 607, (A. D. 1210,) which happened by a fall from his horse in a match at ball, which adverse parties endeavoured to carry off on the point of their spears.

ELDOZE.

The origin, and much of the history, of Eldoze has been already given. His protector, Mohammed Gauri, having observed him to be a youth of genius, advanced him gradually, till at last he bestowed upon him the government of Kirma and Shinoran, which lay between Gazna and India. His situation gave him an opportunity of frequently entertaining his prince, upon his expeditions to and from that country, which he always did with great magnificence and festivity, making presents to all the king's attendants.

Mohammed, in his last expedition, favoured Eldoze so much, that he bestowed upon him the black standard of the kingdom of Gazna, by this intimating his will, that he should succeed to that throne. But, upon the death of that monarch, the Turkish omrahs were desirous that Mahmud, the son of the former emperor, should come from Gaur and reign at Gazna. Mahmud being a man of an indolent disposition declined it; and said, that he was content with the throne of his ancestors. He, however, assumed the imperial title, proclaimed Eldoze king of Gazna, and was content to maintain the appearance of that power which he would not, or rather durst not, enforce.

The first exploit Eldoze attempted after his accession, was, we have seen, to cross the Indus, and invade Punjab and Lahore. He was defeated by Cuttub, and in consequence lost his own kingdom; which, however, he shortly after recovered. In conjunction with the emperor Mahmud of Gaur, he then sent an army to Herat, which they conquered, as also a great part of Sejestan, but making peace with the prince of that country, they returned. On the way, making war upon the great Mohammed, sultan of Charazm, they were both defeated, and the conqueror pursuing his fortune, took Gazna, while Eldoze retired to Kirma, his former government, on the borders of India. Eldoze, finding the northern troops too hardy

for him to contend with, recruited an army, and marched, some time after the death of Cuttub, with a view to conquer India. But, after reducing some of the northern provinces, he was defeated near Delhi, by the emperor Altumsh, and being taken, died in confinement. The time of his reign was nine years.

ARAM.

After the death of Cuttub, his son Aram mounted the throne of Delhi; but was in no degree equal to the government of so great an empire. Nasir, one of the adopted slaves of Mohammed Gauri, marched with an army towards Sind, which he conquered, as also Multan, Outch, Shinoran, and other places. Another slave, Mohammed of Chilligi, possessed himself of the kingdom of Bengal, and asserted his own independence. At the same time, several dependent princes blew up the flame of rebellion in many other parts of the empire.

Upon these misfortunes the great omrahs of the court of Delhi becoming extremely discontented, sent a person to invite Altumsh, who was the son-in-law and adopted son of Cuttub, and then governor of Budaoon,* to ascend the throne. Altumsh accordingly marched with his army to Delhi, and, by means of the co-operation of the faction within, easily reduced it. Aram, afraid of trusting himself in his capital, had previously withdrawn into the country, recruited a fine army, and advanced to give Altumsh battle. A warm engagement enused in sight of the city. Aram lost the victory and his empire, which he had enjoyed scarcely one year.

ALTUMSH.

Altumsh, the adopted slave, had married the daughter of Cuttub, and upon his death, as above related, he advanced against the capital,

* The country beyond the Ganges, NE from Delhi, now possessed by the Rohillas.

and, expelling Aram from the throne, in the year 607 declared himself emperor. Upon his accession he was acknowledged by many chiefs and princes; but some of his generals taking disgust, went off with the greater part of the Turkish horse, which were the flower of his army. They joined themselves with other malecontents, and advanced with a great force towards Delhi. They were met before the city by Altumsh, and defeated, their chief general Firoch being killed, and the rest so closely pursued, that in a short time they were all either killed or taken, which for that time established Altumsh in peace.

In the year 614, Altumsh engaged Nasir, who was also son-in-law to Cuttub, upon the banks of the Chinaab, where Altumsh proved victorious. The governor of Chilligi, in the mountains, the year following, being defeated by Nasir, fled for protection to Altumsh, who, taking part in his quarrel, marched against Nasir, and a second time overthrew him, recovering the countries lost by the viceroy of Chilligi, upon which he himself returned to Delhi. In the year 618, the famous but unfortunate Gelaleddin, king of Charazm, being defeated in the north, by the great conqueror Gengis Khan, retreated towards Lahore, where Altumsh opposed him with all his forces. This obliged that brave though unfortunate prince to retreat towards the Indus, where he was opposed by Nasir, who defeated him, and pursued him, by the way of Kutch and Makran, the maritime provinces of Persia.

In the year 622, Altumsh led his army towards Behar and Bengal, where he obliged Yeas ul dien, of Chilligi, then prince of Bengal, to pay him tribute and swear allegiance. He struck the currency in his own name, and appointing his son Nasir to the government of Bengal, he left Yeas ul dien in the government of Behar, and then returned to Delhi. But soon after, war broke out between Nasir, prince of Bengal, and Yeas ul dien, of Behar. The latter was defeated and slain; Nasir taking possession of his principality

and treasure, out of which he sent ample presents to his friends at Delhi.

In the mean time, Altumsh led out his forces against Cabaja, who possessed the provinces on the Indus, and unable to oppose him in the field, left a strong garrison in Outch, and returned himself to Backar. The emperor detached Nizam Jinaidi with half the army in pursuit of Cabaja, while, with the other half, he himself laid siege to Outch, which he took in two months and twenty days. When the news of the fall of Outch reached Cabaja, he sent his son Alla to intreat the emperor for peace. The terms were not settled when news was brought, that Nasir, already mentioned, had been obliged by Nizam to attempt to cross the river, and that he was unhappily drowned. The whole country submitted to the imperial power. Altumsh then drew his forces towards the fort of Rantampore, which he besieged and took.

In the year 624, he marched towards the fort of Mandu, which he reduced with all the country of Sewalic. At this time, the noble Ruhani, the most learned and most famous poet and philosopher of that age, fled from Bochara, that city being taken by the great Gengis, and sought protection at Delhi, where he wrote many excellent pieces. The emperor, at the same time, had an embassy from the Arabian princes, with the royal robes of the caliphat, which he assumed with joy, making a great festival, and distributing rich presents. In the same year, he received intelligence of the death of Nasir, his eldest son, prince of Bengal, which threw him into the deepest affliction. He soon after conferred the title upon his younger son, whom he carried with him to that province in the year 627, to invest him with the government, which had run into confusion after the death of the former prince. Having entirely settled this country in peace, he left Eaz ul Muluck to superintend the kingdom, and returned with his son to Delhi.

Altumsh formed a design, in the year 629, to reduce the fort of

Gwalior, which had, during the reign of his predecessor Aram, fallen into the hands of the Hindoos. He accordingly besieged it for a whole year, when the garrison being reduced to great streights, the governor made his escape in the night, and the troops capitulated; but above three hundred of them, for treacherous behaviour, were punished.

After the reduction of this place, he marched his army towards Malava, and reducing the fort of Belsay, took the city of Ugeïn, where he destroyed the magnificent and rich temple of Makal,* formed upon the same plan with that of Sumnat, which had been building three hundred years, and was surrounded by a wall one hundred cubits in height. The image of Bickermajit, who had been formerly prince of this country, and so renowned that the people of Hindostan date their time from his death, as also that of Makal, both of stone, with many other figures of brass, he ordered to be carried to Delhi, and broken at the door of the great mosque.

After his return from this expedition, he led his army again towards Multan, to settle the affairs of that province; but this enterprize proved unsuccessful on account of his health. He fell sick on his march, which obliged him to return to Delhi, where he died, in the year 633, or A. D. 1235.

The reign of Altumsh was twenty-six years. He was an enterprising, able, and virtuous prince.

FEROSE I.

The prince Ferose† succeeded his father Altumsh in the throne of Delhi. In the year 625, his father appointed him governor of Budaoon, and, after the reduction of Gwalior, conferred upon him the viceroyship of Lahore. He chanced, at the emperor's death, to be at Delhi on a visit, and immediately ascended the throne. The

* MA signifies great, in the Indian language; and KAL time, or sometimes Death.

† Ruckun ul dien, Ferose Shaw.

omrahs made their offerings, and swore allegiance; while the poets of the age vied with one another in his praise, for which they received liberal donations.

But, when he acquired the imperial dignity, he spread the flowery carpets of luxury, and withdrew his hand from the toils of state. He expended his father's treasure upon dancing-women, comedians, and musicians, and left the affairs of government to the management of his mother. This woman had been a Turkish slave, and now became a monster of cruelty, murthering all the women of Altumsh's Haram, to gratify her inhuman hatred to them, as also the youngest of that emperor's sons. The minds of the people began to be filled with disgust, and Mohammed, the younger brother of the king, and governor of Oud, intercepted the revenues from Bengal, and began to assert independence. At the same time, the different rajahs of superior eminence entering into a confederacy, exalted their standards of hostility against the emperor, advanced sultana Rizia, the eldest daughter of Altumsh, to the throne, and imprisoned the emperor's mother.

With respect to Ferose himself, he was delivered up into her hands, and died in confinement some time after; having reigned only six months and twenty-eight days.

SULTANA RIZIA.

Sultana Rizia was adorned with every qualification necessary in the ablest kings; and the strictest examiners of her actions could find in her no fault but that she was a woman. In the time of her father, she entered deeply into the affairs of government, which disposition he encouraged, finding she had a remarkable talent for politics. In that year in which he took the fort of Gwalior, he appointed her regent in his absence. When he was asked by the omrahs, why he appointed his daughter to such an office, in preference to so many of his sons, he replied, "that he saw his sons gave

themselves up to wine, women, and gaming; that therefore he thought the government too weighty for their shoulders to bear; and that Rizia, though a woman, had a man's head and heart, and was better than twenty such sons."

Rizia, upon her accession, changing her apparel, assumed the imperial robes, and every day gave public audience from the throne, revising and confirming the laws of her father, which had been abrogated in the last reign, and distributing justice with an equal hand. Yet could not her wise and politic conduct crush the hydra rebellion. Headed by her father's vizier, Janedi, the great omrahs confederating, advanced with their armies to Delhi, and encamping without the city, commenced hostilities. They, at the same time, sent circular letters to all the omrahs of the empire, to allure them from their allegiance. This news reaching the subah of Oud, he collected his forces, and hastened to the relief of the empress; but when he had crossed the Ganges, he was engaged by the confederates, defeated, and taken prisoner, in which condition he soon died. The empress found means, in her own policy, to sow dissention among the confederates; till, finding themselves in a dangerous situation, they retreated each to his own country, while some of them, being pursued by the empress, were taken and put to death, the vizier escaping to the hills of Sirmore, where he died.

The prosperity of the sultana daily increasing, she gave the vizarit to Chaja Gaznavi, who had been deputy to the former vizier, with the title of Nizam, and the chief command of her forces to Abiek, with the title of Kilic Khan. Kabirc, having subjected himself to her authority, was confirmed in the government of Lahore, while the countries of Bengal, and the northern provinces, were also confirmed to their respective viceroys, on their promise of future obedience. In the mean time, Kilic Khan, general of the sultana's armies, died, and Hassen being appointed to succeed him,

was sent with a force to raise the siege of Rantampore, which was then invested by the independent Indian princes. But, at the approach of the imperial forces, they raised the siege, and retreated. After Hassen's departure from Rantampore, Tiggi was advanced to the dignity of lord chamberlain, and master of requests. Jammal gaining great favour with the empress, was also appointed master of the horse, from which station he was presently advanced to that of captain general of the empire.

The nobles were greatly disgusted at this promotion, as the favourite was originally an Abyssinian slave. The first who began openly to express his discontent, was the viceroy of Lahore, in the year 637, who threw off his allegiance, and began to recruit his army. The empress, collecting also her forces, marched out against him, and the viceroy, being disappointed by some of his confederates, was obliged to make every concession to obtain pardon. This he effected with so much art, that the empress, upon her departure, either believing him to be her friend, or desirous of binding him over to her interest, by gratitude, continued him in his viceroyship, and added to it that of Moultan, which had been governed by Kirakus.

In the same year, Altunia, the imperial governor of Tiberhind, exalted the hostile standard against the empress, on account of her imprudent partiality to the Abyssinian. The empress, upon this intelligence, marched with her army towards Tiberhind, but, about half way, all the Turkish chiefs in her army mutinied with their forces. A tumultuous conflict ensued, in which her Abyssinian general was killed, and she herself seized and sent to the fort of Tiberhind, to Altunia. The army then returned to Delhi, where the Turkish omrahs set up her brother Byram, the son of the emperor Altumsh.

BYRAM II.

Ascended the throne of Delhi, in A. H. 637, or A. D. 1239, and confirmed all the laws and customs then in force. Tiggi, in conjunction with the vizier, by degrees took the whole government of the empire upon himself, taking the sister of the emperor to wife, and mounting an elephant upon guard, at his gate, which was an honour peculiar to royalty. This circumstance raised disgust and jealousy in the emperor's mind; he therefore ordered two Turkish slaves to put on the appearance of drunkenness, and endeavour to assassinate Tiggi and the vizier. Accordingly, upon a certain day, these two Turks, when the king gave public audience, pressed among the crowd, and began to be very troublesome. Tiggi, who stood first in the rank of omrahs, went to turn them out. They drew their daggers, and plunged them into his breast, then, running to the vizier, they gave him two wounds; but he escaped through the crowd. The slaves were immediately seized, and thrown into chains, but in a few days after they were pardoned.

The vizier kept his bed for some days, on account of his wounds, but, as soon as he recovered, he appeared again at court, and officiated in his employ. Sunkir Rumi, who was then master of the requests, formed a scheme to supersede him. He, for this purpose, placed himself at the head of a powerful faction at court, and collecting the omrahs together, and, among the rest the vizier, at the house of the chief justice of the empire, he began to concert with them a plan to bring about a revolution. The chief justice was secretly averse to the measure, and fearing that what was nominally meant against the vizier, should actually turn upon his master, he sent to the emperor, and informed him of the whole affair. The messenger brought back with him a faithful servant of the king, in the habit of a fool, to overhear the conversation with the vizier.

The vizier, though he actually entered into the measures of the meeting, excused himself from attendance at that time.

The story of the chief justice being confirmed by the person whom the emperor sent to overhear the omrahs, a body of cavalry were immediately dispatched to seize them; but they having had previous intelligence, dispersed themselves before the horse arrived. The next day, Sunkir Rumi, who was one of the principal conspirators, was sent to be governor of Budaoon, while Casi Jellal was turned out of his office. In a few months after, Rumi and Muza were assassinated at Budaoon by the emperor's emissaries, while Casi Jellal was trodden under foot by elephants. These proceedings raised fear and apprehension in the bosom of every person, which being improved by the faction, there was a general mutiny among the troops. In the mean time news arrived, that the Moguls of the great Gengis had invested Lahore; that Malleck the viceroy of that place, finding his troops mutinous, had been obliged to fly in the night, and was actually on his way to Delhi; and that Lahore was plundered by the enemy, and the miserable inhabitants carried away prisoners.

The king, upon this urgent occasion, called a general council of state, in which it was determined to send the vizier, and Hassen Ghori, chief secretary of the empire, with other omrahs, to oppose the Moguls at Lahore, with an army. When the imperial army advanced as far as the river Bea, where the town of Sultanpoor now stands, the vizier, who was privately an enemy to the emperor, began to depreciate his government to the nobles, and to sow the seeds of sedition in their minds. But that he might completely effect his purpose, he wrote a private letter to the emperor, accusing them of disaffection, and begging he would either take the field himself, or send other omrahs and more forces, for that those now with the army could not be depended upon, and that therefore nothing could be done against the enemy.

The emperor had been forewarned of the treachery of his vizier in the late conspiracy, yet the artful man had so well extricated himself, and gained such confidence, that Byram, who was not blessed with much discernment, gave entire credit to this accusation, and sent him an order, importing, that they deserved death; at the same time recommending to him to keep them quiet till he should find the means of bringing them to condign punishment. This was what the crafty vizier wanted. He immediately produced the king's order, which kindled the omrahs at once into rage, while he misled them with respect to the accuser. He even pretended to be apprehensive for himself, and began to consult with them about the means of general security; and they all promised to support him.

This news having reached the emperor, he began to open his eyes when too late, and in great perturbation hastened to the house of Islaam, a venerable and learned omrah, requesting him to set out for the camp, and endeavour, by proper representations, to bring over the disaffected chiefs to their duty. Islaam accordingly set out in private, but not being able to effect any thing, returned to Delhi. The vizier, in the mean time, advanced with the army to the capital, which he besieged for three months and an half. Rebellion spreading at last among the citizens, the place was taken. Byram was thrown into prison, where, in a few days, he came to a very tragical end, after a reign of two years one month and fifteen days, in A. H. 640, or A. D. 1242.

The Moguls, in the mean time, plundered the provinces on the banks of the five branches of the Indus, and returned to Gazna.

MASSUD IV.

When Byram had drank the cup of fate, Balin the elder raised a faction, and forcing his way into the palace, mounted the throne, and ordered himself to be proclaimed throughout the city. But the

greater part of the princes and nobility, dissatisfied with his advancement, immediately took out Massud, the son of Ferose, the late emperor, from his confinement in the white castle, and, deposing the usurper, placed him upon the throne the same day in which Balin had seized it.

Massud, however, soon after resigned himself to wine and women, and exercised various modes of cruelty, injustice, and oppression, despising all counsel, and rushing headlong into ruin. The princes and omrahs at length determined upon hostile measures, having first privately sent for Mahmud, the king's uncle, from Barage. Mahmud advanced with all the forces he could raise towards the capital. The emperor was thrown into prison, by the omrahs, where he remained for life. He reigned four years one month and one day; a weak and foolish prince, a slave to his pleasures, and without firmness of mind to entertain any one commendable virtue.

Oktai, the son of Gengis, sat upon the imperial throne of Tartary, during the short reigns of Ferose, Rizia, Byram, and Massud. Little alteration happened in the conquests of Gengis, and his posterity were employed in extending the Tartar empire in the two extremities of Asia. The dominions left by Altumsh remained entire when his son Massud was deposed.

MAHMUD II.

When the eldest son of the emperor Altumsh died in Bengal, he conferred the title and government of that principality upon his younger son Mahmud. But this was a nominal honour, Mahmud being at that time too young for such a charge. Upon his father's death he was confined by the cruel empress, and remained in prison till he was released by the emperor Massud, who gave him the government of Barage. During the period of his government, he waged successful war with the neighbouring independent princes, and rendered his province happy and flourishing. The fame of his justice

and policy was widely spread abroad, which made the omrahs turn their eyes towards him in the late revolution. He was then placed upon the throne of his father, which, even laying aside his birth, his bravery, wisdom, and learning, his other good qualities very much entitled him to possess. During the time of his imprisonment, he wrote for his livelihood, despising the emperor's allowance. He often said, in the days of his misfortune, that he who could not work for his bread did not deserve it. When he ascended the throne, he was the patron of learning, the protector of the people, and the friend of the poor.

The office of vizier was now conferred upon Balin the younger, who formerly defeated the sultana; and all the executive power was put into his hands. Shere, the emperor's nephew, was appointed to the government of Lahore, Multan, Batenize, and Tiberhind; where he was ordered to keep a great standing army, and to watch the motions of the Moguls, who had possessed themselves of the provinces beyond the Indus.

In the month of Regib, the king took the field, and turned his arms towards Multan. He encamped for some time upon the banks of the Sodra; and making his vizier captain general, he sent him towards the mountains of Jehud, and the territories near the Indus. Those countries were reduced, and the emperor avenged himself upon the Gickers for their continual incursions, and for guiding the Moguls through their country into Hindostan. These offences were too great to be pardoned, and therefore he carried some thousands of every age and sex into captivity.

Some ancient omrahs, who had estates conferred on them in the provinces near the Indus, had, for some time past, refused to supply their quotas to the army, for the maintenance of which they held these estates. By the advice of the vizier, they were arrested, and carried prisoners to Delhi. The king, however, gave their estates to their sons or relations, upon the old military tenure. The country

of Punjab and Multan were by these means effectually settled, and the king's authority firmly established. The behaviour of Mahmud, upon this occasion, puts us in mind of the similar conduct of Secunder (Alexander). When Secunder was on his way to India, some of his old generals, unwilling to proceed farther, began to draw their feet out of the circle of his obedience. The hero upon this, was thrown into great perplexity, not knowing how to proceed with them. In this dilemma, he sent a messenger to Greece to advise with his old master Aristotle, who, by reason of his age and infirmities, had not accompanied him. When the sage read the letter, he carried the messenger into the garden, where he gave orders to the gardener to root up all the old plants, and set young shoots in their places. Without saying more, or writing any answer, he told the messenger to return in haste to his master. When the messenger arrived, he fell upon his face before the king, and told him he could obtain no reply. Secunder was somewhat surprised, and inquired into the particulars of the interview. Hearing the above relation, he smiled, and told the messenger he had brought him an excellent answer. He accordingly put some of the old mutinous officers to death, and cashiered others; supplying their places with young men, who became more obedient to command; and thus re-established his authority in the army.

In 647, he sent the vizier with an army towards Rantampore and the mountains of Merwar, to chastise the rebellious inhabitants of these countries, which he effectually did, and returned to Delhi. In the same year, the emperor's brother Jellal was called from his government of Canouge to Delhi. But, fearing that the king had some intentions against his life, he fled to the hills of Sitnoor, with all his adherents. The emperor pursued him, but finding, after eight months labour, that he could not lay hands upon him, he returned to Delhi. Mahmud, this same year, married the daughter of his vizier, Balin, and upon the occasion made great rejoicings.

He drew, in the year following, his army towards Multan, and, upon the banks of the Bea, he was joined by his nephew, Shere, governor of the northern provinces, with twenty thousand chosen horse. The king continued his march to Multan, where he remained for some days. Having placed the elder Balin in the government of Nagore and Outch, and settled some other matters, he returned to his capital.

The elder Balin, in the year 649, threw off his allegiance, and stirred up a rebellion in those provinces. This obliged Mahmud to put the imperial standard in motion towards Nagore. He put the rebel to flight; but such was the strange policy of the times, that he promised him pardon, upon his submission; and afterwards actually continued him in his government. The emperor, after returning from this expedition, remained only a few days at Delhi, before he proceeded to the siege of Narvar. He was met at Narvar by the Indian prince Sahir Deo, who had just built that fortress on a steep rock, with five thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot. This immense host was defeated with great slaughter, and the place, being invested, was reduced, after a few months siege. The emperor from thence continued his march to Chinderi and Malava; and having settled those countries, and appointed a subah to govern them, returned to Delhi. The vizier gained in this expedition great reputation for his conduct and personal valour.

In the mean time, the emperor's nephew, Shere, viceroy of Lahore and Multan, who was at that time reckoned a prodigy of wisdom, valour, and every royal virtue, had raised and disciplined a body of horse, with which he drove the Moguls out of the kingdom of Gazna, and annexed it once more to the empire. He struck the currency in the name of Mahmud, and proclaimed him through all the provinces, The king, for these services, added the government

of Outch to his viceroyship, which, contrary to expectation, was quietly delivered up by the elder Balin, who returned to Delhi, and received the jagier of Budaoon.

In the year 655, or A. D. 1257, a Mogul army crossed the Indus, which obliged Mahmud to point his hostile spears towards that quarter; but the Moguls fled upon his approach.

In the year 657, the vizier, by the king's commands, led an army towards Sewalic and Rantampore, where the Indians had begun to raise great disturbances, having collected a very numerous body of horse and foot, at the head of which they plundered and burnt the country. Upon the vizier's approach, they retired into strong posts and passes among the mountains, where, however, he routed them, and continued to ravage the country four months with fire and sword, setting a price upon their heads.

The princes of those rajaputs, rendered at length desperate, collected all their forces, and rushed down from the mountains to be revenged of the Mohammedans. The vizier saw the storm descending, and had time to draw up his army in order of battle to receive them. The attack of the enemy was violent and terrible, being actuated by rage, revenge, and despair. It was with much difficulty that the vizier could keep the imperial troops in the field, but the enemy overheating themselves towards mid-day, they became hourly more languid and faint. The imperial general inspiring his troops with fresh courage, for till then they had acted upon the defensive, began to charge in his turn, and, before evening, pursued the enemy, with great slaughter, back to the hills. The vizier's loss was very considerable in this action, and many brave omrahs drank of the cup of martyrdom. Of the enemy above ten thousand were slain, and ninety of their chiefs made prisoners, besides a great number of common soldiers. The vizier having, by this action, relieved the fort of Rantampore, which had been besieged by some other

tribes, he returned victorious to Delhi. The captive chiefs were cruelly ordered to be put to death, and their unfortunate soldiers condemned to perpetual slavery.

Early in the same year, an ambassador arrived at Delhi, on the part of Hallacu, the grandson of Gengis, and king of Persia. The vizier went out to meet the ambassador with fifty thousand foreign horse, in the imperial service, two hundred thousand infantry in arms, two thousand chain-elephants of war, and three thousand carriages of fireworks. He drew up in order of battle, formed in columns of twenty deep, with the artillery and cavalry properly disposed. Having then exhibited some feats of horsemanship, in mock battles, and fully displayed his pomp to the ambassador, he conducted him into the city and royal palace. There the court was very splendid, every thing being set out in the most gorgeous and magnificent manner. All the omrahs, officers of state, judges, priests, and great men of the city were present, besides five princes of Persian Irak, Chorasan, and Maver-ul-nere, with their retinues, who had taken protection at Delhi, from the arms of Gengis, who, a little before that time, had over-run most part of Asia. Many Indian princes, subject to the empire, were there, and stood next the throne.

This ceremony being concluded with great pomp, nothing particular occurred at Delhi, till the year 663, when the emperor fell sick, and, having lingered some months on the bed of affliction, died in the year 664, or A. D. 1265, much lamented by his people.

BALIN.

Mahmud leaving no sons behind him, his vizier, Balin, who was of the same family, mounted, by the universal desire of the nobles, the throne of Delhi.

In the reign of Altumsh, forty of that monarch's Turkish slaves, who were in great favour, entered into a solemn association to

support one another, and, upon the king's death, to divide the empire among themselves; but jealousies and dissentions having arisen afterwards among them, prevented this project from being executed. The emperor Balin was of their number; and, as several of them had raised themselves to great power in the kingdom, the first thing he did after his accession, was to rid himself of all who remained of that association, either by sword or poison; among whom was his own nephew, Shere, a man of great bravery and reputation.

His fears, after these assassinations, were entirely dispelled, and he became so famous for his justice and wise government, that his alliance was courted by all the kings of Persia and Tartary. He took particular care that none but men of merit and family should be admitted to any office in his government; and for this purpose he endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the particular talents and connections of every person in his court. As he was very assiduous in rewarding merit, he was no less so in punishing vice; for whoever misbehaved in their station, was certain of being immediately disgraced.

He expelled all flatterers, usurers, pimps, and players, from his court; and being one day told, that an omrah, an old servant of the crown, who had acquired a vast fortune by usury and monopoly in the bazar, or market, would present him with some lacks of rupees, if he would honour him with one word from the throne; he rejected the proposal with great disdain, and said, "What must his subjects think of a king who should condescend to hold discourse with a wretch so infamous?"

Balin was so famous for his generosity, that all the princes of the East, who had been overthrown by the arms of Gengis, sought protection at his court. There came upwards of twenty of those unfortunate sovereigns from Turkestan, Maver-ul-nere, Chorasan, Persian Irac, Azerbijian, Persia Proper, Room, and Syria. They had a princely allowance, and palaces for their residence allotted them;

and they were, upon public occasions, ranked before his throne, according to their dignity; all standing to the right and left, except two princes of the race of the Caliphas, who were permitted to sit on either side of the musnud. The palaces in which the royal fugitives resided in Delhi, took their names from their respective possessors. In the retinue of those princes, were the most famous men for learning, war, arts, and sciences, that Asia at that time produced. The court of India was, therefore, in the days of Balin, reckoned the most polite and magnificent in the world. All the philosophers, poets, and divines, formed a society every night, at the house of the prince Shehîd, the heir apparent to the empire; and the noble Chosro the poet presided at those meetings. Another society of musicians, dancers, mimicks, players, buffoons, and story-tellers, was constantly convened at the house of the emperor's second son Kera, or Bagera, who was given to pleasure and levity. The omrahs followed the example of their superiors, so that various societies and clubs were formed in every quarter of the city. The emperor himself, having a great passion for splendour and magnificence in his palaces, equipages, and liveries, he was imitated by the court. A new city seemed to lift up its head, and arts to arise from the bosoms of luxury and expence.

Such was the pomp and grandeur of the royal presence, that none could approach the throne without being impressed with awe. The ceremonies of introduction were conducted with such profound solemnity, and every thing disposed so as to excite reverence and astonishment in the beholders. Nor was Balin less magnificent in his cavalcades. His state elephants were caparisoned in purple and gold. His horse-guards, consisting of a thousand noble Tartars in splendid armour, were mounted upon the finest Persian steeds, with bridles of silver, and saddles of rich embroidery. Five hundred chosen men in rich livery, with their drawn sabres, ran before him, proclaiming his approach, and clearing the way. All the omrahs

followed according to their rank, with their various equipages and attendants. The monarch, in short, seldom went out with less than one hundred thousand men; which he used to say, was not to gratify any vanity in himself, but to exalt himself in the eyes of the people.

The festivals of Nauraz and Ide, as also the anniversary of his own birth, were celebrated with wonderful pomp and splendour. But amidst all this glare of royalty, he never forgot that he was the guardian of the laws, and protector of his meanest subjects. It was before Balin's time a custom in Hindostan, in cases of murder, to satisfy the relations by a certain fine, if they consented to accept of it. He abolished this custom, which has been since revived, and ordered the subah of Budaoon to be put to death, upon the complaint of a poor woman for killing her son.

When Balin was only an omrah, he gave into the courtly vices of wine, women, and play. But, upon his accession, he became a great enemy to all those luxuries; prohibiting wine upon the severest penalties to be drank in his dominions; laying great restrictions upon women of pleasure, and banishing all gamesters from his court. So zealous was Balin to support his authority, that for the disobedience of one man, he would order a force to the remotest parts of the empire to bring him to punishment. In cases of insurrection or rebellion against his government, he was not content, as had formerly been the custom, to chastise the leaders, but he extended the capital punishment of high treason to the meanest of their vassals and adherents. This severity rendered it necessary for the subahs to have the king's mandate for every expedition or any hostilities they were about to commence.

That his army might be kept in constant exercise, he led them out twice every week to hunt, for forty or fifty miles round the city, and established laws for the preservation of the game. In the year 664, he was advised by his council, to undertake an expedition to

reduce the kingdoms of Guzerat and Malava, which had been annexed to the empire by Cuttub, but were afterwards permitted to shake off the yoke. To this advice the emperor would by no means consent, saying, That the Mogul Tartars were become so powerful in the north, having conquered all the Mussulmen princes, that he thought it would be much wiser to secure what he possessed against those invaders, than to weaken himself, and leave his country unguarded, by foreign wars.

Mohammed Tatar, the son of Arsilla, who had begun to assert independence in Bengal, was this year, however, reduced, and obliged to send his usual tribute to Delhi. A great rejoicing was made upon this occasion, at which the king was present, and gave public audience. Balin ordered, in the course of the same year, an army to extirpate a certain tribe of banditti called Mewats, who had possessed themselves of an extensive wilderness about eighty miles south-east of the city towards the hills; from whence they used, in former reigns, to make incursions, to the number of fifty thousand, even to the gates of Delhi. It is said, that in this expedition, above one hundred thousand of these wretches were put to the sword; and the army being supplied with hatchets and other implements, cleared away the woods for above the circumference of one hundred miles. The cleared space afterwards proved excellent land, and was well inhabited, as the people were protected by a line of forts along the foot of the mountains.

In the fourth year of the reign of Balin, died Shere, the nephew of the late emperor, who had, from the time of Mahmud, governed the provinces upon the banks of the five branches of the Indus, and other districts. He was esteemed a man of great genius, and an intrepid warrior; having defended his country from the incursions of the Moguls, who now became the terror of the East. Balin, upon the demise of Shere, gave Sunnam and Semana to the noble Timur, and the other countries were divided among other omrahs of his

court. The Moguls, encouraged by the death of Shere, began again their depredations in those provinces. The mutual jealousies and dissentions among the subahs prevented them from doing any thing effectual for the public good.

The emperor, therefore, was obliged to appoint his eldest son Mohammed, at that time bearing the title of the noble Malleck, viceroy of all those frontier provinces. Mohammed was immediately dispatched to his government with a fine army, and some of the wisest and best generals in the empire. The prince himself was blest with a bright and comprehensive genius, taking great delight in learning and the company of learned men. He, with his own hand, made a choice collection of the beauties of poetry, selected from the most famous writers in that art. The work consisted of twenty thousand couplets, and was esteemed the criterion of taste. Among the learned men in the prince's court, the noble Chosro and Hassen bore the first rank in genius. These, with many more of his philosophical society, accompanied him on this expedition to Lahore. Mohammed was visited at Lahore by Osman Marindi, who was esteemed the greatest man of that age. But no presents or entreaty could prevail upon him to remain out of his own country; so that after a short stay he returned. We are told, that as he was one day reading one of his poems in Arabic before the prince, all the poets who were present were transported into a fit of dancing. But the piece affected the prince, to all appearance, in a quite contrary manner; for the tears began to flow fast down his cheeks.

The fame of the enlightened Sadi of Schiraz, the clebrated poet, being great at that time, Mohammed invited him twice to his court; but that renowned sage excused himself on account of his years, and, with much difficulty, was brought to accept of some presents. Sadi, in return, sent to Mohammed a copy of his works, and did honour to the abilites of the noble Chosro, the prince's favourite, and president of his learned society. The prince, every year, made

a journey to see his father at Delhi, to whom he always behaved with the greatest filial affection and duty.

Every thing seemed now in perfect peace and security throughout the empire, when Togril, who was entrusted with the government of Bengal, began to appear in arms. In the year 678, or A. D. 1279, this bold and enterprising man led an army against the Indian princes towards Jainagur, whom he defeated, carrying off some hundreds of elephants and much wealth, out of which he made no acknowledgment to the king. Balin happened at that time to be very sick, insomuch that the news of his death was spread abroad. This intelligence having reached the ears of Togril, he assumed the red umbrella, with all the royal dignities, and declared himself king of Bengal. Balin hearing of this, wrote him an order to return immediately to his allegiance, which having produced no effect, he commanded Tiggi, governor of Oud, to raise his forces, and declaring him subah of Bengal, sent Timur, Malleck Jemmal, and other generals, to his assistance, with an army from Delhi, to reduce the traitor to obedience.

When Tiggi was joined by this force, he crossed the Sirju, and proceeded towards Bengal, whence Togril advanced with his forces to meet him. Togril employed his money so well among the troops of Tiggi, that he drew many of the Turkish chiefs over to his party, and then engaging the imperial army, he gave them a total defeat. The king hearing this intelligence, foamed with rage and indignation. He ordered Tiggi to be hanged at the gate of Oud; and dispatched Turmutti, a Turkish general, with another army, against the rebel. Nor was the fate of Turmutti more fortunate than that of his predecessor. He was totally routed, and lost all his baggage and the public treasure.

Balin, having intelligence of this second disgrace to his arms, was plunged into the greatest affliction, and prepared to take the field in person. He gave orders to build a large fleet of boats, with all

expedition, to carry his baggage down the river. He, in the mean time, under pretence of going upon a hunting party, went to Sunnam and Sumana, the subahship of his younger son, whom he brought with his army with him to Delhi, leaving one Malleck in the government. Having collected the imperial army, he appointed the chief magistrate of the city, regent during his own absence.

The emperor crossing the Ganges, without waiting for the dry season, proceeded to Bengal by forced marches. But having met with great delay, on account of the roads and numerous rivers, Togril heard of his approach, and had time to collect his army, and with all his elephants, treasure, and effects, took the route of Jainagur,* with intention to remain there till the king should return to Delhi. The sultan having arrived in Bengal, remained there only a few days. He appointed Hissam governor of the province, and proceeded himself, with his army, towards Jainagur. At Sunnarguam, the zemindar of that place joined him with his troops, and promised to guard the river against Togril, if he should endeavour to escape that way.

Balin continued his march with great expedition, but he could gain no intelligence of the enemy. He therefore ordered Malleck, with seven thousand chosen horse, to advance twenty miles, in front of the army, and, by all means, to endeavour to gain intelligence of the rebels; but, in spite of all inquiry, no satisfactory accounts could for several days be obtained. One day, however, Mohammed Shir, governor of Kole, being out from the advanced guard with forty horse, reconnoitring the country, beheld some bullocks with pack-saddles, and having seized the drivers, began to inquire about the enemy. They obstinately pretended ignorance; but the head of one of them being struck off, the rest fell upon their faces, and confessed that they had just left the enemy's camp, which was about

* A town in Orissa, near Cattack.

four miles in front, that they had halted for that day, and intended to advance to Jainagur.

Mohammed sent the drivers to Malleck, who commanded the vanguard, that he might examine them, and proceeded himself, as directed, to reconnoitre the enemy's camp. He saw, from a rising ground, the whole encampment, extended over a great plain, with the elephants and cavalry picqueted, and every thing in rest and security. Having fixed his eye upon the rebels' tents, which were pitched in the centre of the army, he determined to execute one of the boldest enterprises perhaps ever attempted. He advanced on full speed, with his forty attendants, whom he fired with the glory of the undertaking, towards the camp, which he was permitted to enter, being taken for one of their own parties. He continued his course to the usurper's tents, and then ordered his men to draw; and rushing into the great tent of audience, which was crowded with men of distinction, put all they met to the sword, crying, "Victory to Sultan Balin!"

Togril, who imagined he was surprised by the imperial army, started from his throne in confusion, and cut his way through the tent behind. He mounted a horse without a saddle, and the cry having now spread through the camp, he was confirmed in his fears, and fled towards the river, with an intention to cross it, that he might make his escape to Jainagur. In the mean time, Malleck, the brother of the gallant Mohammed, having seen the rebel as he fled, pursued him to the river, and shot him with an arrow as he was crossing. Togril immediately fell from his horse, and Malleck, plunging into the stream, dragged him out by the hair, and cut off his head. At that very instant, seeing some of the enemy coming that way, he hid the head in the sand, and sending the body down the stream, began to bathe himself in the river. The party questioned him about their king, and then went off without suspicion.

Mohammed's party, in the mean time, having dispatched every

body they found in the royal tents, dispersed themselves in such a manner among the enemy, who were now in the greatest confusion, that most of them escaped in the crowd. Togril being no where to be found, and the panic having run through the whole army, the flight became general, and none thought about any thing but personal safety. Those who remained alive of the forty heroes, loitered in the rear, till the enemy were quite gone off the field. They then returned to the deserted camp, where they chanced to meet Malleck. He related the king's death to his brother, who instantly sent the head to Balin. He at the same time dispatched an express to the vanguard, which came up that night, and took possession of the camp.

The sultan arrived the next day with the imperial army. He called to him the two gallant brothers, and commanded them to relate the particulars of this astonishing exploit. He heard it with surprise; but instead of praising them, as they expected, he told them, that the rashness of their behaviour was inconsistent with their duty and prudence, and much more to the same purpose. But he, in a few days, took them into favour, and conferred great titles and honours upon them.

Balin, finding the enemy had entirely dispersed, returned to Bengal, and put every one of the rebel's family, and principal adherents, to death. He did not even spare his innocent women and children; and he carried his cruelty so far, as to massacre a hundred Fakiers, and their chief collinder, for having been in great favour with the rebel, who had given him a present of three maunds of gold to support the society. Balin appointed his son Kera king of Bengal, bestowing upon him all the ensigns of royalty, and the spoils of Togril, except the elephants and treasure, while he himself returned with his army towards Delhi. Balin was absent upon this expedition three years. Upon his arrival, he conferred dignities upon Malleck, who had ruled Delhi with great wisdom. He then visited the learned

men at their own houses, made them princely presents, and, at their instigation, published an act of grace to all insolvent debtors who were in confinement, striking off, at the same time, all old balances of revenues due to the crown. Notwithstanding this appearance of humanity, either the policy or natural cruelty of his disposition rendered him unmerciful to all rebels. He ordered spits to be erected in the market-place, for the execution of all the prisoners taken in the late expedition; and it was with the utmost difficulty, that the casies, mufties, and learned men, in a body petitioning their pardon, could obtain it. This venerable body at last softened Balin into mercy, and he drew the pen of forgiveness over their crimes.

His eldest son having heard of his father's arrival, proceeded to Delhi to visit him; and was received with the greatest affection and joy. He had not remained at the capital three months, during which his father and himself were inseparable, when news was brought that the Moguls had invaded Multan. Mohammed hastened his departure to oppose them; but, before he had taken leave, thinking he might never see him again, his father called him into a private apartment, and gave him a series of the most solemn instructions for his conduct both as a man and a monarch.

Balin having ended his instructions, embraced his son tenderly, and parted with him in tears. The prince immediately marched against the enemy, and having defeated and slain Mohammed, chief of the Moguls, he recovered all the territories of which they had possessed themselves in the empire. Timur, of the family of Gengis, who was a prince of mighty renown in the empire, and of the race of the conqueror of Asia, at this time governed all the eastern provinces of Persia, from Chorasan to the Indus, and invaded Hindostan with twenty thousand chosen horse, to revenge the death of his friend Mohammed, who had been killed the former year. Having ravaged all the country about Debalpoor and Lahore, he turned towards Multan. The prince Mohammed, who was then in Multan,

hearing of his designs, hastened to the banks of the river of Lahore, which runs through part of Multan, and prepared to oppose him. When Timur advanced to the river, he saw the army of Hindostan on the opposite bank. But the prince, desirous of engaging so great a chief upon equal terms, permitted Timur to pass the river unmolested.

Both armies then drew up in order of battle, and engaged with great fury, for the space of three hours, in which both commanders eminently distinguished their valour and conduct. The Moguls were at last put to flight, and the nobles of India pursued them with imprudent disorder. Mohammed, fatigued by the pursuit, halted by a large pond of water, with five hundred attendants, to drink. He there fell prostrate upon the ground, to return God thanks for his victory.

In the mean time one of the Mogul chiefs, who had hid himself, with two thousand horse, in a neighbouring wood, rushed out upon Mohammed, and began a dreadful slaughter. The prince had just time to mount his horse, and collecting his small party, and encouraging them by his example, fell upon his enemies. He was at last overpowered by numbers, after having thrice obliged them to give ground, and he unfortunately received a fatal arrow in his breast, by which he fell to the ground, and in a few minutes expired. A body of the troops of India appearing at that instant, the Moguls took to flight. Very few of Mohammed's party escaped from this conflict. Among the fortunate few, was the noble Chosro the poet, who relates this event at large, in his book called Chizer Chani.

When the army returned from the pursuit of Timur, and beheld their prince in his blood, the shouts of victory were changed to the wailings of despair. No dry eye was to be seen, from the meanest soldier to the omrah of high command. The fatal news reached the old king, who was now in his eightieth year. The fountains of his tears were exhausted, and life began to be a burthen to him.

However, bearing himself up against the stream of misfortune, he sent Kei Chosro his grandson, and the son of the deceased, to supply the place of his father. Kei Chosro, upon his arrival at Multan, took the command of the army, and, pouring the balm of benevolence and kindness into the wounds of his afflicted people, began to adjust his government, and provide for the defence of the frontiers.

When the king found grief and infirmities gradually subduing his vital strength, he sent for his son Kera, from Bengal, and appointed him his successor, at the same time insisting, that he should continue with him at Delhi till his death, and appoint a deputy for his government of Bengal. To this Kera consented; but finding his father's illness was not likely to come soon to a crisis, he set out for Bengal without acquainting him of his departure. This undutiful behaviour in his son, threw the old man into the deepest affliction, so that death began now to press hard upon him. He in the mean time sent for his grandson Kei Chosro, from Multan: the prince hastened to his presence, and a council of all the omrahs being called, the succession was changed in his favour, all of them promising to enforce Balin's last will, in favour of this young prince. Balin in a few days expired, in the year 685, or A. D. 1286, after a reign of twenty-two years. Immediately, upon the death of the emperor, Malleck, chief magistrate of Delhi, having assembled the omrahs, and being always at enmity with the father of Chosro, harangued them upon the present posture of affairs. He assured them, that Chosro was a young man of a very violent and untractable disposition, and therefore, in his opinion, unfit to reign; besides, that the power of the prince Kera was so great in the empire, that a civil war was to be feared if the succession should not be continued in his family. That therefore, as the father was absent, it would be most prudent for the omrahs to elect his son Kei Kobad, who was a prince of a mild disposition, and then present in Delhi. So great was the influence of the minister, that he procured the throne for

Kei Kobad; and Chosro, glad to escape with life, returned to his former government of Lahore.

KEI KOBAD.

When Balin was numbered with the dead, Kei Kobad his grandson, in his eighteenth year, ascended the throne, and assumed all the imperial titles. He was a prince remarkably handsome in his person, and of an affable and mild disposition. He had a talent for literature, and his progress in science was considerable. His mother was a beautiful princess, daughter to the emperor Altumsh; and if purity of blood royal is of any real worth, Kei Kobad had that to boast, for a series of generations.

As he had been bred up with great strictness under the roof of his father, when he became master of his own actions he began to give a loose to pleasure without restraint. He delighted in love, and in the soft society of silver-bodied damsels, with musky tresses, spent great part of his time. When it was publicly known that the king was a man of pleasure, it became immediately fashionable at court; and in short, in a few days, luxury and vice so prevailed, that every shade was filled with ladies of pleasure, and every street rung with music and mirth. Even the magistrates were seen drunk in public, and riot was heard in every house.

The king fitted a palace upon the banks of the river Jumna, and retired thither to enjoy his pleasures undisturbed; admitting no company but singers, players, musicians, and buffoons. Nizam, who was nephew and son-in-law to the chief magistrate of Delhi, to whom Kei Kobad owed his elevation, was raised to the dignity of chief secretary of the empire, and got the reigns of government in his hands; and Ellaka, who was the greatest man for learning in that age, was appointed his deputy. Nizam, observing that the king was quite swallowed up in his pleasures, began to form schemes to clear his own way to empire. The first object of his attention was

Chosro, who was now gone to Gazna, to endeavour to bring that noble and royal Tartar, Timur, over to his party, in order to recover the throne of Delhi; to which he claimed a title from his father's right of primogeniture, as well as from the will of the late emperor. But in this scheme Chosro did not succeed, and he was obliged to return from Gazna in great disgust.

In the mean time, Nizam endeavoured to make him as obnoxious as possible to the king, who, at length, being prevailed upon to entice Chosro to Delhi, Nizam hired assassins to murder the unfortunate prince on the way. The villanies of Nizam did not stop here. He forged a correspondence between Chaja the vizier, and Chosro, and thus effected that minister's disgrace and banishment. He also privately assassinated all the old servants of Balin, insomuch that a general consternation was spread through the city, though none as yet suspected Nizam to be the cause. The more he succeeded in his atrocities, he became less secret in the execution; and though he began to be detested by all ranks, his power and influence was so great with the king, that he was the terror of every man.

While things were in this situation, advices arrived of another irruption of Moguls into the districts of Lahore. Barbeck and Jehan were sent with an army against them. The Moguls were defeated near Lahore, and a number of prisoners brought to Delhi. The next step the traitor took, was to inspire the king with jealousy of his Mogul troops, who, as soldiers of fortune, had enlisted in great numbers in his service. He pretended that, in case of a Mogul invasion, they would certainly join their countrymen against him, insinuating, at the same time, that he believed there was already some treachery intended.

The weak prince listened to those villainous intimations, and, calling their chiefs one day together, he ordered them to be set upon by his guards and massacred; confiscating, at the same time, all their goods and wealth. He seized upon all the omrahs who had

any connections with the Moguls, and sent them prisoners to distant garrisons in the remotest parts of the empire.

In the mean time, prince Kera, the emperor's father, who had contented himself with the kingdom of Bengal, having heard how affairs were conducted at the court of Delhi, penetrated into the designs of the minister, and wrote a long letter to his son, forewarning him of his danger, and advising him how to proceed. But his advice, like that of others, was of no weight with that vicious, luxurious, and infatuated prince. When Kera found that his instructions were slighted, and that things would soon be brought to a disagreeable issue, he collected a great army, and directed his standards towards Delhi, about two years after the death of Balin. Kei Kobad, hearing that his father had advanced as far as Bahar, drew out his forces, and marched down to meet him, encamping his army upon the banks of the Gagera. Kera lay upon the Sirve, and both armies remained some days in hourly expectation of an action. The old man, finding his army much inferior to that of his son, began to despair of reducing him by force, and accordingly began to treat of peace.

The young prince, upon this, became more haughty, and by the advice of his favourite prepared for battle. In the mean time, a letter came from his father, written in the most tender and affectionate terms, begging he might be blessed with one sight of him before matters were carried to extremities. This letter awakened nature, which had slumbered so long in Kei Kobad's breast, and he gave orders to prepare his retinue, that he might visit his father. The favourite attempted all in his power to prevent this interview, but finding the prince, for once, obstinate, he prevailed upon him to insist, as emperor of Delhi, upon the first visit, hoping, by this means, to break off the conference. His design, however, did not succeed, for Kera, seeing what a headstrong youth he had to deal with, consented to come to the imperial camp, and ordered the astrologers

to determine upon a lucky hour, and crossing the river, proceeded towards his son's camp.

The young monarch having prepared every thing for his father's reception in the most pompous and ceremonious manner, mounted his throne, and arrogantly gave orders, that his father, upon his approach, should three times kiss the ground. The old man accordingly, when he arrived at the first door, was ordered to dismount, and after he had come in sight of the throne, he was commanded to pay his obeisance in three different places as he advanced.

Kera was so much shocked at this indignity, that he burst out into a flood of tears; which being observed by the son, he could no longer support his unnatural insolence, but, leaping from the throne, fell on his face at his father's feet, imploring his forgiveness, for his offence. The good old man melted into compassion, and, raising him in his arms, embracing him, and hung weeping upon his neck. The scene, in short, was so affecting on both sides, that the whole court were in tears. These transports being over, the young king helped his father to mount the throne, and paying him his respects, took his place at his right hand, ordering a charger full of golden suns to be waved three times over his father's head, and afterwards to be given among the people. All the omrahs also presented to him their presents.

Public business being then discussed, every thing was settled in peace and friendship, and Kera returned to his own camp. A friendly intercourse commenced immediately between the two armies, for the space of twenty days, in which time the father and son alternately visited one another, and the time was spent in festivity and mirth. The principal terms settled between the two kings were, that they should respectively retain their former dominions; and then Kei Kobad prepared to return to Delhi, and Kera, having first given some wholesome admonition to his son, set off for Bengal.

The king, on his return to Delhi, continued in his former course of pleasure, till wine, and intemperance in his other passions, had ruined his health. He fell sick, and then began to recollect the advice of his father, and to consider Nizam as the cause of all his distress. He immediately began to form schemes in his mind to rid himself of that wicked minister. He for this purpose ordered him to the government of Multan; but Nizam, perceiving his drift, contrived many delays, that he might get a favourable opportunity to accomplish his murderous intentions. His designs, however, reverted upon his own head. The omrahs dispatched him by poison, some say without the king's knowledge, while others affirm that it was by his authority.

Malleck Ferose, the son of Malleck, chief of the Afghan tribe, called Chilligi, who was deputy governor of Sammana, came, by the king's orders, to court, and was honoured with the title of Shaista Khan, and made lord of requests, as also subah of Birren. Chigen was promoted to a high office at court, and Surcha was made chief secretary of the empire. These three divided the whole power of the government amongst them, while the king by this time became afflicted with the palsy, by which he lost the use of one side, and had his mouth distorted.

Every omrah of popularity or power, began now to intrigue for the empire, which obliged the friends of the royal family to take Keiomourse, a child of three years, son to the reigning emperor, out of the Haram, and to set him upon the throne. The army, upon this, split into two factions, who encamped on opposite sides of the city. The Tartars* espoused the cause of the young king, and the Chilligies, a powerful tribe of Afghans, joined Ferose, who usurped the throne. Upon the first disturbance, those Tartars, who had set up the young prince, jealous of the power of the Chilligies, assembled themselves, and proscribed all the principal Chilligian officers.

* They were mercenaries in the imperial army.

Ferose, being the first in the bloody list, immediately rebelled. Chigen had been deputed by the Tartar party, to invite Ferose to a conference with the sick king, and a plot was formed for his assassination. Ferose discovering his designs, drew upon the traitor, who came to invite him, and killed him at the door of his tent. The sons of Ferose, who were renowned for their valour, immediately put themselves at the head of five hundred chosen horse, and making an assault upon the camp of the Tartars, cut their way to the royal tents, which were pitched in the centre of the army, and seizing the infant king, carried him, and the son of Malleck ul Omrah, off, in spite of all opposition to their father. They killed Surcha, who pursued them, with many other men of distinction. When this exploit began to be noised abroad in the city, the mob flew immediately to arms. They marched out in thousands, and encamping at the Budaoon gate, prepared to go against Ferose, and rescue the infant king, for they greatly dreaded the power of the Chilligies, who were a fierce and savage race. Malleck ul Omrah, the old minister, so often mentioned, considering that this step would occasion the assassination of the young king, and of his own son, who was in their hands, exerted his great influence and authority among the people, and at length prevailed with them to disperse.

Ferose, in the mean time, sent an assassin to cut off the emperor Kei Kobad, who lay sick at his palace on the banks of the Jumna. The villain found this unfortunate prince dying upon his bed, deserted by all his attendants. He beat out the poor remains of life with a cudgel; then rolling him up in his bedclothes, threw him out of the window into the river. This assassin was a Tartar of some family, whose father had been unjustly put to death by Kei Kobad, and he now had a complete revenge.

When this horrid deed was perpetrated, Ferose ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Jellal ul dien, having put an end to the dynasty of Gaur, and commenced that of Chilligi. Chidju,

nephew to the emperor Balin, and who was now esteemed the just heir of the empire, was immediately appointed governor of Kurrah, and sent off to his government. Ferose marched into the palace, and was proclaimed with great solemnity in the city; and to complete his cruel policy, he made away with the young prince, that he might reign with the fuller security.

This great revolution happened in the year 687, A. D. 1289, the reign of Kei Kobad being somewhat more than three years; a time long and disastrous, if we regard the atrocities of Nizam, and the consequent overthrow of the family of Balin.

During the reign of Balin, and his grandson Kei Kobad, Cublai, the grandson of Gengis, sat on the Tartar throne, and completed the conquest of China. Hallacu, and after him his son Ilkan, reigned over the empire of Persia and Syria, in subordination to Cublai. Zagathai, the son of Gengis, and his posterity, were in possession of Maver-ul-nere, or Transoxiana, and the provinces to the north-west of the Indus, which had formerly composed the empire of Gazna.*

* For the contents of the preceding chapter, posterior to the death of Gengis, and for most of the following, Ferishta is the sole authority, and enables us to fill up the great chasm in Indian history, which Herbelot and Orme (see his prefatory Dissertation, p. 12.) declare they could not find materials to close. When we shall arrive at the æra of TIMUR's invasion, the Persian and Arab historians of the period will again become our collateral guides.

CHAPTER IV.

The AFGHAN *Dynasty continued.—Account of the* CHILLIGIES, *a Tribe of Afghanistan.*—12. FEROSE II. *an avaritious Tyrant, who, by his General* ALLA, *first, of the Mohammedan Princes, invades the* DECAN, *and obtains incredible Treasures.—Murdered by that General, who usurps the Throne.*—13. ALLA I. *a valiant and magnificent, but ferocious and sanguinary Prince—extends his Conquests in the Decan.*—14. OMAR, *an Infant, deposed after a short Reign of three Months.*—15. MUBARIC I. *a Monster of Vice, assassinated by Chosro Khan, his Minister, who, for a short Time, usurps the Throne; but by the confederated Omrahs is driven from it and slain.*—16. TUGLICK I. *of Afghan Descent, and Leader of those Omrahs, by the general Voice ascends the Throne—a wise, politic, and virtuous Prince.*—17. MOHAMMED III. *a sanguinary Tyrant, distinguished only by Ambition and Rapacity—his vain Project to subjugate the Empire of China, and mad Effort to make Deogur the Capital of the Empire.—After reigning twenty-six Years this Scourge of Hindostan is succeeded by*—18. FEROSE III. *a benign and generous Prince—improves the Empire, desolated by his Predecessor, with Canals and other magnificent Undertakings.—After a long Reign of Justice and Glory he resigns his Throne to his Grandson.*—19. TUGLICK II. *a Slave to his Pleasures, and the Victim of his Imprudence—assassinated after a Reign of a few Months.*—20. ABU BICKER, *deposed, after a Reign of a Year and an half, by*—21. MOHAMMED IV. *the Son of Ferose.—Under him the Empire begins to decline. Succeeded by*—22. MAHMUD II. *an Infant, during whose Minority, as well as riper Years, it is torn to Pieces by contending Factions; which encourages the Invasion of the great* TIMUR, *who puts a Period to this Dynasty.*

FEROSE II.

THE tribe of Chilligi, of whom Ferose was descended, inhabited the mountains of Gaur and Ghirgistan, on the confines of Persia, and were a brave and hardy, though barbarous race. They made war their business, and always served as mercenaries under any power that chose to employ them. The father of that Ferose, who mounted the throne of Delhi, was Malleck. He was one of those soldiers of fortune who subsist by the sword; and raised himself to some rank in the army of the emperor Balin. His son Ferose, being a man of genius, was appointed to the government of Sammana. He was called from thence, as before related, and usurped the empire.

He reserved, for some months, the young prince Keiomourse, by way of sanction to his usurpation; and having established himself upon the throne, he ordered him to be put to death. He was seventy years of age when he mounted the musnud. He, by way of plainness, changed the royal umbrella from red to white; laid entirely aside his cruelty, after the death of the young prince; and became remarkable for his humanity and benevolence. He had no great confidence in the loyalty of the people of Delhi, and therefore resided always at Kilogurry, which he strengthened with works, and adorned with fine gardens, and beautiful walks by the side of the river. The omrahs, following the emperor's example, built palaces around, so that Kilogurry became known by the name of the new city.

The citizens of Delhi, however, perceiving the wisdom, lenity, and justice of the king, were gradually weaned from their attachment to the old family, and became friends and supporters of the new government. Ferose himself was at much pains to cultivate popularity, and, for that purpose, he gave great encouragement to the learned of that age, who, in return, offered the incense of flattery at the altar of his fame. In the second year of Ferose, Chidju, nephew to Balin, and nabob of Kurrah, in alliance with Halim,

nabob of Oud, assumed the ensigns of royalty, and struck the currency of the country in his own name, which he changed to that of Moghiz ul dien. He brought over to his party all the rajahs and jaghiredars of those parts, and raising a great army, advanced towards Delhi.

Advices of this insurrection arriving in the capital, Ferose collected his forces, and marched out to meet the rebels. He sent the Chilligian cavalry, who excelled at the bow, a few miles in his front, under the command of Arkilli his own son. Arkilli, encountering the enemy, about twenty-five miles from the city, after an obstinate engagement, defeated them. He took several omrahs prisoners in the pursuit, whom he mounted upon camels, with branches hung round their necks; and in that plight sent them to his father. When Ferose saw them in this distress, he immediately ordered them to be unbound, to have a change of linen given them, and an elegant entertainment to be provided. He called them before him, and repeated a verse to this purpose, "That evil for evil was easily returned, but he only was great who could return good for evil." He then ordered them to retire, in full assurance of his forgiveness. Chidju, some days after, was taken by the zemindars, and sent prisoner to the king. Instead of condemning him to death, as was expected, Ferose gave him a free pardon, and sent him to Multan, where he had a handsome appointment for life, as prisoner at large. This lenity of the king gave great umbrage to the omrahs of Chilligi, who addressed him upon the occasion, and advised him to pursue the policy of Balin, who never pardoned a traitor. They desired, that, at least, a needle should be passed through the eyes of Chidju,* to be an example to others. If that was not done, they averred, that treason would soon raise its head in every quarter of the empire; and should the Tartars once gain the superiority, they would

* The eastern princes intended to be disqualified for reigning are sometimes blinded this way; but more generally by a hot iron drawn across their eyes.

not leave the name of Chilligi in Hindostan. The king answered, That what they said was certainly according to the true policy of government; "but, my friends," says he, "I am now an old man, and I wish to go down to the grave without shedding blood."

This behaviour of the emperor, it must be acknowledged, had soon the effect which the Chilligian chiefs foresaw. There was no security to be found in any place. The streets, the highways, were infested by banditti. Housebreaking, robbery, murder, and every other species of villainy, became a business all over the empire. Insurrections were heard of in every province, numerous gangs of robbers stopped all commerce and intercourse, and the nabobs refused or neglected to send any account of their revenues or administration.

The omrahs of Chilligi were greatly alarmed at these proceedings, and uttered aloud reproaches against their sovereign. They even began to consult about deposing him, and raising their kinsman Kugi, who was a man of influence, courage, and resolution, to the throne. For this purpose they met one day, at an entertainment in his house; but having intoxicated themselves, they began openly to talk of assassinating the emperor, quarrelling which of them should have the honour of that undertaking. While they were in this situation, one of the company privately withdrew, and, running to Ferose, repeated very circumstantially every particular of what he had heard. The emperor immediately ordered a guard to surround the house, who, having seized the omrahs, brought them all before him. Having upbraided them with their treason, he drew his sword, and throwing it down upon the ground, challenged the boldest of them to wield it against him. But they fell upon their faces, and remained silent and confounded. One of them, however, whose name was Malleck Nuserit, was gifted with more impudence than the rest, and told the king, that "the words of drunkenness were but wind: where can we find so good and gracious a king, if you should be no more? or where can the king get so faithful servants, were he to condemn

us for a little festive folly?" The unguarded prince was pleased with this, and, smiling, called for wine, and gave him another cup with his own hand. He then upbraided the rest for their conduct, advised them to behave better for the future, and dismissed them all with his pardon.

In the year 691, or A. D. 1291, one of the kinsmen of Hallacu, grandson of the great Gengis, and king of Persia, in subordination to his cousin, the emperor of Tartary, invaded Hindostan with ten tomans* of Moguls. Ferose, having received advices of the approach of the enemy, collected his army, and moved forward to oppose them. When he reached the frontiers of Biram, he saw the Moguls in front beyond a small river. Both armies encamped for the space of five days upon either side of this stream, during which time their advanced posts skirmished frequently, and many were killed.

The armies at last, by mutual consent, pitched upon an extensive plain where they might have room to contend for the victory. Accordingly, on the sixth morning, they drew up in order of battle, and closed up the dreadful interval of war. The Moguls, after an obstinate contest, were overthrown, many of their chiefs killed, and about a thousand men taken prisoners. Among the latter were two omrahs and several officers of rank. The emperor, notwithstanding this victory, was afraid to pursue it, and offered them peace, upon condition of their evacuating his dominions. They accordingly gladly accepted those terms, and presents were exchanged between them. When the Moguls were retreating, Hallacu, grandson to the great Gengis, joined Ferose with three thousand men. They all became Mussulmen, and their chief was honoured with one of Ferose's daughters in marriage.

The king, about this time, appointed his son Arkilli viceroy of Lahore, Multan, and Sind, with whom he left a strong force, and returned himself to his capital. To Hallacu, and the rest of the

* A toman consisted of 10,000 men.

Moguls who had now become true believers, was allotted a certain district near the city, where they built for themselves houses, and raised a considerable town, known by the name of Mogulpurra.

In the year 692, the emperor was under the necessity of marching his army again to quell an insurrection about Mindu, which fort he took, and put the enemy to flight. In the mean time, Alla-ul-dien, the king's nephew, and governor of Kurrah, a country bordering on the Decan, requested to be permitted to march against the Hindoos of Belsa, who infested his province. Having obtained leave, he marched the same year to Belsa, which he took, and, having pillaged the country, returned with much spoil, part of which was sent as a present to the emperor; among other things there was a large brazen idol, which was thrown down by the Budaoon gate. Ferose was greatly pleased with the success and behaviour of his nephew upon this expedition, for which he rewarded him with princely presents, and annexed the subadary of Oud to his former government of Kurrah.

FIRST MOHAMMEDAN INVASION OF DECAN.

Alla, upon this preferment, acquainted the king that there were some princes of great wealth towards Chinderi, whom, if his majesty should give him permission, he would reduce to his obedience, and send their spoils to the royal treasury. The king, through covetousness, consented to this proposal, to which Alla was moved by the violent temper of his wife Malleke Jehan, the king's daughter, who threatened his life. To avoid, therefore, her resentment, and that of her father, he looked round for some remote country which might afford him an asylum. Accordingly, in the year 693, he took leave of the king at Delhi, and, proceeding towards Kurrah, engaged many chiefs of distinction in his service. He marched with eight thousand chosen horse, by the nearest road, against Ramdeo, prince of Decan, who possessed the wealth of a long line of kings.

Alla, arriving upon the frontiers of the Decan, pressed forward against the capital of Ramdeo's dominions, which, not being fortified, he was in hopes of surprising. Though this attempt seemed too bold to be attended with success, yet he persisted in his resolution, and by rapid marches reached Elichpoor, where he made a short halt to refresh his small army. He marched from thence with equal expedition towards Deogur, the capital. Intelligence of Alla's progress coming to the prince, who, with his son, had been absent in a distant part of his dominions, he returned with great expedition to intercept the enemy with a numerous army. He accordingly threw himself between Alla and the city, engaged him with consummate bravery, but in the end he was defeated with great loss.

This expedition is otherwise recorded by another Eastern author, who says, that Alla left Kurrah on pretence of hunting, and having passed through the territories of many petty rajahs, avoided all hostilities, giving out that he had left the emperor in disgust, and was going to offer his services to the rajah of Tillingana, who was the most powerful king in the Decan. Accordingly, after two months march, he arrived without any remarkable opposition at Elichpoor, from whence, at once changing his course, he decamped in the night, and in two days surprised the city of Deogur, the capital of Ramdeo. The rajah himself was in the city, but his wife and his eldest son had gone to worship at a certain temple without the walls.

Ramdeo, upon the approach of Alla, was in the greatest consternation. He however collected three or four thousand citizens and domestics, and engaged Alla at one of the gates of the city, but, being defeated, retired into the citadel. This fort having no ditch, and not being stored with provisions, he had no hopes of defending it long. Alla immediately invested the place. In the mean time he gave out, that he was only the vanguard of the emperor's army, who were following in full march. This struck universal terror into

all the rajahs round, who instead of joining for the general safety, began to secure themselves. Alla having pillaged the city and seized upon the merchants, brahmins, and principal inhabitants, tortured them for their wealth; while he at the same time carried on the siege of the citadel.

Ramdeo seeing he must soon be obliged to yield, and imagining that the emperor intended to make a general conquest of the Decan, endeavoured to procure a peace before any other forces arrived. He told him, in a letter, that his invasion of that country was impolitic and rash; that the rajahs of the Decan commanded innumerable armies, who would soon surround him and cut off his retreat; and he offered him considerable presents, if he would retire without committing farther depredations.

Alla was very glad to accept of that offer, and having received fifty maunds of gold, a large quantity of pearls and jewels, fifty elephants, and several thousand horses, which were taken in the rajah's stables, he released his prisoners, and promised to abandon the place in the morning of the fifteenth day from his first entrance. But when Alla was preparing to retreat, Ramdeo's eldest son, who had fled with his mother, on the first appearance of the imperial troops, to collect forces, advanced with a numerous army, within a few miles of the city. Ramdeo sent a message to his son, informing him, that peace was finally concluded. He therefore ordered him not to open again the door of contest, for that he perceived the Tartars were a warlike race; more desirable as friends than foes. The young prince, however, understanding that his army was thrice the number of the enemy, and hourly expecting to be joined by other princes, with numerous forces, listened not to the commands of his father, but wrote to Alla in these terms: "If you desire life and safety, extricate yourself from this horrible abyss, into which you have plunged yourself. Whatever you have plundered and received, you must return, and take your way homeward, rejoicing in your

permitted escape." Alla, upon reading this insolent letter, kindled into a great rage, and blackening the face of the messenger, hooted him out of the city. He left Malleck to invest the citadel with a thousand horse, and immediately marched with the rest of the army to attack the rajah's son.

The Indian by no means declined the offered battle. He drew forth his numerous squadrons, and the battle commenced with such violence, that even the stout heart of Alla trembled for the victory. His troops began to fall back on all sides. In the mean time Malleck, having learned by his scouts the situation of affairs, left the citadel without orders, and galloping up to the field of battle, with his thousand horse, changed the fortune of the day. The dust having prevented the enemy from discovering the force of Malleck, some person cried out, that the Tartar army, of whose coming they had heard, was arrived. This spread instantly a panic through the Indian ranks, and they at once turned their face to flight. Alla did not think proper to pursue them far, but immediately returned into the city, and invested the citadel.

A scene of cruelty and horror now commenced. The Tartars, enraged at the perfidy of the Hindoos, for their breach of the treaty, began to spread fire and slaughter through the city; from which no discipline could restrain them. Several of the rajah's kindred, who had been taken prisoners, were put in chains, and hurled headlong from the walls. Ramdeo, in the mean time, sent express upon express, to hasten the succours which he expected from the kings of Kilbirga, Tillingana, Malva, and Candeish; but was informed that there remained no provisions in the place, for that a great number of bags, which, they conceived, were full of rice, had been found, upon examination, to contain nothing but salt.

Ramdeo was greatly perplexed; he commanded that this should be concealed from the troops, and began a second time to propose a treaty and terms with Alla. But Alla, from the behaviour of

Ramdeo, perceived the true cause of his proposals, and therefore started every day some new difficulty to retard the treaty, till the garrison was in the utmost distress. But at length it was concluded, according to our author, upon the following almost incredible terms; that Alla should receive, upon consideration of evacuating the country, six hundred maunds of pure gold, according to the weights of the Decan,* seven maunds of pearl, two maunds of diamonds, rubies, emerald, and sapphires, one thousand maunds of silver, four thousand pieces of silk, and a long list of other precious commodities that surpass all belief. This ransom was not only required, but also the cession of Elichpoor, and its dependencies, where Alla might leave a small garrison, which should remain there unmolested, to collect the revenues.

Alla having settled affairs to his satisfaction, released all his prisoners, marched in triumph out of the city with his plunder, and proceeded on his way homeward, on the twenty-fifth day after his taking the city. He conducted his retreat with such surprising address, that he opened his way through extensive and powerful kingdoms; through Malva, Conduana, Candeish, and others, though he was surrounded by numerious armies, who, admiring his order and resolution, made but faint and irresolute attacks, which served only to adorn his triumph. We may here justly remark, that, in the long volume of history, there is scarcely any thing to be compared with this exploit, whether we regard the resolution in forming the plan, the boldness of the execution of it, or the good fortune which attended the attempt. We cannot help lamenting that a man, formed for such great exploits, should not be actuated by better motives than rapine, violence, and the thirst of gain.

In the mean time Ferose received private intelligence, that Alla had conquered Deogur, and had acquired there such wealth, as had never been possessed by an emperor of Delhi, and that he was now

* The maund of the Decan is 25 lb. avoirdupoise.

upon his march towards Kurrah. The king was greatly pleased with this intelligence, and reckoned upon the spoil, as if already in his own treasury. But men of sound wisdom thought otherwise; and justly concluded, that it was not to fill the royal coffers that Alla, without the king's authority, had undertaken such a daring expedition. They however waited to see the event, without informing the king of their suspicions.

Not many days after, the address of Alla was brought to him, setting forth, that " he was the king's slave, and that all his wealth was consecrated to him; that being wearied with a tedious march, he begged for some repose at Kurrah. That he intended to kiss the footstool of the throne, but that, knowing he had some enemies at court, who might have, in his absence, defamed him, and deprived him of his majesty's favour, he, and the chiefs who accompanied him in the expedition, in which he was sensible he had exceeded his orders, were apprehensive that some punishment might be inflicted upon them. That he therefore requested to have a letter of grace, to assure him and his followers of perfect safety, under the royal protection." The king having received this address, expressed great joy, and entirely laid aside all suspicions of Alla. He ordered a letter full of kindness, and the most solemn assurances of protection, to be written to him, and dispatched by the hands of two messengers of distinction.

In the mean time Alla was preparing to retreat to Bengal. He was now joined by all the zemindars of the neighbouring districts, who inlisted themselves under his fortunate banners. The messengers perceived plainly his intentions, but they were detained, and watched so strictly, that they could send no advices to the king. Almass, who was also son-in-law and nephew to Ferose, in the mean time received advices from his brother Alla, " That it was now become public at Kurrah, that the king intended certainly to take his life, for proceeding to Deogur contrary to his orders:

That he repented the occasion, and had taken his majesty's displeasure, which to him was worse than death, so much to heart, that he was afraid excess of sorrow would put an end to his melancholy life. He therefore requested, that his brother should inform him before the king put his design in execution, that he might either take poison, or look out for a place of security."

Letters to the same purpose were, day after day, wrote to his brother Almass, who, being in the plot, was constantly at court, and shewed them to the king, seemingly distracted, lest his brother should lay violent hands upon himself, or fly his country. He used a thousand delusive arts to inveigle the king to Kurrah, who no less feared the loss of the treasure than his nephew's life. The old man, at last, took the golden bait, and embarked, with a thousand horse and a small retinue, on the Ganges, ordering his general Ahmed to follow with the army by land.

Alla, hearing of the departure of Ferose from Delhi, crossed the Ganges with his army, and encamped near Mannickpoor, upon the opposite bank. When, upon the seventeenth of Ramzan, the imperial umbrella appeared in sight, Alla drew out his army, on pretence of doing honour to the emperor, and sent his brother Almass, who had come on before to concert measures to introduce Ferose into camp. This artful traitor represented to Ferose, that if he should take the thousand horse with him, Alla might be alarmed; for that some bad people had confirmed him so strongly in his fears, that all he could say to him was not sufficient entirely to expel his suspicions.

The weak old king, suspecting nothing of this horrid treachery from a man whom he had cherished from his infancy in his bosom, gave in to this proposal. He ordered a few of his select friends into his own boat, and commanded the fleet to remain at some distance behind. When they reached the landing place, Alla appeared upon the bank with his attendants, whom he ordered to halt. He himself advancing alone met the emperor just after he had landed upon the

beach, and fell down prostrate at his feet. The old man in a familiar manner tapped him on the cheek, and raising him up, embraced him, saying, "I have brought you up from your infancy, and cherished you with a fatherly affection, holding you dearer in my sight, if possible, than my own offspring, how then could you imagine I should entertain a thought to your prejudice, much less meditate a plan for your destruction?" Then taking him by the hand, he was leading him back to the royal barge, when the obdurate ruffian made a signal to his assassins who stood behind. Mahmud, the son of Salim, rushed immediately forward, and wounded the king with his sword in the shoulder. The unfortunate monarch ran forward to gain the barge, crying, "Ah! villain Alla, what dost thou?" but before he had reached the boat, another of the assassins coming up, seized the old man, and throwing him on the ground, barbarously cut off his head, just as the sun sunk in the west, as if to avoid the horrid sight.*

All his attendants were then murdered. They fixed the venerable head of their lord upon the point of a spear, and carried it through the camp and city, as a bloody spectacle to the gazing crowd, who were shocked and disgusted at the sight.

Alla immediately exalted the white umbrella over his own head; but the vengeance of heaven soon after fell heavy on all who were concerned in the assassination of Ferose.

ALLA I.

Intelligence of the murder of the king having reached Ahmed, who was advancing with the army, he retreated to Delhi. Malleke Jehan, the wife of Ferose, and queen regent, imprudently, and without consulting the chiefs, raised to the diadem Ruckun, her youngest son; Arkilli, the elder son, being then at Multan. She accompanied him from Kilogurry to Delhi, and placed him on the throne in the

* He reigned seven years and some months.

green palace, though as yet but a boy, and altogether unacquainted with the affairs of state. She also divided the provinces among her own party. Arkilli, who was the true heir to the empire, and possessed all the qualities of a king, was greatly afflicted at this news, but thought proper, for the present, to remain at Multan.

Alla, upon receiving intelligence of these transactions at Delhi, laid aside his intended expedition to Bengal, and prepared to march to the capital, though it was then the rainy season. He raised a great army in his government, and conferred titles and rewards upon his friends. By the advice of Nuserit, he distributed presents among the army, and wherever he encamped he amused himself with throwing gold from a sling among the people. This liberality, in a short time, brought a multitude of mercenary soldiers under his banners. The queen-mother was thrown into great perplexity, by the advices she daily received concerning Alla. She dispatched an express to Multan, for her son Arkilli; but that prince returned for answer, that it was now too late; since, before he could arrive, the imperial troops would join the enemy; that therefore his coming could be of no real service; that the stream might have been diverted at its source, but when it became a river, no dams could oppose it.

Alla made no delay on his march. He crossed the Jumna, and encamped without the north-east gate of Delhi. Ruckun, fluttering like a solitary fowl, collected all his forces, and marching out of the city, paraded before the enemy. But when he saw them preparing for battle, he retreated into the city. He was that night deserted by a great number of omrahs, who went over with their forces to Alla. Ruckun now saw no safety but in flight. Taking therefore his mother, the haram, and treasure with him, he hastened to Multan. The citizens, after the departure of the young king, crowded forth to pay their respects to Alla. He immediately ordered the current money to be struck in his own name, and making a triumphant entry into Delhi, in the latter end of the year 695, or A. D. 1295,

ascended the throne, and kept his court at the red palace. He exhibited shows, and made grand festivals, encouraging every species of riot and debauchery; which so pleased the unthinking rabble, that they soon lost all memory of their former king, and the execrable villainy of the reigning emperor. The man who ought to have been hooted and abhorred, became the object of admiration, to those who could not see the darkness of his deeds, through the splendour of his magnificence.

Whilst he gained, by these means, popularity among the vulgar, he secured the great with titles, and bought the covetous with gold. The office of vizier was bestowed upon Chaja Chatire, a man renowned for his virtue in those degenerate times; Arif was made chief justice of the court of equity, and Omdat was raised to the office of principal secretary of the divan, being a man of great learning and genius, and a favourite of the king. Nuserit was appointed chief magistrate of Delhi, Kudgi was raised to the dignity of chief justice in the courts of law, and Ziffer to that of chief secretary of the empire; with many others, to high offices, which are too tedious to mention. Alla, having advanced six months pay to his whole army, began to concert means to extirpate the descendants of Ferose. He dispatched Elich, his brother, and Ziffer, with forty thousand horse, towards Multan, who, upon their arrival, invested that city. After a siege of two months, the citizens and troops betrayed the cause of the prince Arkilli, and gave up the place to the enemy. The two unfortunate brothers, being driven to great distress, surrendered themselves at last to Elich, upon promise of personal safety.

The object of this expedition being thus completed, Elich wrote to his brother an account of his victory, which was read in all the public pulpits after divine worship, and great rejoicings were ordered to be made upon the occasion. Elich proceeded in triumph with his army and state prisoners to Delhi. He was met on his

way by Nuserit, chief magistrate of the city, who had been sent by the emperor to put out the eyes of the prisoners. This cruel order was executed upon the two princes, and they were then sent into confinement in the fort of Hassi, where, soon after, they were both assassinated.

In the second year of this reign, Chaja Chatire, not falling entirely in with Alla's policy, was dismissed from the office of vizier, which was conferred upon Nuserit, chief magistrate of Delhi. This minister redemanded all the sums which the king, upon his accession, had bestowed upon the nobility and people, which occasioned great disgust and disturbance.

During these transactions, advices came to Delhi, that Dova, king of Maver-ul-nere, had sent an army of one hundred thousand Moguls, with a design to conquer Multan, Punjab, and the provinces near the mouth of the Indus: that they were advancing with great expedion, carrying all before them with fire and sword. Alla immediately ordered his brother Elich, with a great force, to expel them. The two armies having met in the districts of Lahore, a bloody conflict ensued, in which the Moguls were defeated, with the loss of twelve thousand men, and many of their principal officers, besides a number of prisoners of all ranks, who were put to the sword some days after, without sparing the poor women and children who had been taken in the Mogul camp. These two victories raised the fame of the emperor's arms to a high pitch of reputation, established his authority at home, and overawed his foreign enemies.

In the beginning of the year 697, Elich, the king's brother, and Nuserit, the vizier, were sent with a great army to reduce Guzerat. They accordingly laid waste that beautiful country, took the capital city Narwalla, which was deserted by its prince, who fled for protection to Ramdeo, king of Deogur, in the Decan. By the aid of that prince he soon after returned and took possession of Baglana, one of the districts of Guzerat, bordering upon Ramdeo's dominions;

but his wives, children, elephants, baggage, and treasure fell into the hands of the enemy when he fled. The vizier, with a part of the army, proceeded then to Cambay, which being a rich country, and full of merchants, yielded a prodigious treasure to those sons of cruelty and rapine. When they had sufficiently glutted their avarice, and quenched their thirst for blood, they appointed subahs to the provinces, and leaving part of the army for their defence, returned with their plunder towards Delhi.

About this time, Jildoo, a Mogul chief, and his brother, came down with a considerable force, and took the fort of Seostan. Ziffer marched against him, and having invested the place, he took it. Jildoo, and about two thousand Moguls, were taken prisoners, and sent in chains to Delhi. But Ziffer had distinguished himself so much as a brave commander in this expedition, that his fame awaked the jealousy of Alla. He therefore designed to deprive him of his government, but was prevented from this measure, by a great invasion of Moguls, under Cuttulich, the son of Dova, king of Maver-ul-nere. The army of the invaders consisted of two hundred thousand horse, and they promised to themselves the entire conquest of Hindostan. Cuttulich, accordingly, took possession of all the countries beyond the Indus on his march, and protected them from all violence. He then crossed the river, and proceeded to Delhi without opposition, Ziffer retreating with his army before him.

The whole country, in terror of the Moguls, crowded into the city. The crowd became so great, that the streets were rendered impassable, and all business and communication were interrupted. This however was but the beginning of their misfortunes. In the space of a few days, the consumption being great, and no supplies procured, a dreadful famine began to rage, and distraction to stare in every countenance. Alla, upon this pressing occasion, called a council of his omrahs, and, having regulated his plan of action, prepared for battle, notwithstanding they all endeavoured to dissuade

him from it. He left the care of the city to the noble Alla, marched out at the Budaoon gate, with three hundred thousand horse, and two thousand seven hundred elephants, besides foot without number. He drew up in order of battle, on the plains beyond the suburbs; where the enemy were already formed to receive him. From the time that first the spears of Islam* were exalted in Hindostan, two such mighty armies had not joined in fight.

Alla gave the command of his right wing to Ziffer, the greatest general of that age, where all the troops of Punjab, Multan, and Sind, were posted. The left was entrusted to his brother Elich, and to Akit his brother-in-law. The king posted himself in the centre, with twelve thousand independent volunteers, who were mostly gentlemen of ruined families, and soldiers of fortune. With the choice of his elephants, he formed a tremendous line in his front, and he supported his rear with another chosen body of cavalry, under the vizier. Ziffer began the action with great impetuosity on the right, and breaking, with his elephants, the enemy's line, commenced a dreadful slaughter, and bore them like a torrent before him. Inclining then to the left, he pressed upon their flank, and put their whole army to flight, before the action was well begun in the centre. Alla, seeing the victory complete, ordered his brother Elich, who commanded on the left, to advance and pursue the enemy; but the perfidious prince, jealous of the glory of Ziffer, stopt at a small distance, while Ziffer continued the slaughter for upwards of thirty miles. One of the Mogul chiefs, who commanded the left, seeing Ziffer was not supported, rallied with ten thousand horse, and sending advice to his general Cuttulich, he also returned with ten thousand more, and attacked Ziffer in the rear. The brave general saw his error, but it was now too late to retreat. He drew up his troops, which were not half the enemy's number, divided into two squadrons, and again renewed the conflict, exhibiting wonders

* The Mohammedans.

by his own valour. At last his horse's leg being cut off by a sabre, he fell to the ground. He however rose again, seized a bow and quiver, and being a dextrous archer, sent death on the wings of his arrows. The most part of his men were, by this time, either killed or fled; and Cuttulich, admiring his bravery, called out to him to submit, and his valour should be rewarded with such honours as he deserved. Ziffer replied sternly, "I know no greater honour than to die in discharging my duty." Then he began to deal his arrows around. The Mogul prince, upon this, ordered a party of horse to surround him, and endeavour to take him alive; but Ziffer refused to submit, and was at last cut in pieces, with a few trusty servants who stood by him to the last.

This advantage however did not dispel the fears of the Moguls. They continued their retreat, and evacuated India with all expedition. The bravery of Ziffer became famous among the Moguls. When their horses started, or were unruly, they used wantonly to ask them, Whether they saw the ghost of Ziffer? Alla, it is said, esteemed the death of this great general as a second victory, and could not help expressing his satisfaction upon the occasion; and thus displayed his own base ingratitude, for that brave life which had been thrown away in his unworthy service. Great rejoicings were made at Delhi, to celebrate the victory; and the principal officers were rewarded with titles and governments, according to their behaviour and interest at court. Some who had behaved ill were disgraced, particularly one omrah, who was led upon an ass all round the city.

The king, in the year 699, according to the advice of Alla-ul-Muluck, called his brother Elich from Semana, the vizier from Kurrah, and others from their respective subadaries, and sent them, with a great army against the Indian prince of Rantampore. They soon took the fort of Jain, and afterwards invested the capital. Nuserit, the vizier, advancing near the wall, was crushed to death by a stone

from an engine; and the rajah, at the same time, sallying with forty thousand men, drove Elich back to Jain with great loss.

Elich wrote to Delhi the particulars of this defeat. Alla flew into a violent rage, and immediately took the field. Upon his march he halted for a day at a place called Jilput, and went out on a hunting match. Having wandered far from his camp, in the chase, he remained with his attendants all night in the forest. In the morning, before sunrise, he placed himself upon a rising ground, where he sat down with two or three attendants, and commanded the rest to hunt in his view. Akit observing this, recollected that it was now in his power to cut off the king, in the same manner as the king himself had cut off his predecessor. He thought, that being nephew and brother-in-law to the emperor, he might justly claim the same title which Alla himself had to the throne.* Akit imparted his resolution to a few chosen horsemen, who accompanied him on this party. They immediately rode up to the king, saluted him with a flight of arrows, two of which entered his body, so that he lay for dead on the ground. Akit, upon this drew his sword, and ran to cut off his head; when he was told by one of the king's attendants, that he was quite dead; that therefore to cut off his head would be an unnecessary piece of cruelty.

Akit being thus prevailed upon to desist from his intentions, set out for the camp with all expedition, mounted the throne, and proclaimed the king's death. The army was thrown into great confusion; but where loyal affection and patriotism are things unknown, mankind are satisfied to bow their necks to any new master. The great men assembled to pay their court and present their presents upon the occasion; the customary service was read from the koran; the chutba was proclaimed aloud, and the singers ordered to extol his praise. Akit then rose from the throne, and proceeded towards the haram; but Dinar, the chief eunuch, with his guard, stopped

* Alla was himself nephew and son-in-law to Ferose, whom he had murdered.

him at the door, swearing, that till he shewed him Alla's head, or put him to death, he should not enter. Alla, in the mean time, recovered his senses, and, having his wounds bound up, imagined that Akit's treason and treachery were a preconcerted conspiracy of the omrahs. He signified his intentions to fly to his brother Elich at Jain, with about sixty servants, who still attended him. Malleck Hamid, deputy porter of the presence, advised the king against this resolution. He told him, that he ought immediately to go to his own camp, and there shew himself to his army; for that the usurper had not yet time to establish himself; and that, upon seeing the emperor's umbrella, he doubted not but the whole army would immediately return to their duty. He observed, at the same time, that the least delay might render his affairs irrecoverable.

Alla saw the propriety of this resolute advice; and mounting his horse, with great difficulty, spread the white umbrella, which lay on the field, over his head, and with his small retinue, proceeded towards the army. When he appeared in sight, being joined by some foraging parties on the way, he was now guarded by about five hundred men. He ascended an eminence, in full view of the camp, where he was at once seen by the whole army. They crowded in thousands towards him; and the court of the usurper was immediately broke up, and in a few minutes he found himself alone. In this situation he mounted his horse, and, distracted with fear, fled towards Binour. Alla now marched down from the eminence towards the royal pavilion, and mounting the throne, gave public audience; sending, at the same time, a party of horse after the usurper. They soon came up with him, and brought back his head. The king ordered the usurper's brother Cuttulich, and the chief conspirators, to be put to death.

When Alla recovered of his wounds, he continued his march to Rantampore, where he was joined by his brother Elich, and began to besiege the place. But the Hindoos so well defended themselves,

that numbers of the imperial army daily fell. Alla, however continued his attacks with redoubled obstinacy, while detachments of his army ravaged the adjacent territories of Malva and Daar. But the siege being protracted for some months without much effect, Omar and Mungu, who were both nephews to the emperor, and held the governments of Budaoon and Oud, rebelled, and raised a great army. Alla wrote letters to the several omrahs of those provinces whom he thought loyal, as also to the neighbouring subahs and zemindars, and they levied forces, engaged, defeated, and took the rebels, and sent them both prisoners to the royal camp. The emperor ordered their eyes to be put out, and themselves to be tortured to death, as a barbarous example to others.

Rantampore had now been closely besieged for a whole year, and Alla after trying all other means, fell upon the following expedient to take the place. He collected together a great multitude of people, and provided each of them with a bag, which they filled with earth, and having begun at some distance from the rock, with immense labour, formed an ascent to the top of the walls, by which the troops entered the place, and put the Indian prince Amir Deo, his family, and the garrison, to the sword. This fort is esteemed the strongest in Hindostan. Mohammed, the Mogul general, who had taken refuge in Rantampore, after the mutiny at Jallore, having lost most of his men in defence of the fort, was himself lying ill of his wounds when Alla entered the place. Alla, finding the unfortunate Mohammed in this condition, asked him, in an insulting manner, "What gratitude would he express for his lord, should he command his wounds to be immediately cured?" The Mogul fiercely replied, "I would put him to death for a tyrant, and endeavour to make the son of Amir Deo, to whom my gratitude is due, king." The emperor, enraged at this reply, threw him beneath the feet of an elephant; but considering afterwards that he was a brave man, and one of whose gallant behaviour he himself had been often witness, he

ordered his body to be put in a coffin, and interred with decent solemnity. Alla then commanded that the rajah's vizier, who had deserted over to him with a strong party during the siege, should, with all his followers, be massacred. Saying, upon the occasion, that "those who have betrayed their natural lord, can never be true to another!" Having bestowed the government of Rantampore, with all the riches taken in it, upon his brother Elich, he returned with his army to Delhi. But Elich, about six months after, fell sick, and died on his way to the capital.

Alla, much about this time, sent an army, by the way of Bengal, to reduce the fort of Arinkil, which was in the possession of the rajah of Tillingana. He himself moved the royal standard towards Chitor, which had never before been reduced by the troops of the Mohammedans. After a siege of six months he took the place, in the year 703, conferred the government of it upon his eldest son Chizer, and called it the city of Chizer. He at the same time bestowed upon Chizer regal dignities and authority.

Intelligence of this expedition arriving at Maver-ul-nere, Jirghi, who distinguished himself formerly against Ziffer, thinking that Alla would be a long time absent, seized that opportunity for invading Hindostan. Alla, hearing of this dangerous inroad, abandoned all his schemes against the Decan, and made what haste he could with his army to Delhi. Jirghi, with twelve tomans of Mogul horse, approached, in a few days, the city, and encamped upon the banks of the Jumna. The horse of the imperial army being absent on the expedition to Arinkil, the king was in no condition to face, upon equal terms, so powerful and warlike an enemy in the field. He therefore contented himself with entrenching his army in the plain beyond the suburbs, till he could draw the forces of the distant subahs together. But the Moguls, having the command of the adjacent country, prevented the succours from joining the king, and proceeded so far as to plunder the suburbs, in the king's presence, without his

being able to prevent them. In this situation stood affairs for two months; and then Alla, say some authors, had recourse to supernatural aid. He applied to a saint of those days, whose name was Nizam Aulia. The saint, in one night, without any visible cause, struck the Mogul army with a panic, which occasioned their precipitate retreat to their own country. But we have no reason to ascribe the flight of the Moguls to so weak and superstitious a cause; as private orders, intelligence, or the improbability of success, brought about their sudden departure more than the power of the saint. The king, during this alarming period, was heard to confess, that his ideas of universal conquest were idle and ridiculous, for that there were many heads in the world as subtle as his own.

Alla, being relieved from the perils of this invasion, built a palace upon the spot where he had entrenched himself, and ordered the citadel of Delhi to be pulled down and built anew. He then began to recruit his army, with an intention to retaliate upon the Moguls their repeated inroads. He increased his forces to such a prodigious number, that, upon calculating the expense, he found his revenues, and what treasures he had himself could not support them above six years. He resolved therefore to reduce the pay, but it occurred to him that this could not be done with propriety, without lowering, proportionably, the price of horses, arms, and provisions. This he did by an edict, which he strictly enforced all over the empire, settling the price of every article at about half the common rate, which, in fact, was just doubling his treasures and revenues.

To establish this reduction of the price, with respect to grain, he ordered great magazines to be built upon the rivers Jumna and Ganges, and other places convenient for water carriage, under the direction of Malleck Cabuli. This collector received half of the land-tax in grain; and the royal agents supplied the markets at a stated price. To prevent any monopoly in this article, every farmer was allowed to retain only a certain quantity, according to the number

of his family, and send the overplus, as soon as it was threshed out, to market, for which he was obliged to take the standing price. The importation of grain was encouraged; but to export it, or any other article of provisions, was a capital crime. The king himself had a daily report laid before him, of the quantity sold and remaining in the several royal granaries, and spies were appointed in the different markets, to inform him of abuses, which he punished with the utmost rigour.

Alla appointed also a public office, and inspectors, who fixed the price of the various kinds of cloth, according to its quality, obliging the merchants to open their shops at certain hours every day, and sell their goods at a stipulated price. He at the same time opened a loan, by which they were enabled to procure ready money to import cloth from the neighbouring countries, where the poverty of the people rendered their manufactures cheaper. But what is somewhat unaccountable, the exportation of the finer kind of manufacture was prohibited, yet not permitted to be worn at home, except by special authority from the king, which favour was only conferred upon men of rank.

As horses had risen to an immense price, by an association of the dealers, who only bought up a certain number from the Persian and northern merchants to enhance the value; the king published an edict, by which they were obliged to register the prices paid for them, and to sell them at a certain profit within such a time, if that price was offered them, otherwise the king took them upon his own account. The price of the horse varied at the same time according to his quality; and care was taken by that means, that the merchants and dealers in those animals should not have an opportunity, by secret connivance, to raise the price. Many frauds being found in this article some time after, a great number of horse-dealers were whipt out of the city, and others put to death. Oxen, sheep, goats, camels, and asses, were also taken into consideration; and, in short,

every useful animal, and all commodities, were sold at a stated price in the markets.

The king having thus regulated the prices of things, his next care was to new-model his army. He settled the pay of every horseman, for himself and horse, from 234 rupees a year down to 80, according to the goodness of the horse; and, upon a muster, he found his cavalry to consist of four hundred and seventy-five thousand.

In the mean time Ali, one of the grandsons of Gengis Khan, and Chaja, with forty thousand horse, made an irruption into Hindostan, but the emperor sending Tuglick with a force against them, they were defeated, with the loss of seven thousand. Ali and Chaja, with nine thousand of their troops, were taken prisoners. They were sent in chains to the king, who ordered the chiefs to be thrown under the feet of an elephant, and the soldiers to be inhumanly massacred. He appointed Tuglick, for this service, viceroy of Punjab.

The prince of Chitor, who had been prisoner since the emperor took that place, found in the mean time means to make his escape, in a very extraordinary manner. Alla, having heard extravagant things in praise of the beauty and accomplishments of one of the rajah's daughters, told him, that if he would send her he should, upon her account, be released. The rajah, who was very ill treated in his confinement, consented, and sent for his daughter, with a manifest design to prostitute her to the king. The prince's family, hearing this dishonourable proposal, concerted means of poisoning the rajah, to save their own reputation. But the daughter, being a girl of invention, proposed a stratagem to release her father, and at the same time to preserve her own honour. She accordingly wrote to her father to give notice, that she was coming with all her attendants, and would be at Delhi upon a certain day, acquainting him with the part she intended to act. Her contrivance was this: She selected a number of enterprising fellows, who, in complete armour,

concealed themselves in doolies or close chairs, in which the women are always carried; she provided for them a chosen retinue of horse and foot, as customary to guard ladies of rank. She herself, by this time, had, by her father's means, received the imperial passport, and the whole cavalcade proceeded to Delhi, and were admitted without interruption. It was now night, and, by the king's order, they were permitted to see the rajah. The chairs being carried into the prison, and the attendants having taken their stations without; the armed men started out of the chairs, and putting all to the sword within the courts, carried the rajah out, and, having horses prepared for him, he mounted, and, with his attendants, rushed out of the city before any opposition could be made, and fled to his own country.

In the year 705, Kabeik, an omrah of Dova, prince of Maver-ul-nere, with design to revenge the death of Ali and Chaja, invaded Hindostan with a great army, and, ravaging Multan, proceeded to Sewalic. Tuglick, in the mean time, collecting his forces, cut off the retreat of the Moguls, before any troops arrived from Delhi, and defeated them with great slaughter. Those who escaped the sword, finding it impossible to force their way home, retired into the desert, where thirst and the hot winds which blow at that season, put an end to their miserable lives; so that out of fifty-seven thousand horse, besides their attendants, who were still more numerous, only three thousand, who were taken prisoners, survived this horrid scene. The unhappy captives were only reserved for greater misery. They were sent to Delhi with their unfortunate chief, Kabeik, where they were all trodden to death by elephants, except some women and children, who were sold in the market for slaves.

SECOND MOHAMMEDAN INVASION OF DECAN.

In the mean time Alla was employed in settling the internal policy and government of his empire; and with such fortunate perseverance in whatever he undertook, that the superstition of the times ascribed his success to supernatural power. Ramdeo, king of Deogur in the Decan, having neglected to send the revenues of that district which he assigned over to the emperor by treaty, Cafoor, the favourite of Alla, with many omrahs of renown, and a great army, was ordered to conquer the Decan.

In the beginning of the year 706, they marched from Delhi, with an army of an hundred thousand horse, and were joined in their way, by Multani, governor of Malava, and Alip, subah of Guzerat, with their forces.

One of the emperor's wives, the fair Comladè, hearing of this expedition, addressed herself to the king, and told him, that before she was taken prisoner, she had two beautiful daughters to her former husband: that one of them, she heard, had since died; but that the other, whose name was Dewildè, was still alive. She therefore begged that the emperor should give orders to his generals to endeavour to get her into their possession, and send her to Delhi. The king consented, and gave orders accordingly.

Cafoor, having passed through Malava, encamped upon the borders of the Decan. He sent the imperial order to the prince Kirren, to deliver up his daughter Dewildè, which was now urged as a pretext for commencing hostilities in case of a refusal. The rajah could by no means be brought to agree to this demand. Cafoor therefore marched from his camp at Nidderbar, while Alip, with his forces from Guzerat, was taking the route of the mountains of Baglana, to enter the Decan by another pass. He was opposed by Kirren, who defeated all his attempts for two months, in which time several undecisive actions were fought.

With respect to Cafoor, he first subdued the country of the Mahrattas, which he divided among his omrahs, then proceeded to the siege of Deogur, since known by the name of Dowlat-abad. Ramdeo being in no condition to oppose this great army, prudently left his son Singeldeo in the fort, and advanced himself, with great presents, to the conqueror, to procure peace, which was accordingly settled between them. Cafoor, upon this, dispatched a writing of victory to the king, and some time after brought Ramdeo, with rich presents and seventeen elephants, to pay his allegiance to him at Delhi, where he himself was received with the most extravagant marks of favour and distinction. Ramdeo had royal dignities conferred upon him, with the title of Rai Raian,* and had not only the government of his own dominions restored to him, but others were also added; for all which he did homage and paid tribute to the sultan. The king moreover gave him the district of Nosari, near Guzerat, by way of jaghire, and a lack of rupees to bear his expences home. Thus he dismissed Ramdeo with princely generosity; having, in some measure, looked upon the wealth, of which he had formerly robbed him, as the foundation of all his own greatness. And he perhaps thought that some grateful return was due to the rajah upon this account.

During the absence of Cafoor in his expedition to the Decan, the king employed himself in taking a strong fort to the southward of Delhi, called Sewana, which had often been attempted in vain. When the prince of this place found he could hold out no longer, he sent his own image, which had been cast in pure gold, to Alla, with a chain round its neck, in token of obedience. This present was accompanied with a hundred elephants, and other precious effects, in hopes of procuring peace. Alla received the presents, but returned him for answer, that unless he came and made his submission in person, he could hope little from his dumb representative.

* Prince of Princes.

The rajah, finding the emperor inexorable, threw himself upon his mercy, and delivered up the place. He plundered and again restored it: but he alienated a great part of the rajah's country to his favourite omrahs, and bound him over to pay homage for the rest. He then proceeded to Jallire, which he took, and returned to Delhi.

The emperor, much about this time, was informed that the expedition, by the way of Bengal, to Arinkil, in the country of Tillingana, had not succeeded, and that his army on that side had been obliged to retreat in great distress. In the year 709, he dispatched Cafoor with a great force to invade that country, by the way of Deogur; with orders, that if Lidderdeo, prince of Arinkil, should consent to give him a handsome present, and promise an annual tribute, to return without prosecuting the war any further. When Cafoor and Chaja had reached Deogur, Ramdeo came out to meet them with offerings, and carrying them home, entertained them with great hospitality, ordering his market to the camp, with strict orders to sell every thing according to the emperor's established price in his own dominions.

Cafoor having marched from Deogur, appeared at Indore, upon the frontiers of Tillingana, and issued orders to lay waste the country with fire and sword; which struck the unhappy people, who had never injured their wanton enemies, with great terror and consternation. In the mean time, the neighbouring princes hastened with all their forces to support Lidderdeo in this alarming juncture. But as the imperial army proceeded with great expedition, he was forced, before the arrival of his allies, to shut himself up in the fort of Arinkil, which was a place of great strength. The allied rajahs, upon this, also took possession of divers strong holds round the country.

Cafoor immediately invested the place, and began his attacks, which were carried on and repelled with great slaughter on both sides. Notwithstanding the interruptions that Cafoor received from

the auxiliary princes without the place, Arinkil, after some months siege, was taken by assault, and the garrison massacred without mercy, for the citadel to which Lidderdeo had retired, was not sufficient to contain the whole. Lidderdeo, driven to this extremity, bought his peace with three hundred elephants, seven thousand horses, and money and jewels to a very great amount; agreeing, at the same time, to pay an annual tribute. Cafoor, after this advantageous peace, returned with his army to Delhi. He dispatched before him the news of his victories, which was read from the pulpit, and a public rejoicing ordered. Upon his approach to the city, the king himself came out and met him at the Budaoon gate, and there the conqueror laid all the spoils at his feet.

THIRD INVASION OF DECAN.

In the year 710, the king sent Cafoor and Chaja, with a great army, to reduce Dhoor, Summund, and Maber, in the Decan, where he had heard there were temples very rich in gold and jewels. When they had proceeded to Deogur, they found that Ramdeo, the old king, was dead, and that the young prince Singeldeo was not so well affected to them as they expected. They therefore left some omrahs in a strong post upon the banks of the Ganges, and continued their march. When they had passed the rajah's territories, they began their usual inhuman cruelties, and, after three months march from Delhi, arrived in the countries which they were commanded to subdue. They engaged Bellal Deo, sovereign of the Carnatic, and defeating him, took him prisoner, and then ravaged his whole country. They found in the temples a prodigious spoil in idols of gold, adorned with the most precious stones; and other rich effects consecrated to their worship. Here the conqueror built a small mosque, and ordered divine service to be read according to the Mohammedan faith, and the chutba to be pronounced in the emperor's name. This mosque

remains entire in our days, for the Caffers,* esteeming it a house consecrated to God, would not destroy it.

Cafoor, having wearied his own inhumanity and avarice, in destroying and robbing an unfortunate people, resolved to return to Delhi with the spoil. The night before his intended march, a quarrel arose among some Brahmins, who had taken protection in his camp, from the plundering parties that scoured the country. Some person in the camp who understood their language, found the quarrel was about the division of some hidden treasure, which was immediately communicated to the superintendant of the market, who seized them, and carried them to Cafoor to be examined. They were at first very obstinate, but their lives being threatened, and each being questioned apart, an ample discovery was made. Seven different places were pointed out near the camp, where immense treasures were concealed. These being dug up and placed upon elephants, Cafoor turned the points of his spears to Delhi, where he arrived, without any remarkable occurrence, in the year 711, A. D. 1311. He presented the emperor with 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96,000 maunds of gold, several chests of jewels and pearls, and other precious things.† Alla upon seeing this treasure, which exceeded that of Baadawird or Parvez, those wealthy and magnificent kings of Persia, was greatly rejoiced, and opened the doors of his bounty to all. He gave to each of the principal omrahs ten maunds, and to the inferior five. The learned men of his court received one maund, and thus in proportion he distributed wealth to all his servants, according to their rank and

* The Mohammedans give the name of Caffers, or Infidels, to all nations who do not profess their own faith.

† This treasure may appear to exceed all belief in the eyes of Europeans: but if we consider the Hindoos as a mercantile people, not disturbed by wars for a series of centuries; and add to this, that it is the invariable custom of that race, to live with the abstinence of hermits in the midst of wealth, our wonder will cease, and the credit of our author remain entire. The gold alone amounts to about one hundred millions of our money.

quality. The remainder was melted down, coined, and lodged in the treasury. It is said, that during this expedition to the Carnatic, the soldiers threw the silver they found away, as too cumbersome, where gold was found in such plenty. No person wore bracelets, chains, or rings of any other metal than gold, while all the plate in the houses of the great, and in the temples, was of beaten gold; neither was silver money at all current in that country, should we believe the reports of those adventurers.

The king, elevated by this good fortune, gave himself over to pride. He listened to no advice, as he sometimes condescended to do in the beginning of his reign, but every thing was executed by his irrevocable word. Yet the empire never flourished so much as in this reign. Order and justice travelled to the most distant provinces, and magnificence raised her head in the land. Palaces, mosques, universities, baths, forts, and all kinds of public and private buildings, seemed to rise, as by the power of enchantment, neither did there in any age appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts. Forty-five skilled in the sciences were professors in the universities. In poetry, Chosro and Delavi held the first rank. In philosophy and physic, Molana of Damascus. In divinity, Shatabi. In astrology Nizam Awlia acquired much fame. Others distinguished themselves in music, morality, languages, and in all the fine arts then known in the world.

But when the king seemed to have carried every thing to the height of perfection, and to the extent of his wishes, he all at once adopted every measure that evidently tended to subvert the great fabric which he had raised. He resigned the reins of government entirely into the hands of Cafoor, whom he blindly supported in his most impolitic and tyrannical actions. This gave great disgust to the omrahs, and spread universal discontent over the face of the people. He neglected the education of his own children, who were let out of the seraglio when very young, and intrusted with inde-

pendant power. Chizer was made viceroy of Chitor when as yet a boy, without any person of wisdom to advise him, or to superintend his conduct, while Shadi, Mubarick, and Shab-ul-dien, his other sons, had appointments of the same important nature.

FOURTH INVASION OF DECAN.

The prince of Tillingana, about this time, sent some presents and twenty elephants to the king, with a letter informing him that the tribute which he had agreed to pay in his treaty with Cafoor, was ready to be paid. Cafoor, upon this, desired leave of the king, to make another expedition into the Decan, promising that he would not only collect the revenues which had fallen due, but bring the rajah of Deogur and others, who had withheld their allegiance and tribute, under due subjection. He was principally moved to this by his jealousy of Chizer, the declared heir to the empire, whose government lay most convenient for that expedition; and whom he feared the king intended to send.

Alla consented to Cafoor's proposal, and he accordingly proceeded the fourth time to the Decan with a great army. He seized the rajah of Deogur, and inhumanly put him to death; then ravaging the countries of Mahrat, Connir, Dabul, Giwil, Raijore, and Mudkil, took up his residence at Deogur. He raised the tribute from the princes of Tillingana and the Carnatic, and, in the year 712, dispatched the whole to the emperor.

Alla by this time, through his intemperance in the seraglio, ruined his constitution, and was taken extremely ill. His wife Mallecke Jehan, and her son Chizer, neglected him entirely, and spent their time in riot and revelry, which added new strength to the king's disorder. He therefore ordered Cafoor from the Decan, and Alip from Guzerat. He told them in private of the impolitic, undutiful, and cruel behaviour of his wife and son. Cafoor, who had before aspired,

in his mind, to the empire, now began seriously to form schemes for the extirpation of the royal line. He, for this purpose, insinuated to the king, that Chizer, the queen, and Alip, had conspired against his life. What gave colour to this wicked accusation was, that at this time the sultana solicited Alla to obtain one of Alip's daughters for her son Shadi. The traitor did not fail to improve this circumstance to his own advantage. The king at length suffered suspicion to steal into his breast, and ordered Chizer to Amrohe, and there to continue till he himself should recover. Though Chizer was mad with the follies of youth, this command of his father made a deep impression on his mind, and at his departure he made a private vow, that if God should spare the life of his father, he would return all the way on foot. When he accordingly heard that his father's health began to return, he performed his vow, and waited upon him at Delhi. The traitor Cafoor turned this filial piety entirely against Chizer. He insinuated that his behaviour, by such a sudden change, could be imputed to nothing but hypocrisy, and urged his disobedience, by coming without his father's leave, pretending, at the same time, that he was intriguing with the omrahs about kindling a rebellion in the empire. Alla could not give entire credit to these insinuations. He sent for Chizer into his presence, embraced him to try his affection, and, seeing him weep, seemed convinced of his sincerity, and ordered him into the seraglio to see his mother and sisters. But unhappily for this prince, the flights of his youth made him deviate again into his former wild amusements. He neglected for several days to visit his father; during which time his subtle enemy bribed over to his own interest the emperor's private servants, and called upon them to witness his aspersions against Chizer. He at length, by a thousand wiles and stratagems, accomplished his purpose, and prevailed upon the king to imprison his two sons Chizer and Shadi, in the fort of Gualior, and their mother in the old citadel. He at the same time procured an order to seize Alip, who was unjustly put to death, and

his brother Nizam, subah of Jallore, was assassinated by Cummal, who assumed his place.

Thus far the traitor's schemes advanced in the direct road of success. But now the fire, which had long been smothered, began to blaze forth, kindling first at Guzerat into a general insurrection. The king, to suppress this rebellion, sent Cummal thither with a great army; but the forces commanded by the friends of Alip defeated him with great slaughter, and put him to a cruel death. In the mean time the governor of Chitor threw the imperial officers over the wall, and assumed independence; while Hirpal Deo, the son-in-law of Ramdeo, stirred up the Decan to arms, and took a number of the imperial garrisons.

Alla, upon receiving this intelligence, could do nothing but bite his own flesh, in resentment. His grief and rage served to strengthen his disorder, which would yield to no power of medicine. In the year 716, or A. D. 1316, he gave up that life, which, like a comet, had spread terror and desolation through an astonished world; but not without suspicion of being poisoned by the miscreant whom he had raised from the dust to power. He reigned twenty years and some months.

OMAR.

On the day after the death of Alla, Cafoor assembled the omrahs, and produced a spurious testament of the deceased king, in which he had appointed Omar, Alla's youngest son, his successor, and Cafoor himself regent, during the prince's minority, setting aside the right of primogeniture in the person of Chizer, and the other princes. Omar then, in the seventh year of his age, was placed on the throne, and Cafoor began his administration. The first step which the traitor took, was to send a person to Gualior, to put out the eyes of the princes Chizer and Shadi. His orders were rigorously executed; and the sultana, their mother, was put into closer

confinement, and all her wealth seized. Mubarick, the third son of Alla, was also taken into custody, with an intention to have his eyes put out, like his unhappy brothers. Cafoor, though an eunuch, married the mother of Omar, the late emperor's third wife. But the mother of Mubarick, Alla's second wife, having heard that the regent intended to put out the eyes of her son, acquainted Nizam of her intelligence, and he gave her some hopes that the threatened misfortune should be prevented.

Cafoor, in the mean time, to conceal his wicked designs, placed the young king every day upon the throne, and ordered the nobles to pay their respects, as usual, to the emperor. He sent one night some assassins to cut off the prince Mubarick; but when they entered his apartment, he conjured them to remember his father, whose servants they were; then untying a string of rich jewels from his neck, which perhaps had more influence than his entreaties, he gave it them. They immediately abandoned their purpose; but quarrelling about the division of the jewels, when they had got out, it was proposed to carry them to the chief of the foot-guards, and acquaint him of what the prince had said, and of their instructions from Cafoor.

The commander of the foot guards, who owed every thing to the favour of the deceased king, was shocked at the villainy of Cafoor, and finding his people of the same sentiments, he immediately formed a conspiracy against the tyrant. Accordingly himself and his lieutenant entered the regent's apartment, a few hours after, and assassinated him, with some of the principal eunuchs, who were attached to his interest. This happened thirty-five days after the emperor Alla's death, and thus the world was rid of a monster too horrid to exist among mankind.

When, with the return of day, the transactions of the night became public, they gave general satisfaction. The prince Mubarick was released from his confinement, and had the reins of government

placed in his hands. He however did not immediately assume the throne, but acted for the space of two months as regent or vizier for his brother, till he had brought over the nobles to his interest. He then claimed his birthright, the diadem, deposed his brother, and acceded to the imperial dignity. But, according to the barbarous custom and policy of those days, he deprived Omar of his eyes, and confined him for life in the fort of Gualior, after he had borne the title of king for three months and some days.

MUBARICK I.

Mubarick ascended the throne in A. H. 717, or A. D. 1317. The commander of the foot-guards, who had saved his life, and raised him to the imperial dignity, and also his lieutenant, were ungratefully and inhumanly put to death by his orders, under no better pretence than that they presumed too much upon the services they had done him. It is probable he was instigated to this base action by his fears, as, in some measure, appears by his immediately dispersing all the old soldiers, who were under their command, into different parts of the country. Mubarick began to dispense his favours among the nobles, but he disgusted them all by raising some of his slaves to that dignity.

The emperor, whether to affect popularity, or in remembrance of his late situation, ordered all the prisons to be opened, by which means seventeen thousand were blessed with the light of day, and all the exiles were by proclamation recalled. He then commanded to be given to the army a present of six months pay, and conferred many other private benefits. He at the same time issued orders to give free access to all petitioners. He eased the petitioners of some of their taxes; but by too much relaxing the reins of government, disorder and tumult arose, which threw down to the ground the great fabric raised by his father Alla. He gave himself up entirely

to wine, revelry, and lust. These vices became fashionable at court, from whence the whole body of the people were soon infected.

Mubarick, in the second year of his reign, raised a great army, and marched towards the Decan, to chastise Hirpaldeo, the son-in-law of Ramdeo, who, by the assistance of the other princes of the Decan, had recovered his country. When he arrived near Deogur, Hirpaldeo and the other princes, who were then besieging the place, fled; but some omrahs being ordered to pursue Hirpaldeo, he was brought back prisoner, flayed alive, and beheaded. His head was fixed above the gate of his own capital.

Assid, son to the emperor's grand-uncle, seeing the king daily intoxicated, and negligent of all the duties of a king or commander, began to entertain thoughts of the empire, and formed a conspiracy against his life. This plot, however, was discovered by one of the conspirators, and Assid was condemned to death. Whether Mubarick had found proofs that his brothers were concerned in this conspiracy, we cannot learn, but at that time he sent an assassin to Gualior, and these two unfortunate blind princes were inhumanly murdered.

Mubarick finding himself in quiet possession of all the kingdoms of India, abandoned those popular manners which he at first affected, and grew perverse, proud, vindictive, and tyrannical, despising all counsel, ill treating all his friends, and executing every thing, however bloody or unjust, by his obstinate, blind, arbitrary will. He was infamous, in short, in every vice that can taint the human mind, and descended so far from the royal character, as to dress himself often like a common prostitute, and go with the public women to dance at the houses of the nobility. These and other vices and indecencies, too shocking to mention, were the constant amusements of this monster in the form of man.

His favourite general, Chosro, who had gone to Malabar, stayed there about one year. He plundered the country of about one hun-

dred and twenty elephants, a perfect diamond of the weight of 168 ruttys, with other jewels and gold to a great amount. His ambition was increased by his wealth, and he began to aspire to the throne. Not being able to join to his interest any of the omrahs and great officers of his army, he formed the means of their destruction, and accomplished it.

To effect his treasonable purposes, he told the king, "That as his own fidelity and services had been by his majesty so generously rewarded, and as he might still have occasion for them in the conduct of his military affairs, while the omrahs, from the pride of family, were seditious and disobedient to his commands, he begged that he might be permitted to call some of his relations from Guzerat, in whom he could more certainly confide." Mubarick agreed to this request; and Chosro sent a great sum of money, by some of his agents, to Guzerat, who collected about twenty thousand of the dregs of the people, and brought them to Delhi. All the places of profit and trust were conferred upon those vermin, which bound them fast to Chosro's interest; and also upon all the villains about the city, who were remarkable for their boldness and address.

The emperor, in the mean time, going to hunt towards Jirsava, a plot was formed to assassinate him. But this was laid aside, on account of some difference in opinion among the conspirators: and therefore they resolved to perform their tragedy in the palace. Mubarick returned to Delhi, and, according to custom, gave himself up to his debaucheries. Chosro was warm in his project, and took the opportunity of a favourable hour to beg leave of Mubarick to entertain his friends in the outer court of the palace. The emperor not only consented, but issued orders to give them free access at all times; by which means the courts of the palace became crowded with those miscreants. In the mean time, Casi Zea, who was famous for his skill in astrology, ran into the presence and kissed the ground. "O king," said he, "Chosro is concerting means for your

assassination. If this should prove false, his honesty will be the better established; if otherwise, caution is necessary, because life is a most inestimable jewel." Mubarick smiled at the old man, who had been one of his preceptors, and told him, he would make inquiry into that affair: but that instant Chosro entering in a female dress, with all the affectations of a girl, the emperor embraced him, and actually forgot all that the Casi had said.

The same night, as the Casi was suspicious of treason, he could not go to rest, but walked out about midnight, to see whether the guards were watchful. In their rounds, he met Mundul, uncle to Chosro, who engaged him in conversation. In the mean time, one Jaherba came behind him, and, with one stroke of a sword, stretched him upon the ground, leaving him only strength to cry out, "Treason! treason! Murder and treason are on foot!" while two servants, who attended him, ran off, screaming aloud, that the Casi was assassinated. The guards started up in confusion, but they were instantly attacked by the conspirators, and massacred, before they could prepare for their own defence.

The emperor, alarmed by the noise, asked Chosro, who lay in his apartment, the cause of it. The villain arose to inquire, and going out on the terrace, stood for some time, and returning told the king, that some of the horses belonging to the guard had broke loose from their picquets, and were fighting, while the people were endeavouring to lay hold of them. This satisfied Mubarick for the present; but, soon after, the conspirators having ascended the stairs, and got upon the terraces which led to the royal sleeping apartment, they were stopped by Ibrahim and Ishaac, with all the porters of the private chambers, whom they immediately put to the sword. The emperor, hearing the clash of arms and groans of dying men so near him, rose up in great terror and confusion, running towards the haram by a private passage. Chosro, fearing he might escape, rushed close after him, and seizing him by the hair in the gallery, struggled with him

for some time. Mubarick being the stronger man, threw Chosro on the ground; but as he had twisted his hand in his hair, he could by no means disengage himself, till some of the other conspirators came, and with a stroke of a sabre cut off his head and threw it down into the court, proclaiming the deed aloud to those below.

The conspirators in the court below began to be hard pressed by the guards and the servants, who had crowded from all quarters, but upon hearing of the emperor's fate, they all hastened out of the palace. The conspirators then shut the gates, and massacred all who had not the good fortune to escape; particularly the younger children of the emperor. Then breaking into the haram, committed all manner of violence upon the poor women. Thus the vengeance of God overtook and exterminated the race of Alla, for his ingratitude to his uncle Ferose, and the streams of innocent blood which flowed from his hands.

This massacre happened in the year 721, or A. D. 1321. In the morning, Chosro, surrounded by his creatures, mounted the throne, and ridiculously assumed the title of the supporter of religion. He then ordered all the slaves and servants of Mubarick, who he thought had the least spark of honesty, to be massacred, and their wives and children to be sold for slaves; but was himself, shortly after, put to death in a general insurrection of the omrahs, whom his tyranny had driven from Delhi, by whose united voice was exalted to the throne, TUGLICK, a prince of Patan descent, who had been go-governor of Lahore, and was at the head of the conspiracy.

TUGLICK I.

When Tuglick mounted the throne, he began to regulate the affairs of government, which had fallen into the utmost disorder, by the most salutary and vigorous methods, which gained him general esteem. He repaired the palaces and fortifications, founded others, and encouraged industry and commerce. Men of genius and learning

were called to court; institutes of laws and government were established and founded upon the Coran, and the ancient usages of the empire.

The emperor, in the mean time, stationed troops upon the frontiers towards Cabul, and built forts to defend the country from the incursions of the Moguls, which he did so effectually as not to be troubled by these invaders during his reign. In the second year from his accession, Jonah, the emperor's eldest son, with some of the old omrahs, and the troops of Chinderi, Budaoon, and Malava, was dispatched towards Tillingana, to chastise Lidderdeo, the Indian prince of Arinkil, who had, during the late disturbances, withdrawn his neck from the yoke, and refused to send his tribute, while the rajah of Deogur had also swerved from his allegiance. Jonah having advanced into those countries, began a barbarous war with fire and sword. Lidderdeo opposed him with some vigour, but was in the end obliged to retreat into the city of Arinkil, which Jonah immediately invested.

The siege was carried on with great loss on both sides, till the walls were battered down, and a practicable breach made. The Mohammedan army, in the mean time, on account of the hot winds and bad water, were seized with a malignant distemper, that swept hundreds to their graves every day. Many became desirous to return home, and spread false reports through the camp, which threw universal consternation among the army.

In the event prince Jonah was obliged to retreat from Deogur, and brought back only three thousand horse, of all his great army, to Delhi. He in two months, however, made great preparations, and, with a more numerous army than the former, took the route of Arinkil. He took in his way the city of Bedir, on the frontiers of Tillingana, and other places, where he left garrisons. He then advanced to the capital, renewed the siege, and, in a short time, reduced it. Some thousands of the unfortunate Hindoos were

massacred, and Lidderdeo, with his family, taken prisoners. Jonah sent the prisoners, their treasure, elephants, and effects, to Delhi, under charge of Kuddir and Chaja. Upon their arrival, great rejoicings were made in the new citadel, which the emperor had built, by the name of Tuglickabad.

In the beginning of the year 724, complaints arrived from Bengal of the great oppressions committed by the governors of that kingdom. Tuglick appointed his son Jonah to the government of Delhi, and, with a great army, marched towards Bengal. When he had reached Nahib, Nazir, the grandson of the emperor Balin, who had remained in that government since the death of his father, arrived, in a respectful manner, from Bengal, with many valuable presents. He was confirmed in his government of the whole kingdom of Bengal, and honoured with royal dignities; and the emperor prepared for his return. When he was passing near the hills of Turhat, the Indian prince of those parts appearing in arms, he pursued him into the woods. Finding his army could no longer continue the pursuit, he alighted, and calling for a hatchet, cut down one of the trees with his own hand. The troops, upon seeing this, set to work with such spirit, that the forest seemed to vanish before them, till they arrived at a fort surrounded with seven ditches full of water, and a high wall. The king immediately invested it, began the siege, filled up the ditches, and broke down the wall in three weeks. He took the rajah, his family and wealth, and conferred the government of Turhat upon the noble Ahmed, and returned with his army towards Delhi.

When the emperor had reached Afghanpoor, he was met by prince Jonah, with all the nobles of Delhi, to congratulate him upon his safe return. But his death was now approaching. His son had in that place raised a wooden house, in three days time, for his father's reception. The entertainment being over, the king was preparing to mount, and every body hastened out to be ready to accompany

him. The roof of the building fell instantly in, and killed the emperor and five of his attendants, as he was rising to follow the omrahs.

Some authors attribute this accident to the newness of the building, and the motion of the elephants that were preparing without; others to design, with which they charge Jonah, as the raising this unnecessary building seems indeed to indicate. But others ascribe it to lightning; so that the matter still remains in doubt. The death of Tuglick happened in A. H. 725, or A. D. 1325, after a reign of four years and some months. The poet, the noble Chosro, who flourished towards the end of this emperor's reign, has favoured posterity with his history at large, by which it appears that he was a great and virtuous prince.

MOHAMMED III.

After the king's funeral obsequies were performed, his eldest son Jonah, ascended the throne by the name of Mohammed, and proceeded from Tuglickabad to Delhi. The streets of that city were strewed with flowers, the houses adorned, the drums beating, and every demonstration of joy exhibited. The new emperor ordered some elephants, loaded with gold and silver, before and behind him, which was scattered among the populace. His generosity, in short, was, like his wealth, without bounds, which no man could well account for, there being no great sum in the treasury upon his accession. It is therefore probable, that he had concealed the riches of the prince of Arinkil, from Tuglick, and that his liberality was supplied from the wealth of the Decan, which circumstance strengthens our suspicion that he was accessary to his father's death.

In the beginning of the reign of Mohammed, before the empire was properly settled, Siri, chief of the tribe of Zagatay, a Mogul general of great fame, invaded Hindostan, in the year 727, with an innumerable army, with a view to make an entire conquest of it. Having subdued Limghan, Multan, and the northern provinces, he

advanced towards Delhi with incredible expedition, and invested it. Mohammed seeing he could not cope with the enemy in the field, and that the city must soon fall, began to sue for peace; he sent an immense present, in gold and jewels, to soften the Mogul chief, who at last consented, upon receiving almost the price of the empire, to return to his own country.

Mohammed turned his thoughts to war, and the regulation of his army. He subdued, by different generals, many distant countries, such as Door, Summudir, Maber, Compila, Arinkil, some of which provinces had revolted, and others had never been subjected by the arms of the Islamites. He soon after reduced the Carnatic, to the extremities of the Decan, and from sea to sea, obliging all the rajahs to pay him tribute, by which means he again filled the treasury with money.

But, during the convulsions which soon after shook the empire, all these foreign conquests were wrested from the yoke. The causes of the disturbances were chiefly these; the heavy imposts, which were, in this reign, tripled in some provinces; the passing copper money for silver, by public decree; the raising 370,000 horse for the conquest of Chorasan and Maver-ul-nere; the sending 100,000 horse towards the mountains between India and China; and the cruel massacre of many Mohammedans, as well as Hindoos, in different parts of India.

From these evils general murmurs and confusion arose throughout the empire. The emperor, to ease the minds of the people, was obliged to call in the copper currency. But there had been such abuses in the mint, that, after the treasury was emptied, there still remained a heavy demand. This he was forced to strike off, and thousands were ruined. The emperor himself was so far from winning by this indigested scheme, that he lost all he had in his treasury; and the bankers accumulated immense fortunes on the ruin of their sovereign and the people. Mohammed, by the advice

of Amir Norose, a Mogul chief, who with thousands of his tribe, had entered into the service, raised a great army. The Mogul buoyed up the emperor's mind with the facility of reducing both Persia and Tartary; but before these mighty projects could be put in execution, he fell in arrears to his forces. Finding they could not subsist without pay, they dispersed themselves over the empire, and carried pillage, ruin, and death to every quarter. These misfortunes comprehended the domestic transactions of many years. The public treasury being squandered by impolitic schemes and follies of various kinds, the king entered into a project to repair his finances, equally absurd with that by which they were originally ruined.

Having heard of the great wealth of China, Mohammed formed a resolution to subdue that kingdom; but to accomplish his design, it was first necessary to conquer the country of Himmatchil, which lies between the borders of China and India. He accordingly, in the year 738, ordered one hundred thousand horse, under the command of his sister's son Chosro, to subdue the mountainous country of Himmatchil, and fix garrisons as far as the frontiers of China. When this should be done, he proposed to advance in person, with his whole force, to invade that empire. The omrahs and counsellors of state went so far, as plainly to tell him, that the troops of India never yet could, and never would advance a step within the limits of that mighty empire, and that the whole was a visionary project. The emperor insisted upon making the experiment, and accordingly this army was put in motion, and, having entered the mountains, began to build small forts on the road, to secure a communication; proceeding in this manner to the boundaries of China, where a numerous army appeared to oppose them. As their numbers were by this time grealy diminished, and much inferior to that of the enemy, the troops of Hindostan were struck with universal dismay, upon considering their distance from home, the rugged ways they had passed, and the rainy season which was now approaching; add to

this, a scarcity of provisions, now began to be severely felt. In this consternation, they bent their march towards the foot of a mountain, where the savage inhabitants of the hills poured down upon them, and plundered their baggage, while the Chinese army lay in their front.

In this distressful situation they remained for seven days, suffering the extremities of famine without knowing how to proceed. At length such a heavy rain fell that the cavalry were immersed up to their bellies in water, which obliged the Chinese to remove their camp to a greater distance. Chosro then determined to endeavour to make his retreat, but the low country was quite covered with water, and the mountains with impervious woods. Their misfortunes now came to a crisis. Having lost the road, they found themselves in such an unfortunate situation, that they could find no way out but that by which they entered, which was now possessed by the enemy. This whole army, in short, in the space of fifteen days, fell a prey to famine, and a victim to false ambition; scarce a man coming back to relate the particulars, except those who were left behind in the garrisons. A few of them escaped indeed the rage of the enemy, but could not escape the more fatal tyranny of the emperor, who ordered them to be put to death, upon their return to Delhi.

The emperor, called by war, to visit his southern dominions, was so much pleased with the situation and strength of Deogur, in the Decan, that, considering it more centrical than Delhi, he determined to make it his capital. But, upon proposing this affair in his council, the majority were of opinion, that Ugein was a more proper place for that purpose. The king, however, had previously formed his resolution. He therefore gave orders that the city of Delhi, which was then the envy of the world, should be rendered desolate, and that men, women, and children, with all their effects and cattle, should make a grand migration to Deogur. To add magnificence to the migration, he commanded trees to be torn up by the roots,

and planted in regular rows along the road, to yield the emigrants a shade, and that all who had not money to defray their charges; should be maintained at the public expence. He ordered that for the future Deogur should be called Dowlatabad, or the fortunate city; raised noble buildings, and dug a deep ditch round the walls, which he repaired and beautified. On the top of the hill upon which the citadel stood, he formed large reservoirs for water, and made a beautiful garden. This change, however, greatly affected the empire, and distracted the minds of the people. But the emperor's orders were strictly complied with, and the ancient capital left desolate.

He had not been long in his new capital, when he heard that his father's firm friend Ibah, the viceroy of Multan, had rebelled, and was then reducing the country about the Indus with a great army. The cause of the revolt was this: Mohammed having sent an order to all his omrahs to send their families to Dowlatabad, the messenger who was dispatched to Multan, presuming too much on the king's authority, upon observing some delay, proceeded to impertinent threats. He one day told Ibah's son-in-law, that he believed his father was meditating treason against the king. High words upon this arose between them, which soon ended in blows; and the messenger had his head struck off by one of Ibah's servants. Ibah, knowing the vengeful disposition of Mohammed, was sensible that this disrespect to his authority would never be forgiven, and resolved to seek refuge in arms.

The emperor, upon these advices, put his troops in motion, and hastened towards Multan; and Ibah, with a numerous army, prepared to dispute the field. Both armies at last met, and, eager for victory, engaged with great resolution; but after a great slaughter on both sides, misfortune darkened the standards of Ibah, and his troops turning their backs upon glory, abandoned the field. Mohammed immediately gave orders for a general massacre of the

inhabitants of Multan; but the learned Shech Rukun interceded for them, and prevented the effects of this horrible mandate. Ibah was taken in the pursuit, and his head brought to the king, who returned towards Delhi.

At sight of their native country and city, all those who had been forced to Dowlatabad began to desert the imperial army, and to disperse themselves in the woods. The emperor, to prevent the consequences of this desertion, took up his residence in the city; whither he invited them, and remained there for the space of two years. But then he again revolved in his mind the scheme of making Dowlatabad his capital. He removed his family, obliging the nobles to do the same, and carried off the whole city a second time, to the Decan; leaving that noble metropolis a habitation for owls, and the wild beasts of the desert.

About this time the taxes were so heavily imposed, and exacted with such rigour and cruelty, by the officers of the revenue, that the whole extent of that fertile country, between the two rivers Ganges and Jumna, was particularly oppressed. The farmers, weary of their lives, in one day, set fire to their own houses, and retired to the woods, with their families and cattle. The tyrant, having received intelligence of this circumstance, ordered a body of troops to massacre these unhappy people if they resisted, and if they should be taken, to put out their eyes. Many populous provinces were, by this inhuman decree, laid waste, and remained so for several years. The colony of Dowlatabad was also in great distraction; the people, without houses, without employment, were reduced to the utmost distress. The tyrannies of the cruel Mohammed exceeded, in short, any thing we have met with in history, of which the following is a remarkable instance. While he resided at Delhi, he led his army out to hunt, as is customary with princes. When they arrived in the territory of Birren, he plainly told them, that he came not to hunt beasts but men; and, without any obvious reason, began a general massacre

of the wretched inhabitants. He had even the barbarity to bring home some thousands of their heads, and to hang them over the city walls. He, upon another occasion, made an excursion of the same nature towards Canouge, and massacred all the inhabitants of that city, and the adjacent country for many miles, spreading terror and desolation wherever he went.

About this period, he gave leave to such of the inhabitants of Dowlatabad, as were willing, to return to Delhi. Many thousands returned, but they had almost perished on the way by a famine, which then desolated the countries of Malava and Chinderi. When they came to Delhi, they found that the famine raged with redoubled violence in that city, insomuch that very few could procure the necessaries of life. Mohammed, for once, seemed affected with human miseries. He even for some time entirely changed his disposition, and took great pains to encourage husbandry, commerce, and all kinds of industry. He opened the treasury, and divided large sums to the inhabitants for these purposes. But as the people were really in great distress, they expended the money in the necessaries of life, and many of them were severely punished upon that account.

Shahoo, a chief of the Mountain Afghans, about this time, commencing hostilities to the northward, poured down like a torrent upon Multan, which he laid waste, and killed Begad, the imperial viceroy, in battle, and put his army to flight. Mohammed, having prepared an army at Delhi, moved towards Multan, but Shahoo, upon the king's approach, wrote him a submissive letter, and fled to the mountains of Afghanistan. The emperor perceiving that it was idle to pursue him, returned to Delhi. The famine continued still to rage in the city so dreadfully, that men eat one another. He ordered, in this distress, another distribution of money towards the sinking of wells, and the cultivation of lands; but the people, weakened by hunger, and distracted by private distresses in their families, made very little progress, while the drought continued, and rendered

their labour vain. At the same time, the tribes of Mindahir, and others who inhabited the country about Samana, unable to discharge their rents, fled into the woods. The emperor marched forthwith against them with his army, and massacred some thousands of these poor slaves.

In 1344 Kisnanaig, the son of Lidderdeo, who lived near Arinkil, went privately to Bellaldeo, the prince of the Carnatic, and told him, "That he had heard the Mohammedans, who were now very numerous in the Decan, had formed a design of extirpating all the Hindoos; that it was therefore adviseable to prevent them in time." What truth there might be in this report we know not, but Bellaldeo acted as if he was convinced of such a scheme. He called a council of his nobles, in which it was resolved, that Bellaldeo should first secure his own country, by fixing his capital in a pass among the mountains, to exclude the followers of Mohammed from all those kingdoms. Kisnanaig in the mean time promised, when matters should be ripe, to raise all the Hindoos of Arinkil and Tillingana to his assistance.

Bellaldeo accordingly built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions, and called it Bigen, from the name of his son, to which the word Nagur, or city, is now added. He then began to raise an army, and sent part of it under the command of Kisnanaig, who reduced Arinkil, and drove Ahmed, the imperial viceroy, to Dowlatabad. Bellaldeo and Kisnanaig, having joined their forces with the princes of Maber and Doorsummund, who were formerly tributaries to the government of the Carnatic, they seized upon those countries, and drove the Mohammedans before them on all sides. In short, within a few months, Mohammed had no possessions in the Decan, except Dowlatabad.

That irritable tyrant, upon receiving intelligence of those misfortunes, grew vengeful, splenitic, and cruel, wreaking his rage upon his unhappy subjects, without crime, provocation, or distinction.

This conduct occasioned rebellion, robbery, and confusion, in all parts of the empire. The famine became daily more and more dreadful, insomuch that the emperor, not able to procure provisions even for his houshold, was obliged to abandon the city, and to open the gates, and permit the starved inhabitants, whom he had before confined, to provide for themselves. Thousands crouded towards Bengal, which, as we have before observed, had revolted from the empire. Mohammed encamped his army near Cumpula, on the banks of the Ganges, and drew supplies from the countries of Oud and Kurrah.

In 1346, some of the courtiers calumniated Cuttulich, governor of Dowlatabad, accusing him of oppressions and other abuses in his government, though a man of justice and integrity. The king, therefore, recalled Cuttulich to Delhi, ordering his brother Molana, to whom he gave the title of Alim, to take charge of what remained to the empire of the Decan, till he should send some person from court. When the king's order arrived, Cuttulich was digging a great pond or reservoir, which he begged his brother to complete, and prepared to return to Delhi, with all the revenues of the Decan, which he had previously secured in a fort called Daragire, upon a mountain close to the city. Mohammed, after the arrival of Cuttulich, appointed four governors for the Decan, having divided it into four provinces, and determined to reduce it, as before, to his obedience. To accomplish his purpose, he ordered a numerous army, under the command of Ahmed, late governor of Arinkil, an omrah of great reputation, to march to Dowlatabad, and entered into articles with him, that he and the other chiefs should pay into the treasury seven crores of rupees * annually for their governments. To make up this sum, and to gratify their own avarice, they plundered and oppressed that unfortunate country. At the same time, Mohammed conferred the government of Malava upon Aziz, a

*Near ten millions of our money.

mean fellow, formerly a vintner, and told him, that the amirs of Sidda * were dangerous persons in that country; he should therefore endeavour to extirpate them.

Aziz, when he arrived at Bedar, invited the Mogul chiefs to an entertainment, and assassinated eighty of them, with their attendants. He wrote to the emperor an account of this horrible massacre, who sent him back a present of a dress and a fine horse, for his loyal services. Such were the morals of those wretched days!

In A. D. 1347, on occasion of the revolt of the siddas, the emperor massacred many of the Mogul chiefs, and plundered Cambay and Guzerat of every thing valuable, putting all who opposed him to the sword. He then sent to Dowlatabad, to sieze upon all the siddas of those parts, and bring them to punishment. Muckbil, the governor, according to orders, summoned the siddas from Raijor, and many other places. The siddas, conformable to those orders, prepared to go to Dowlatabad, and when they were all collected, Muckbil dispatched them, under a guard of fifteen hundred horse, to the royal presence. When these Mogul chiefs were arrived upon the frontiers of Guzerat, fearing that Mohammed had a design upon their lives, they entered into a conspiracy for their own security. They, with one accord, fell upon their guard, and slew Ahmed their chief, with many of his people, while the rest under the command of one Ali, fled to Dowlatabad. The siddas pursued them, and, before any advices could arrive to put the place in a posture of defence, they took it by assault, being favoured by the troops within, who became seditious. Mukbil, with whose behaviour they were satisfied, was spared, but all the rest of the emperor's officers were put to death, and the treasure divided among the conspirators. The siddas of Guzerat, and other parts, who were skulking about in the woods and mountains, hearing of the success of their brethren, joined them. Ismael, one of the nobles of their faction, was proclaimed

* Mogul captains, who entered into his service with Amir Norose.

king, by the name of Nasir. Mohammed, hearing of this revolution at Dowlatabad, left Barage, and hastened towards that city. The usurper, having drawn out his army, waited to give battle to the king. The two armies accordingly met, and the Moguls, though greatly inferior in number, roused by their danger and wrongs, assaulted the imperial troops with such violence, that the right and left wings were beat back, and the whole army upon the point of flight. But many of the chieftains who fought in the van being killed, four thousand of the siddas fled; and night coming on, left the victory undecided, so that both armies lay on the field of battle.

A council of war being, in the mean time, called by the siddas, who had suffered greatly in the engagement, it was determined that Ismael should retire into Dowlatabad, with a good garrison, and that the remainder should shift for themselves, till Mohammed should leave the Decan; when they resolved to assemble again at Dowlatabad. This conduct was accordingly pursued. The emperor ordered Ahmed, who was then at Elichpoor, to pursue the fugitives, while he himself laid siege to the city.

In the mean time advices arrived, that one Tiggi, heading the siddas of Guzerat, was joined by many of the zemindars, by which means he had taken Narwalla, the capital, and put Muziffer, the deputy governor of Guzerat, to death; imprisoned Moaz, the viceroy, and was now marching to lay waste Cambay, having in his route blockaded Barage. Mohammed, upon this, left an omrah to carry on the siege of Dowlatabad, and, with the greater part of his army, marched with great expedition to Guzerat. He was plundered in his way of many elephants, and a great part of his baggage, by the Indians: he lost also a great many men in defending himself. Having, however, arrived at Barage, Tiggi retreated to Cambay, and was pursued by Buckera, whom the emperor had detached after him. Tiggi, having engaged the pursuers at Cambay, turned the

war-chace upon them, killed Buckera and many other omrahs, while the rest retreated to the emperor. The rebel ordered all the prisoners taken in the action, as well as those whom he had formerly in confinement, to be put to death; among the latter was Moaz, viceroy of Guzerat.

Mohammed, hearing of this cruelty, breathed revenge. He hastened to Cambay, and Tiggi, unable to oppose him, retreated; but was closely pursued thither by Mohammed. The rebel continued his flight to Narwalla, and, in the mean time, the emperor, on account of a prodigious rain, was obliged to halt at Assawil a whole month. Advices were brought him at Assawil, that Tiggi, having recruited his army at Narwalla, was returning to give him battle. He immediately struck his tents and met the rebel at Kurri. Tiggi, having injudiciously ordered his men to intoxicate themselves with strong liquors, they attacked the imperialists with the fury of madmen; but the elephants in front soon repressed this borrowed valour, and repulsed and threw into confusion the rebels. An easy conquest was obtained: five hundred prisoners were taken and put to death; and an equal number fell in the field. The emperor immediately dispatched the son of Buckera in pursuit of the runaways, by the way of Tatta, near the mouth of the Indus, whither Tiggi had fled; while the king went in person to Narwalla, and employed himself in settling Guzerat.

News, in the mean time, arrived from the Decan, that the Mogul officers had assembled again under Hassen Caco, had defeated Ahmed, who had fallen in the action, had driven all the imperial troops towards Malava: and that Ismael had resigned his regal dignity, which Hassen Caco had assumed under the title of Alla. Mohammed was excessively chagrined, upon receiving this intelligence, and began to consider his own tyranny as the cause of all those disorders. He therefore resolved to govern with more mildness and humanity for the future. He called his nephew Ferose,

and other nobles, with their troops, in order to dispatch them against Caco.

Before those omrahs arrived, the king was informed that the usurper's army was prodigiously increased. He therefore determined first, to settle Guzerat and Carnal,* and then to march in person to the Decan; but this business was not so soon accomplished as he at first imagined; for he spent a whole year in regulating Guzerat, and in recruiting his army. The next year was also spent in besieging the fort of Carnal, reducing Cutch, and the adjacent territories. Some authors affirm, that Mohammed took the fort of Carnal; but others, of better authority, say, that he desisted from that attempt, upon receiving some presents from the rajah. The poet Birni informs us, that Mohammed, one day, about this time, told him, that the diseases of the empire were of such a malignant nature, that he had no sooner cured them in one place, than they broke out in another. He would therefore be glad to know what remedy now remained, to put a stop to this contagion.

The poet replied, that when disaffection and disgust had once taken root in the minds of the people, they were not to be exterminated, without tearing up the vitals of the state: that the emperor ought to be, by this time, convinced, how little was to be hoped from punishment. That it was therefore his opinion, in this case, that the king ought to invest his son with the government, and retire; which would obliterate all former injuries, and dispose the people to peace and tranquillity. Mohammed, says Birni, answered in an angry tone, "That he had no son whom he could trust, and that he was determined to scourge his subjects for their insolence, whatever might be the event."

The emperor, soon after this conversation with Birni, fell sick at Kondal. He had previously sent Jehan and Ahmed to Delhi, on

* Now Joinagur.

account of the death of the viceroy, and called most of the principal men of the empire to the royal camp. Having recovered a little from his disorder, he mustered his army, and sent to collect boats along the Indus, which he ordered towards Tatta. Marching then from Kondal, he arrived on the banks of the Indus, which he crossed in spite of Tiggi; and was, on the other side, joined by five thousand Mogul horse. From thence he took the route of Tatta, to chastise the Sumrahs, for giving the rebel protection. Arriving within sixty miles of that city, he halted to pass the first days of the Mohirrim; and when that fast was over, having eat fish to excess, he was seized with a fever. He would not, however, be prevailed upon to stop, but, getting into a barge, he proceeded to within thirty miles of Tatta; and upon the banks of the Indus, on the twenty-first of Mohirrim, in the year 752, A. D. 1351, this tyrant was conquered by death, and shut up in the dark dungeon of the grave. He reigned twenty-seven years; during which time he seems to have laboured, with no contemptible abilities, to be detested by God, and feared and abhorred by all men.

FEROSE III.

When the death of Mohammed took place, his cousin Ferose was in the imperial camp. He was nephew to the emperor Tuglick; and Mohammed having conceived great friendship for him, designed to make him his successor, and, for that purpose, recommended him upon his deathbed to the omrahs. Upon Mohammed's demise the army fell into the utmost confusion. Ferose having gained over the majority of the omrahs to his party, prevailed, with presents, upon the Mogul mercenaries to move to some distance from the camp to prevent disturbances, till he should reduce the rest of the army to obedience. Amir Norose, a Mogul chief, who commanded a great body of the imperial troops, deserted that night, and, having joined Altu, the general of the Mogul mercenaries, told him, that this was

the time to plunder the late emperor's treasure, and to retreat to their native country. Altu was easily prevailed upon to adopt this lucrative scheme. They therefore returned next morning to the camp, which was still in great confusion, and, after a very sharp skirmish, loaded some camels with treasure. Ferose, to secure himself from further depredations, led the army to Sewan, and took every possible means to defend himself against the avarice of the mercenaries. The omrahs, the day after this movement, waited upon Ferose, and entreated him to mount the throne. After many pretended excuses, he favoured the omrahs with his consent, and was accordingly proclaimed emperor.

He, the very first day of his reign, gave orders to ransom many prisoners, who, during the late confusion, had fallen into the hands of the people of Tatta: and, upon the third day, he marched against the Mogul mercenaries, took many of their chiefs prisoners, and forced the rest to fly towards their own country. He soon after directed his march to the fort of Bicker, gladdened the face of the court with princely presents, and gave very liberally to the zemindars of Bicker and Sewistan. He from thence sent Ahmed and Ali Ghori against the rebel Tiggi, with a part of his army, and marched himself towards Outch, where he did many acts of benevolence and charity.

At Outch the emperor received advices from Delhi, that Jehan, who was a relation of the late emperor, now about ninety years of age, had placed upon the throne a boy, whom he had adopted, by the name of Mohammed, and had massacred a number of the citizens who had refused to pay him allegiance. Ferose sent Shanapil, to expostulate with the old man, who, he thought, was now in the dotage of years, with promises of forgiveness and favour, if he would relinquish his ridiculous scheme. The emperor himself, in the mean time, remained with the army, to regulate the territory of Outch. He was soon after joined by Muckbil, the vizier of the

empire, who received an honorary dress, and a confirmation of his former dignity.

Ferose having reached Hassi, on his way to Delhi, met an ambassador from Jehan, acquainting him that now the empire was in the hands of Mohammed's family, and therefore, that it would be no more than justice in him, to acknowledge the title of the young king, and act as regent during the minority. Ferose immediately convened the omrahs before the ambassador, and asked them, whether they knew any of the male issue of Mohammed. They all declared, that unless Molana Cumal, an omrah then present, knew, they were perfectly strangers to any surviving issue of Mohammed. Molana made answer, that though one should remain of the issue of the former emperor, it was now adviseable to stand by what was already done. There is reason to believe, from this circumstance, that the youth who was set up at Delhi, was actually a son of Mohammed, though it was, at that time, prudent in the omrahs not to acknowledge him.

The emperor, after the council, sent Zada the ambassador back to acquaint Jehan of what had passed, and to advise him to accommodate matters in an amicable way. When Zada arrived in the city, a number of the principal men in the place hastened to the camp of Ferose, and made their submission.

Jehan, perceiving that he could not support the young king, made overtures towards an accommodation with Ferose. He sent some respectable omrahs to intercede with the emperor for his pardon, and to solicit leave to pay his respects in person. Ferose consented, and accordingly the old man, with his head bare, and his turban hung round his neck, came, accompanied by some of the principal men of his party, to make his submission. The king, according to his promise, gave him his life, but ordered the chief magistrate of Hassi to take him under his care, which was a kind of imprisonment.

In the year 752, Ferose marched into Delhi, and mounted the

imperial throne. He immediately began to administer impartial justice to his people, who flocked from all quarters with their petitions.

In the year 755, the king built the city of Feroseabad, adjoining to that of Delhi; and in the following year marched to Debalpoor, where he made a canal 100 miles in length, from the Suttuluz to the Jidger. In the year 757, between the hills of Mendouli and Sirmore, he cut a channel from the Jumna, which he divided into seven streams; one of which he brought to Hassi, and from thence to Beraisen, where he built a strong castle, calling it by his own name. He drew, soon after, a canal from the Cagar, passing by the walls of Sirsutti, and joined it to the rivulet of Kera, upon which he built a city, named after him, Feroseabad. This city he watered with another canal from the Jumna. These public works were of prodigious advantage to the adjacent countries, by supplying them with water for their lands, and with a commodious water-carriage from place to place.

An embassy about this time arrived, with presents and new conditions of peace from Bengal, which Ferose accepted, and soon after ratified the treaty. Bengal became, in a great measure, independent of the empire, paying only a small acknowledgment annually, by way of present. He exacted no other terms of the Decan; so that these two great members were now in a manner lopt off from the government of Delhi.

Ferose, who continued to have much at heart the improvement of his country, was informed, that near Hirdar, in the province of Sirhind, there was a mountain from which there issued a great stream of water, which fell into the Suttuluz; and that beyond that place there was a small rivulet called Selima, divided only by a rising ground from the large stream which we have just mentioned. The emperor considered, that, by making a cut through this eminence, the great stream might be carried into the rivulet, and so form a river to water the countries of Sirhind and Munsurpoor, from

whence it might be carried to Sunnam, and so render great tracts of land fertile. He therefore marched immediately that way, and ordered fifty thousand labourers to be collected together to cut the passage. When the workmen were in this place employed in digging to a great depth, they found some immense skeletons of elephants in one place, and, in another, those of a gigantic human form, the arm-bones of which measured one yard. Some of the bones were in their natural state, and others pertrified.

The emperor, having finished this great work, built a fort at Sirhind, which he called Ferosepoor. He, from that place, marched towards the mountains of Naugracut, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow. He however reduced the rajah of those parts, after sustaining some loss on his side, and confirmed him again in his dominions; changing the name of Naugracut, to that of the city of Mohammed, in honour of the former emperor. Ferose was told here, that the goddess, whom the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Naugracut, was the image of Noshaba, the wife of the great Secunder, which that conqueror had left with them. The name of the idol is now changed to that of Jewallamucki. In the temple there was also, at that time, a fine library of the books of the Brahmins, consisting of one thousand and three hundred volumes. Ferose ordered one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into the Persian language, and called it the arguments of Ferose.

The emperor, after the conquest of Naugracut, moved down the Indus towards Tatta, where Jambani, who had been always a subject of Delhi, had rebelled and fortified himself. The imperial army invested the city, but as provisions and forage became excessively scarce, and the rains had set in with great violence; Ferose was obliged to raise the siege and march to Guzerat. He there spent the season in hunting, and, after the rains, he conferred the government of Guzerat upon Ziffer, and returned again to Tatta. Jambani

capitulated, and delivered himself up to Ferose, who carried him, and the principals of his faction, to Delhi; but, after some time, h etook him again into favour, and sent him to resume his former government.

After various military exploits, mostly crowned with success, and many years spent in acts of beneficence and justice to his admiring subjects, but not necessary to be enumerated in this abridged history of his reign, in the year 787, age and infirmity began to press hard upon Ferose. Jehan, the vizier, having the sole management of affairs, became very powerful in the empire. The emperor was so much under his direction in all things, that he had the effrontery falsely to accuse Mohammed, the king's son, of a design against his father's life, in conjunction with several omrahs. He brought the old man firmly to credit this accusation, and obtained his authority to secure the supposed conspirators. Ziffer was accordingly recalled from his government of Mahoba, and confined.

A party was sent to seize the prince, who, having previous intelligence of the design against him, began to provide for his security, placing guards, and fortifying himself in his own palace. In this situation he remained shut up for some days; and at last, having obtained leave for his wife to visit the king's Zenana, he put on his armour, went into the close chair, and was carried into the Seraglio. When he discovered himself in that dress, the frightened women ran screaming into the emperor's apartment, and told him, that the prince had come in armour with a treasonable design. The prince having followed them, presented himself to his father, and falling at his feet, told him, with great emotion, "That the suspicions he had entertained of him were worse than death itself. That he came therefore to receive it from his own hands. But first he begged leave to inform him, that he was perfectly innocent of the villainous charge which the vizier had purposely contrived to pave his own way to the throne."

Ferose, sensible of his son's sincerity, clasped him in his arms, and weeping, told him, he had been deceived; and therefore desired him to proceed, as his judgment should direct him, against the traitor. Mohammed upon this went out from the presence, and ordered twelve thousand horse to be in readiness. With this body he surrounded the vizier's house that night, who, upon hearing of the prince's approach, put Ziffer to death, and, collecting his friends, came out to engage him in the street. Upon the first onset, the traitor was wounded, and drew back to his house. He fled immediately towards Mewat, and the prince seized all his wealth, and cut off his adherents.

Ferose, immediately after these transactions, resigned the reins of government into the hands of his son, and abdicated the throne. The prince, assuming the name of Mohammed, ascended the throne in 789; and immediately ordered the Chutba to be read in his own and his father's name. He settled the offices of state, and distributed honorary dresses among the omrahs.

Mohammed went with his army, in the year 790, towards the mountains of Sirmore, to hunt, according to the custom of sovereigns. When he was employed in the diversion of the chase, advices were received, that Musirra, governor of Guzerat, at the head of the Mogul mercenaries settled in that country, had risen in rebellion, defeated, and slain Secunder, who had been appointed to succeed him. The emperor hastened to Delhi; but, as if all at once infatuated, he gave himself up entirely to pleasure, and seemed to be insensible of the loss which he had sustained, and of the dangers in which his conduct had involved him. When his old omrahs attempted to rouse him from his lethargy, he turned them from his presence, and filled their offices with pimps and court flatterers.

The emperor's nephew, Baha, resolved to rush upon him in the midst of his dream of pleasure. He, for this purpose, conspired with the disgraced omrahs, and arming one hundred thousand slaves,

erected the standard of rebellion. Mohammed immediately dispatched Malleck Lahori, to treat with the rebels. When he came to their camp, which was pitched without the city, the mob pelted him with stones, and obliged him to retire very much bruised and wounded. Mohammed, seeing no hopes of a peaceable accommodation, began, at length, to exert himself, and advanced with his army against the conspirators, and, after a bloody contest, drove them into the city. They immediately possessed themselves of the palace, and again renewed the fight. The city became now a horrid scene of slaughter and confusion. During the space of two days and two nights, there was nothing but tumult and death in every street: friends and foes, victors and vanquished, were mingled together without any possibility of distinction.

The slaves, upon the third day, brought out the old king, in his palankin, and set him down in the street between the combatants. When Mohammed's troops saw their former master, their affection returned, and, imagining that this was a voluntary deed of his, they at once deserted the prince, and crowded with shouts of joy to Ferose. Mohammed fled instantly, with a small retinue, to the mountains of Sirmore. Both parties looking up to the aged monarch, settled themselves into peace in his presence. Ferose, unable to govern on account of the infirmities of age, placed, by advice of the omrahs, Tuglick, the son of his eldest son, the deceased prince Fatte, upon the throne. The slaves, in the mean time, assassinated Hassen, the emperor's son-in-law, for having endeavoured to support Mohammed: and even the first orders issued by Tuglick, when he mounted the imperial throne, was to kill all the adherents of Mohammed, wherever they should be found.

Ferose, having arrived at the age of ninety, died in A. H. 790, or A. D. 1388. Though no great warrior in the field, he proved himself, by his excellent qualities, well calculated for a reign of peace. He reigned thirty-eight years and nine months, and left many

memorials of his magnificence in Hindostan. He built fifty great sluices, forty mosques, thirty schools, twenty caravanseras, an hundred palaces, five hospitals, an hundred tombs, ten baths, one hundred and fifty wells, one hundred bridges; and the pleasure gardens he made were without number.

The empire of Persia continued all this time under petty princes of the line of Gengis, till Timur Bec, commonly called Tamerlane in Europe, mounted the throne of the kingdoms of Zagatai, which comprehended all Maver-ul-nere or Transoxiana, and the provinces of Cabul, Zablestan, and others towards the Indus. After the conquest of the Northern Tartary, he turned his arms against Persia, and entered Chorasan seven years before the death of Ferose. He completed the conquest of Persia in less than five years, and at the period of that emperor's death, Timur was employed in the reduction of provinces upon the Euphrates.

TUGLICK II.

Tuglick having mounted the throne in the palace of Feroseabad, ordered, according to custom, the Chutba to be read, and the currency to be struck in his own name. He appointed Ferose Ali his vizier, by the title of Jehan, and confirmed Musirra, the rebellious governor, in his command of Guzerat. He soon after sent an army under the vizier, to expel his uncle Mohammed from Sirmore, and that prince, upon the approach of the imperial army, fled to the mountains. He there took possession of a strong post, and, securing the wives and children of his adherents, waited to give the imperialists battle. He was however beat from post to post till he arrived at Naugrācut, and shut himself up in that place. That fortress being very strong, his enemies did not think proper to besiege it, and therefore returned to Delhi.

Tuglick giving reins to his youthful passions, and neglecting the

affairs of state, vice, luxury, and oppression began to predominate on every side. He was not blind to those misfortunes, but he mistook the cause, and admitted jealousy and mistrust within his mind. He confined, and treated cruelly, his own brother, Sallar: and his cousin Abu Bicker, having reason to dread the emperor's resentment, fled the court, and, to secure himself, stirred up a faction against Tuglick. The conspirators consisted of Ruckun, the vizier's deputy, and several other omrahs of high repute, with all the imperial slaves, many of whom were in the highest offices at court.

Matters being ripe for execution, the conspirators rushed into the divan, and assassinated Mubarick, the captain-general of the forces. Tuglick, being thus surprised, fled by the Jumna gate. Ruckun pursued him, and having taken him and Jehan the vizier, they were immediately put to death. This event happened to Tuglick in the year 791, or A. D. 1389, after a reign of five months and a few days.

ABU BICKER.

The conspirators having assassinated the king, raised Abu Bicker, the grandson of the emperor Ferose, by his third son, to the empire. Rukun, being appointed vizier, took the reins of government in his own hands; but his ambition was not satisfied with that high employ: he formed schemes to cut off the new king, and to usurp the throne. Abu Bicker, having timely information of his intentions, was beforehand with him, and ordered him and many of the principal slaves concerned in the conspiracy to be put to death.

In the mean time, the Mogul chiefs of Samana assassinated the viceroy, Sultan, the fast friend of the reigning emperor, and sent his head to the prince Mohammed, at Naugracut. They earnestly solicited him to come and assert his right to the empire. Mohammed accordingly, having collected his friends, advanced by the way of Jallendar to Samana, and proclaiming himself king at that place,

advanced with a great army towards Delhi. After some repulses, Mohammed proved victorious, and sent Abu Bicker to his grave, in the year 792, or A. D. 1390, when he had reigned one year and six months.

MOHAMMED IV.

Mohammed entered Delhi in the month of Ramzan, and immediately ascended the imperial throne. He gave the office of vizier to Islam, to whom he principally owed that throne.

In the year 794, intelligence was brought to Delhi, that the prince Narsingh, chief of the Mahrattas, and other chiefs of the Hindoos, had risen in arms against the empire. Mohammed ordered the vizier, with a considerable force, against Narsingh, the most powerful of the insurgents. Narsingh was defeated, made peace, and attended the conqueror to Delhi. The other chiefs were subjugated at the same time. The zemindars of Attava, upon account of some grievance, rose in arms, and ravaged Bittaram and the adjacent districts. Mohammed marched against them in person, and chastised them. The fort of Attava was levelled with the ground, and the emperor took the route of Canouge and Tillasar, in the last of which cities he built a fort, which, from his own name, he called Mohammed-abad.

Shortly after advice came to the emperor from Delhi, that the vizier was preparing to fly to Lahore and Multan, to kindle in those provinces the flames of rebellion. Mohammed hastened to the capital, and charged him with these treasonable intentions. The vizier absolutely denied the fact, but Jaju, a Hindoo, and his own nephew, swore falsely against him. Mohammed, being either convinced of his vizier's guilt, or instigated by a jealousy of his power, condemned him to die. Jehan, who was perhaps not the least active in producing the vizier's fall, was advanced to his office. Muckirrib, who made a figure in the next reign, was, at the same time, ap-

pointed governor of Mohammed-abad. The reign of Mohammed is particularly barren of important events.

In the year 795, the Mahrattas and Hindoo chiefs again appeared in arms; and Muckirrib was ordered, with the troops at Mohammed-abad, against them. The emperor, about this time, marched to Mewat, to quell some disturbances in that place. Upon his return to Mohammed-abad, he was taken ill of a dangerous fever, which rendered him delirious for some days. When he was in this condition, news was brought, that Nahir* had plundered the country to the gates of Delhi. The emperor, though far from being recovered of his illness, hastened to Mewat. Nahir, who headed the rebels, drew up his army at Kottilab, and gave Mohammed battle; but he was defeated, and fled to Jidger.

Mohammed, after this victory, returned to Mohammed-abad, and, in the month of Ribbi, the second of the year 796, sent his son Humaioon to crush the prince of the Gickers, who had rebelled, and possessed himself of Lahore. But before the prince had left Delhi, news was brought to him of his father's decease; for the emperor, having relapsed into his former disorder, expired on the 17th of the same month, A. D. 1392. He reigned about six years and seven months, and his body was deposited at Delhi, with his fathers.

Mohammed being mixed with the dead, his son Humaioon ascended the throne, by the name of Secunder. He continued or confirmed all his father's officers; but being in a few days taken with a violent disorder, he went the way of his fathers, after a reign of forty-five days.

MAHMUD III.

When Humaioon yielded to the power of fate, violent disputes arose among the nobles about the succession. They at last fixed upon Mahmud, an infant son of the emperor Mohammed, whom

* An adherent of Abu Bicker.

they placed upon the throne, by the name of Mahmud Shah; while Jehan remained in the office of vizier, and absolute government of the state. Muckirrib, governor of Mohammed-abad, was made captain-general of the forces, Sadit was appointed lord of the audience, Saring governor of Depalpoor, and Dowlat nominated to the office of chief secretary of the empire.

The apparent debility of that empire, arising from the king's minority, and dissentions of the omrahs, encouraged all the Hindoos around to kindle the flames of rebellion; particularly those of the eastern provinces. Jehan, the vizier, upon this occasion, assumed the title of King of the East, and proceeded towards Behar, with a great army. He soon reduced that country to obedience, and having at the same time forced the prince of Bengal to pay him the customary tribute, he returned, and fixed his residence at Jionpoor. While Jehan thus established himself, in opposition to his master, in the east, Saring, governor of the provinces near the Indus, began to form an independency in the west. Having, as subah of Debalpoor, collected the troops of the province of Multan, and the north-west division of the empire, he advanced against the Gickers, who waited for him at Adjodin, about twenty-four miles from Lahore. A battle immediately ensued, and the Gickers being defeated, were obliged to take refuge among the mountains of Jimbo. Saring, after this victory, left his brother Adil in the government of Lahore, and returned himself to Debalpoor.

In 1797 Mahmud, having left Delhi in charge of Muckirrib, the captain-general, marched towards Gualior and Biana, accompanied by Sadit and many of the chief omrahs. When the king had arrived in the neighbourhood of Gualior, Mubarick, Eckbal the brother of Saring, and Alla, conspired against the life of Sadit. But Sadit, having timely information of the plot, slew Mubarick and Alla, while Eckbal escaped to Delhi. Though the conspiracy was thus quashed, the confusion which was the consequence of it,

obliged the emperor to return to the capital, without prosecuting the scheme of reducing those territories to obedience.

The distractions in the empire began now to multiply exceedingly. Mahmud arriving in the neighbourhood of Delhi, Muckirrib, the captain-general, came out to pay his respects. But having on his way understood that Sadit had sworn vengeance against him, for affording protection to Eckbal, he fled back to the city, and, shutting the gates against the prince, prepared to make a resolute defence. The city in short was besieged for three months, till the king being assured that the war was commenced, and continued on account of Sadit, accommodated matters with Muckirrib, and, in the month of Mohirrim 797, was admitted into Delhi.

Muckirrib, encouraged by the coming over of his prince, marched the next day out of the city, with all his force, against Sadit; but he was beaten back with great loss. The rains had now come on, and it being impossible for Sadit to keep the field, he struck his tents, and marched into Feroseabad. He immediately sent for Nuserit, the son of the prince Fatte, the eldest son of the emperor Ferose, from Mewat, and set him up in opposition to Mahmud, by the title of Nuserit Shah. Under the name of this prince, Sadit began to manage the affairs of that part of the empire which adhered to Nuserit; but a new faction breaking out in his government, disconcerted his measures. The slaves of the emperor Ferose, disgusted with his behaviour towards them, prevailed upon the keepers of the elephants to join them. They forcibly placed Nuserit upon an elephant, advanced against Sadit, and drove him quite out of the city of Feroseabad, before he had time to prepare for his own defence. To avoid one danger, the unfortunate Sadit fell into another; for having sought protection under Muckirrib, the captain-general, he was by him put to death.

The misfortunes of the state daily increased. The omrahs of Feroseabad, and some of the provinces, espoused the cause of Nuserit.

Those of Delhi, and others, supported the title of Mahmud. The whole empire fell into a state of anarchy, confusion, and distraction. A civil war was kindled in every corner, and, a thing unheard-of before, two kings, in arms against one another, resided in one capital. Things, however, remained in this unfortunate situation for three years, with a surprising equality on both sides; for if one monarch's party had at any time a superiority over the other, it was in singularity of misfortunes. It was not a state of war, but a continued battle between the two cities: thousands were killed almost every day, and the place of the slain was constantly supplied by reinforcements from different parts of the empire. Some of the subahs of the provinces took no part in this civil war. They hoped to see the empire so weakened by public calamities, that they themselves might become independent; and to lay a foundation for their future power they withheld the customary revenues.

In the year 798, or A. D. 1396, Saring, the brother of the famous Eckbal, the governor of Debalpoor, having some differences with Chizer, governor of Multan, made war upon him. After several engagements with various success, victory declared for Saring. He immediately seized Multan, became very powerful, and, in the year following, advanced with a great army to Samana, which he reduced to his obedience. Nuserit dispatched Tatar, subah of Panniput, and Almass, with an army, against him. They engaged Saring in the following year, gave him a signal overthrow, and obliged him to fly to Multan.

Saring received, in that city, intelligence, that the prince Mohammed Jehangire, the grandson of Timur, had built a bridge over the Indus, and that, having crossed that river, he invested Outch. Saring immediately dispatched his deputy, with other omrahs, and the best part of his army, to reinforce Ali, the deputy of the governor of Outch. Mohammed, hearing of this army, advanced to the Bea, fell upon them by surprise just as they had crossed that river, de-

feated, and drove them back into the stream; so that more were drowned than fell by the sword. A few of the discomfited army made the best of their way to Multan. Mohammed kept close in the rear of the runaways, and obliged Saring to shut himself up in Multan. After a siege of six months he was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender at discretion; and being imprisoned, with all his army, Mohammed took possession of the city. Saring, in a few days, found means to escape: but the country remained in subjection to the Moguls.

To return to the transactions at Delhi. Eckbal, being disgusted with the emperor Mahmud, deserted him. He sent a message to Nuserit, to desire permission to join him with his party. This offer was very readily accepted; they met, went to the palace of Seri, and, upon the Coran, swore mutual friendship. During these transactions, Mahmud, with Muckirrib, the captain-general of his forces, remained in the old city. The perfidious Eckbal, about three days after his desertion, quarrelled with Nuserit, and, regardless of his oath, began to form a conspiracy against him. Nuserit, being informed of the plot, found himself constrained to quit the palace of Seri. The traitor fell upon him in his retreat, and took all his elephants, treasure, and baggage. The unfortunate prince, being in no condition to keep the field, fled to his vizier at Panniput.

Eckbal immediately took possession of Feroseabad. His power daily increased, and he now employed it to expel the emperor Mahmud and Muckirrib from the old city. At length, by the mediation of some nobles, peace was concluded between the parties. But Eckbal, peculiarly perfidious, broke through all the sacred ties of the treaty; and setting upon Muckirrib in his own house, by surprise, slew him. He immediately seized Mahmud, and left him nothing but his life and the name of emperor. Eckbal, in the same year, marched from Delhi with Mahmud, against Nuserit, and Tatar at Panniput. Tatar, leaving his elephants

and baggage in the fort, passed, by forced marches, the army of Eckbal, arrived before Delhi, and invested it. Eckbal, trusting to the strength he left in Delhi, advanced and attacked Panniput, and took it the third day, by escalade. He then hastened back to Delhi, and Tatar, having failed in his attempt upon that place, fled to his father in Guzerat. Eckbal entering the city, began to regulate the government, which had fallen into the utmost confusion. In the mean time, to complete the miseries of the unhappy city and empire, news arrived, that Timur had crossed the Indus, with an intention to conquer Hindostan.

From the year 790 to the present year A. H. 800, or A. D. 1398, that prince had been extending his conquests over all the Western Asia, had reduced the Northern Tartary, and spread his ravages into Russia, as far as the Arctic circle.*

The glorious exploits, or rather the series of murders, committed by that renowned conqueror in Hindostan, and the important change which the invasion itself produced, through this whole region of Asia, will properly form the commencement of the Fourth Book, and the SECOND and FINAL Volume, of this History.

* To Ferishta the reader is also indebted for the above chapter; my sole business having been to abridge that writer in the best manner I was able, so as to present him with a connected detail of the principal events that occurred during the two preceding centuries. For the succeeding centuries, down to the year 1800, we have immense collateral aid in a variety of the most respectable writers.

END OF VOL. I.

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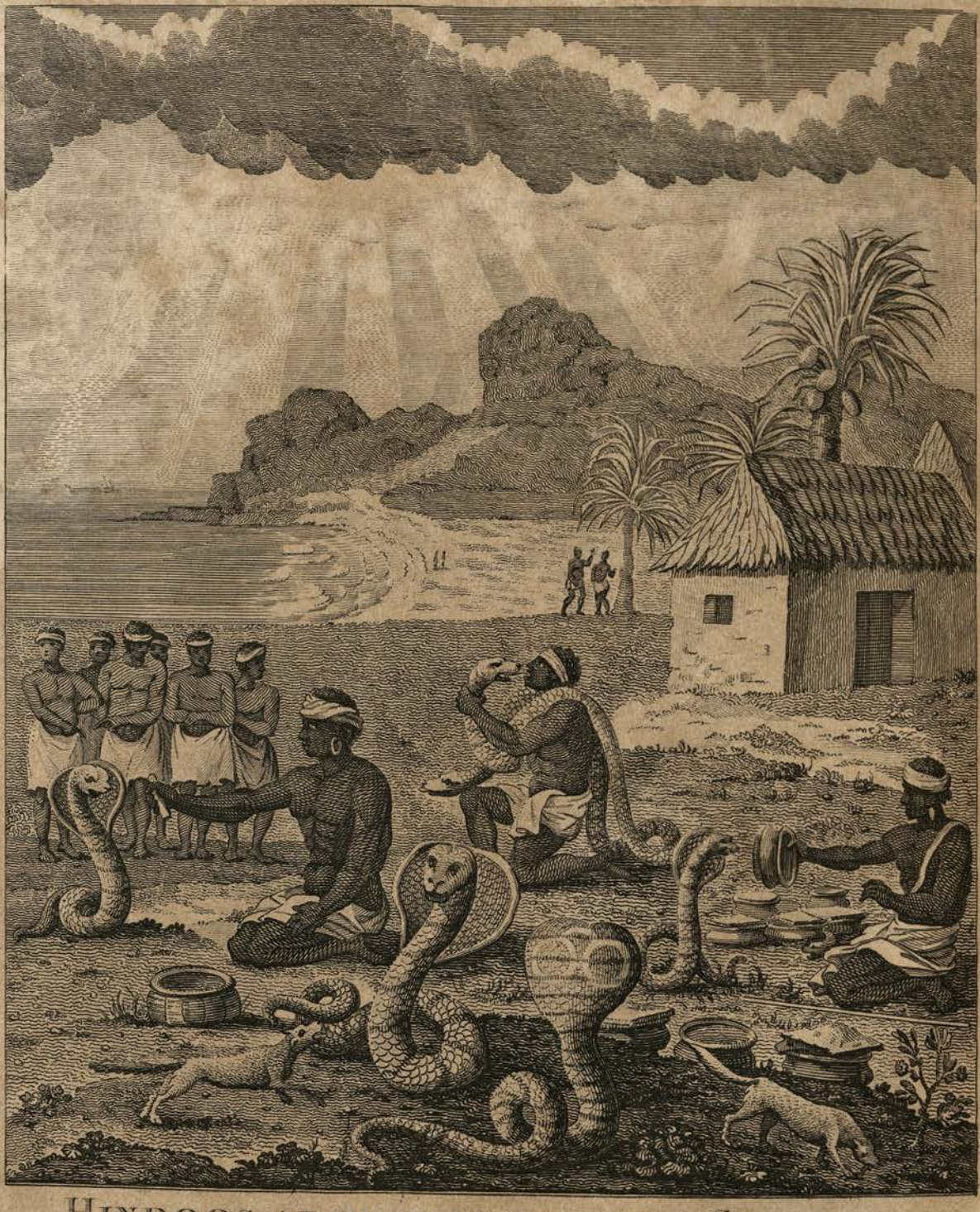

HINDOOS ADORING & FEEDING SERPENTS.

THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN:

COMPREHENDING THAT OF

THE GREEK EMPIRE OF BACTRIA,

AND OTHER

GREAT ASIATIC KINGDOMS, BORDERING ON ITS WESTERN FRONTIER.

COMMENCING AT

THE PERIOD OF THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER,

AND

INTENDED TO BE BROUGHT DOWN TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

VOL. II. PART I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S;
AND SOLD BY J. WHITE, FLEET-STREET.

1803.

TO

JOHN PENN, ESQ. M. P.

OF STOKE-PARK, BUCKS.

To whom can a Volume that records the concluding history of a mighty, but fallen empire, be inscribed, with more decisive propriety, than to HIM who is so well versed in the page both of Ancient and of Modern History, the zealous Friend of Science, and the distinguished Patron of the Liberal Arts, who equally illustrates them by his writings, and supports them by his example?

To some, indeed, it may appear like a solecism, to dedicate to a gentleman, whose whole life has been a series of humane and beneficent actions, pages crowded with the details of barbarous warfare, and the sanguinary atrocities of Tartar and Turkish chiefs; yet as I have never ceased to depict the horror of such crimes, as I have never failed, in the course of those details, to brand, in terms of merited infamy, the baseness of avarice, and the blood-guiltiness of ambition, the calamitous sources of most wars recorded

in history; I hope to be considered as having served, by this publication, the cause of humanity, and the interests of society; and consequently, as having rendered it worthy of the patronage of the benevolent Owner of STOKE.

And was there ever, in the annals of the world, an æra in which it was more necessary to hold up to public detestation the enormity of those offences? Let the wretched inhabitants of the ravaged provinces of the finest portions of Europe, reduced to beggary by a more infuriate despot than either GENGIS or TIMUR, answer this question. If, in those ages of barbarity and ignorance, the latter put to death, in cold blood, one hundred thousand miserable captives under the walls of Delhi,* were the butchery of JAFFA, and the poisoning of ROSETTA, in these enlightened periods, under a general bearing the name of Christian, and educated in the liberal school of modern warfare, less politically infamous, or less diabolically wicked? It is to such monsters, stained with the blood of their fellow-creatures, and black with unheard of crimes, that the loud and warning voice of History addresses itself: while her faithful page exhibits their true characters, stripped of each splendid, each delusive, decoration, and devoted to

* See of the present Volume page 18.

the bitterest execrations of posterity! Such must be the inevitable fate of the basest of these heroic assassins, this modern TIMUR, whose aim is to revolutionize the universe, and who impotently points the thunder of his vengeance against the shores of Britain; or rather 'tis his superlatively fortunate destiny to possess the curses of the *present*, with the certainty of obtaining those of every *future* generation.

One revolution, Sir, has already occurred, in which you suffered the loss, or rather to speak a plain though an unpleasant truth, were *plundered* of a princely fortune; a calamity sustained by you with that noble fortitude and that calm magnanimity, which becomes the descendant of the great WILLIAM PENN:* but the new revolution prepared for us by these fiercer REPUBLICANS, tends to somewhat more than the mere deprivation of fortune; it aims at the extinction of liberty itself, and the utter subversion of social order. But oh! shall BRITONS,

> Shall the bold sons of Freedom and the waves,
> Shrink at the nod of Gaul's imperious slaves?
> A race for dark insidious wiles renown'd,
> And damning perfidies through Europe's bound;

* The memorable answer returned by the Proprietor of Pennsylvania to a friend, who lamented the diminution of a patrimony larger than that enjoyed by many European princes, will best exhibit the generous and elevated sentiments of his mind; "Yes, Sir," replied he, "I too "lament the diminution, because it has so greatly *limited my power of* "*doing good.*"

Who boast to liberate enslaved mankind,
Then the gull'd fools in chains eternal bind;
Like Judas, the betraying kiss impart,
Clasp in their arms, then stab you to the heart;
Shall these rule BRITONS? First, ye lightnings, sweep
Yon blasted cliffs, and whelm them in the deep.*

Into this train of indignant reflection, I have been naturally led by my subject, and the awful predicament in which the nation at this moment stands. With respect to the portion of the Work which I have the honour to present to you, it commences with the incursion of TIMUR into Hindostan in A. D. 1398, and from the best authorities at present attainable, traces the succession of that prince's descendants on the thrones of Tartary and India, with the intervening revolutions that took place in the latter empire, down to the death of Jehanguire in A. D. 1627, a period within which two of the most magnificent and important events that ever occurred, took place—the discovery of a new world by Columbus, and the opening of a passage by Gama to India, by the Cape of Good Hope. During that period, the distinguished nation, conducted to her shores by that adventurous chieftain, together with the Dutch, and English, firmly established themselves on the coasts and islands of India; but in this First Part of the

* See the Crisis of Britain, recently published by the Author, and to be had of Mr. White.

present Volume, the history of the Portuguese settlers only is detailed, and that history, concise as it is, occupies no inconsiderable portion of its concluding pages. This circumstance will not, it is presumed, be regretted by those who, like yourself, Sir, know, that no history except our own, can be more deeply interesting, especially at the present period, than that of this extraordinary race of men, small in number, but vigorous in genius, skilful to project, and daring to execute; a race whose alternate elevation and depression in the scale of empire has so frequently, in different ages, excited the astonishment and extorted the compassion of the rest of Europe.

In fact, no nation or kingdom upon earth, perhaps, ever experienced such rapid vicissitudes as Portugal. At one period we behold her exalted to the summit of human greatness; her fleets covering the ocean, and her armies inspired with the same ardent spirit of chivalry, that of old expelled the Moors from all the bounds of Lusitania, giving law to no small portion of the three great continents of Afric, Asia, and America. At another, we behold her degraded and fallen; nearly stripped of all her foreign possessions, the martial spirit of her nobles subdued or broken, and herself the humbled abject slave of the haughty Philip. Again she awakes from her long and deathful

slumber of sixty years; the ancient thirst of glory rekindles in her cavaliers; she bursts asunder the chains of her oppressors; and under the brave, virtuous, and fortunate house of Braganza, rushes forward to new victories and brighter triumphs! Deprived of her eastern sceptre, she erects her standard in the newly discovered western world, and Brazil profusely pours into her lap the gold, the diamonds, and other costly produce of her wealthy shore. She rises higher than ever in the scale of human felicity and glory; cherished and protected by Britain, and ever grateful to her august ally. For a century she continues thus elevated in fortune, thus opulent in every species of wealth, thus respected for private and for public faith. At length the Plunderer of Italy casts upon her his jealous and malignant eye. Her happiness excites the envy, her riches stimulate to aggression the insatiable avarice of that scourge of Europe. Impatient for her accumulated wealth, the just reward of national industry and valour, he sends forth his murderous banditti to seize on the weak victim of his fury, plunders her treasury, meanly robs her crown of its jewels, and wishes to blot a name, in her elder time terrible to the tyrants of the earth, out of the catalogue of nations. But I have again launched into political declamation; pardon, Sir, the

involuntary effusions extorted by the atrocities of this dæmon in human form; for, if not timely and resolutely resisted, I see in PORTUGAL the fate of BRITAIN.

Under a due sense, Sir, of the imperfections of a work composed amidst the perpetual interruptions of a public situation, yet conscious that unwearied diligence has been bestowed upon it, and determined to exert that diligence to the concluding page, I submit with diffidence this additional portion of Indian History to your candour, and that of the indulgent public; a public to whose partiality I am already deeply indebted, and that never judges with severity where there is an anxious wish to merit its approbation.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

with true esteem, your much obliged,

and faithful obedient Servant,

THOMAS MAURICE.

British Museum,
1st November, 1803.

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BOOK IV.

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IN the preceding Book we have seen the proud and ponderous fabric of Mohammedan glory and empire erected, in India, by one Mahmud, rapidly rushing to extinction under another: every æra of its revolution has been polluted with crime, and almost every page of its history stained with blood. If, on the one hand, a Balin, renowned for valour and political wisdom, or a Ferose, benign, generous, and the adorner of that enslaved country, with canals and other magnificent works, occasionally rise to gratify and delight the reader, how many monsters, on the other, like the tyrant Alla, and the demon Mubaric, appear to disgust and terrify him! The unhappy native princes of Hindostan, in the mean time, reduced to beggary and servitude; through the inhuman policy of the East, blinded with hot iron, captive for life in the abyss of a gloomy dungeon, or exiled to the summit of some barren and inascessible mountain; her brahmins doomed to perpetual torture at the sight of their polluted temples and insulted gods; the lofty spirit of her

rajahs almost broken from repeated defeats by a stronger foe; and her merchants and husbandmen driven to desperation by being deprived of the just produce of their labour and industry. The history of this ill-fated country now introduces us to a new æra and a new conqueror; an æra not less fertile in crimes and calamity, a conqueror not less ferocious than any that have preceded.

The reader has already been informed* that there exist two celebrated histories of the great TIMUR BEC, the one written in Persian, the other in Arabic; both of them composed with all the pomp and elegance of the Asiatic style; in the first, the Tartarian conqueror is represented as a liberal, benevolent, and illustrious prince; in the second, as deformed and impious, of a low birth and detestable principles. It seems difficult, at first, to reconcile this contradiction; but the difficulty vanishes, when we learn, that great part of the Persian history was composed under the inspection of Timur himself; and received only the polish of language from the pen of Ali Yezdi; and that the Arabian author bore the most inveterate hatred against that monarch. By Ali Yezdi, is here meant Sherefeddin, who was thus called from Yezd, a city of Persia, where he was born; and by the Arabian author, Ebn Arabshah, of whom the learned Golius gave an edition in Arabic, and M. Vatier, a French version. The truth, however, is only to be collected from a diligent attention to both histories; and in the present chapter it is my intention to give the substance of each, on the leading traits of the character of that renowned hero.

According to the Persian author,† and Abulghazi, the Tartar historian, Timur was a direct but remote descendant of Gengis, by the line of Zagatai, his second son, to whose lot, in the partition of his vast empire, fell the kingdom of Transoxiana, or Great Tartary. He was born in A. D. 1336, at Cash, a beautiful city of that region,

* Modern History of Hindostan, Vol. I. p. 12.

† Sherefeddin's Timur Bec, Vol. I. cap. i.; and Abulghazi's Hist. Tartar. Vol. I. cap. iv.

about a day's journey from Samarcand, and, at the age of twenty-five, gave decisive proofs of superior genius, by a conduct that united the policy of a great statesman with the courage of a dauntless warrior. Amidst the distractions in which Transoxiana was at that period involved, by a series of noble exploits he rapidly rose to the highest eminence in military glory, and, for his service to the reigning Grand Khan, had assigned him the principality of his native city, and its immediate dependencies. His ambition expanding with the triumphant progress of his arms, in a few years all the surrounding potentates are compelled to lay their crowns at his feet; we behold him ascending the throne of Iran, or Persia in its largest extent; the immense regions of both Eastern and Western Tartary salute him as their lord; and his resistless armies penetrate far within the arctic circle.

The detail of these magnificent events is foreign to the immediate subject of this history, which proposes merely to record his irruption into the still more inviting plains of Hindostan, where a booty, transcendently surpassing all that he had already acquired, awaited him; and where a feeble and divided government, and an enervated people, seemed to provoke the attack of a foreign invader. A summary history of this great irruption, and of Timur's immediate successors, down to Baber, the first regular Mogul sovereign on the throne of India, has long been written by me, and I request permission of the reader to insert it, unaltered. The account given by Ferishta (whose work I had not then seen) of those princes who, in consequence of the subversion of the Afghan dynasty, of which Mahmud was the last, ascended the throne of Delhi, shall be added to this short account of the immediate posterity of Timur, which ought not to be omitted in the history of a dynasty of princes (the Mogul) who boast of *him* as their HEAD, and that his BLOOD flows in their veins.*

* All that I, at that time (about 1788) intended to publish concerning India, was announced by me in the following title of the intended volume: A SHORT VIEW

IRRUPTION OF TIMUR.

Scarcely had the victorious armies of the great Timur reposed from the toil of those incessant wars by which he added the northern extremities of Asia to his almost boundless domain, when he formed the daring project of subduing India. To this enterprise he was invited both by the restless ambition of his soul, and a furious zeal of propagating that religion which had, for ages, overwhelmed the most fertile provinces of the Eastern world with desolation. In the year 1398, he left the imperial city of Samarcand,* at the head of an army well calculated, both by the numbers and intrepidity of its hardy battalions, to accomplish this design. Accustomed to fight under a commander whose consummate skill in war was only equalled by the good fortune that ever attended his arms; inured to brave every extremity of hardship, by successive campaigns in the mountainous defiles of Georgia, and the inhospitable deserts of Russia, the last theatre of their glory, and eager for the plunder of the richest empire in the world, his legions descended like a torrent from the centre of the northern part of the Indian Caucasus. The numerous tribes of war-trained Afghans, or Patans, who inhabited the scarcely-accessible frontiers of that empire, in vain opposed their

OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND DECLINE OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE IN INDIA, FROM ITS CONQUEST BY TIMUR TO THE LATEST ACCOUNTS.

* Samarcand, which has been mentioned as the Maracanda of the ancients, was at this time the capital of the empire of Timur, and his general residence. The strength of its castle and walls, rebuilt by that prince, the magnificence of its public buildings, particularly its fine observatory, and the beauty of its gardens, watered by the clearest of rivers, are the theme of many enraptured Oriental writers. Under Timur and his successors it flourished for many ages, the seat of learning and the centre of Asiatic commerce; but when it was taken from them by it present possessors, the Uzbeck Tartars, its glory gradually declined, and it retains at present few vestiges of its ancient splendour, though a considerable share of its commerce still remains. It is visited only in the summer by the reigning Khan, who usually encamps in the delightful meadows that surround it.

progress. This hardy race of mountaineers, for the most part assassins and robbers, who have made so conspicuous a figure in all the revolutions of Persia and Hindostan, had extended their sway over most of the neighbouring provinces, and a particular tribe of them, called CHILLIGIES, were, at this moment, in possession of the usurped throne of Delhi. The monuments of their grandeur, which Shah Jehan, in succeeding ages, destroyed, on the rebuilding of that capital, sufficiently evince the power and consequence to which they had arrived in Hindostan. The conquest of these people for some time delayed the operations of his army; but, being at length completed, we find him arrived, according to the Persian writer of his life, October 7th, 1398, at the banks of the Indus, on that very spot, says Sherefeddin, where Sultan Gelaleddin, king of Charazm, nearly two centuries before, swam across the river, to avoid destruction from the fury of Gengis Khan. In two days a bridge of boats was formed, and on the 11th his whole army, consisting of soldiers of every nation, mostly cavalry, but all commanded by Tartar officers, passed it in safety.*

Timur had already dispatched his grandson, the Mirza, Pir Mahommed, with a large army, to lay siege to Multan, a city of Guzzurat, at that time of great political and commercial importance, which was governed for the king of Delhi by a valiant officer named Sarenk, eldest brother of the vizier; and Sarenk had nobly defended it for six months against all the forces sent against it. During this period the most vigorous and repeated assaults were daily made upon the castle and walls in vain; and, therefore, Timur, after crossing the Indus, being resolved to carry Multan, instead of taking the direct road for Delhi by Rotas and Lahore, directed his march southwards to that capital. Arrived on the Indian side of the river, he encamped at the entrance of the great desert of Geron, where the Gickers, another race of savage mountaineers inhabiting

* Sherefeddin's Timur Bec, Vol. II. p. 27

the Jehud mountain, awed by the terror of his name and arms, voluntarily came and made their submission to him. After attacking and defeating Sheabeddin, an Indian chief, who had fortified himself on an island of the river Chelum, the ancient Hydaspes, he continued his march, for the sake of the water, along that river, which he crossed, as well as the Jenaub, below their conflux; and arrived at Toulomba, a city 35 miles above Multan. On the neighbouring plains of this city he encamped with his whole army. On the 5th of November he departed from Toulomba, after sorely taxing that city, and punishing some refractory rajahs in the neighbourhood, and encamped the next day on the borders of a deep lake, near the bank of the Beyah, within sight of the town of Shanavas: here he attacked and cut to pieces a body of two thousand men, commanded by an Indian prince named Nusret. Passing this great lake, they entered Shanavas, which is described by Sherefeddin as a great and populous town, where his army found plenty of grain; but as the inhabitants were *infidels*, after they had taken all the grain they had occasion for, they set fire to the granaries, "in order," says the same historian,* "to drive them to extremity," and thus provoke that massacre which is so congenial to the sanguinary principles of Mohammedanism. Timur staid two days at Shanavas, and then crossing the deep and rapid Beyah (which is represented as an arduous undertaking, and requiring the space of three days to accomplish it,) entered Jengian, forty miles from Multan. Here he was joined by Pir Mohammed with his victorious troops from Multan, that city having surrendered to the Mogul army, after a long and obstinate resistance, during which the inhabitants had been compelled to feed on the carcases of their fallen countrymen. Sarenk, the brave governor, was brother to Mellou Khan, the vizier of the empire, and who, in fact, ruled in Delhi with more despotic power than the weak Mahmud himself. Timur staid four days at

* Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 33, ubi supra.

Jengian, and on one of those days Pir Mahommed entertained him at a sumptuous banquet, at which were exhibited the rich spoils of plundered Multan, consisting of crowns of gold, belts of gold, Arabian horses with gold saddles, jewels of high value, rich stuffs, and curious vessels of the manufacture of the country, basons and vases of gold and silver. The number of these was so great, that, we are informed, it took the state secretaries two entire days to form a register of them.* Timur distributed these costly articles among the great princes and omrahs of his court, and then commenced his march for Delhi, where a booty infinitely greater awaited him.

On the 18th November the army reached Jehaul, a town between Lahore and Debalpour. Here Timur selected ten thousand horse, the flower of his army, and placing himself at their head, undertook an expedition against the strong fortress of Batnir, near seventy cosses to the right of the direct road to Delhi.† The occasion of this sudden deviation, when so interesting an object as the capital of India was before him, is thus recorded by his historian. The inhabitants of Debalpour had, on a former occasion submitted to Pir Mohammed, who had appointed over their city a Mogul governor, with a body of a thousand horse. After that prince's departure, a mortality breaking out among the horses of that body, the former fell upon the weak and dismounted Moguls, and massacred both them and the governor. On the report of Timur's approach, justly dreading his resentment, the insurgents fled with their effects to the remote and strongly fortified castle of Batnir, said to have been situated in a desert, and never before to have been visited by a foreign army, in consequence of that situation, and the imminent danger of perishing by united hunger and thirst. But no danger could appall the soul of Timur: he determined to exact a severe revenge for his murdered soldiers, and, therefore, leaving the baggage and main body of the army to the care of experienced generals

* Timur Bec, Vol. II. p, 37. † Rennell's Memoir, p. 87, edit. 1788.

in whom he could confide, with orders to conduct it by the way of Debalpour, and to join him at Semana, a town near Delhi, he, by rapid marches, reached Adjodin on the 21st of November. Here he found a town deserted of its military defenders, who, involved in similar guilt, had joined those of Debalpour in their retreat at Batnir. The tomb of a celebrated saint (Sheik Furrid) at this place for a time attracted the devout attention, and called forth the fervent prayers for his success, of the superstitious, but revengeful Timur; these pious duties performed, he urged his march with accelerated velocity towards Batnir, where, after crossing the river Dena, probably a branch of the Setledge, and traversing in one day an extensive desert, which Major Rennell justly conjectures to be a part of that very desert of twelve days journey, which Alexander was informed stretched between the Hyphasis and the Ganges,* he arrived on the morning of the 23d, before Batnir. The kettle-drums were immediately beaten, and the dreadful war-cry, SOUROUN, usual with the Tartars at the commencement of an assault resounded aloud; but the governor, confiding in the matchless strength of the place, and the numerous garrison that defended it, as well as being very insolent and haughty, bade the assailants defiance. At the first attack of the Moguls, the out-posts and suburbs were carried; the counterscarp was taken; a vast number of Indians was slain; and an immense booty acquired. The great omrahs, colonels, and captains, eager to shew their zeal and their valour, then formed themselves into a body, and, armed with their bucklers, rushed forward at the head of the soldiers to the bastions and the principal gates of the town, where the governor himself, with the most determined of the Indians, was posted; their vigorous assaults were repeatedly repelled, and the most heroic feats performed on both sides, till at length, despairing of final success, the governor demanded quarter, and threw himself on the emperor's clemency. He

* Rennell's Memoir, p. 89.

requested only a suspension of arms for one day, that, on the ensuing, he and his officers might come and cast themselves at the foot of the imperial throne. The request was granted, and the besieging army ordered to retire from the gates, the walls, and even from the suburbs, and to encamp at a distance on the plain. The artful Indian, however, had only made this request to gain time; and not fulfilling his promise, the kettle-drums again sounded to arms, the great trumpet KERRENAI poured forth its terrible note, and the Moguls rushed to the attack with more fury than ever. Every captain of a squadron had the post nearest to the place of its encampment assigned him, to take which all his efforts were exerted; and, in spite of the torrents of fire, of stones, and of arrows discharged on them from the bastions, they were gradually and irresistibly making their way to the summit of the fortifications, when signals of distress, and repentance for their late error, were exhibited by the besieged, and the clemency of the victor again implored. Timur again relented, and the governor sent his son with very valuable presents to mollify his wrath, and followed the next day himself, with others still more rare and valuable. The insurgents of Debalpour and Adjodin were given up, and put, without mercy, to death, and their wives and children made slaves of. Thus far every thing succeeded to Timur's wish; his arms were victorious, and his revenge was gratified; but when his troops went to take possession of the town, the inhabitants, dreading the same fate with the miserable wretches who had fled to them for safety, shut the gates against them. Timur, incensed beyond measure, now ordered a general assault and massacre: the walls were scaled, the houses plundered and burnt, and ten thousand slaughtered Indians lay extended on the smoking ruins of the town. The multitude of carcases is said, by Sherefeddin, to have infected the very air, and obliged Timur to depart from this desolated spot on the 30th of November, to rejoin his army, which, after various excursions

in every direction, in order to harass and exterminate the infidels in this quarter of India, he effected on the 8th of the following month, at Semana, which according to Major Rennell, is about 88 cosses distant from Delhi.*

Timur staid in Semana and its neighbourhood four days, in order to give time to the remainder of the army and baggage to arrive from Debalpour. On the 17th of December they reached the town of Kuteil, 17 miles from Semana; and here he issued orders to the chiefs of highest rank to repair to their appointed stations in the army, and march in battle array. The right wing was commanded by Pir Mohammed and Rostam; the left by the great Sultan Mahmud, Khan of Zagatai, with the princes of the blood, and the great omrahs; the centre, where Timur himself commanded, was composed of his body-guard, and various tomans of native troops, the bravest and most expert ever trained to battle on the vast plains of Transoxan Tartary. Moving in this order, that they might be prepared, in a strange country, against all hazards, in the course of 17 additional miles, the army reached Assendi, and five miles more brought them to Toglocpour, a place remarkable, says Sherefeddin, for the peculiar religion of its inhabitants, who believe in two great principles governing the universe, the one good, and the other evil, and consequently they were Parsis, who had taken shelter in India from the violent persecution of their sect in Persia. As they were the professed objects of Timur's aversion, they had fled at his approach, and left their town a desert, which was fired by the enraged troops. On the 21st December they arrived at Paniput, twelve miles from Toglocpour: this town was also deserted by the terrified inhabitants; but in it was found an immense treasure of grain, amounting in weight to 160,000 pounds, which was immediately distributed among the soldiers. On the 22d they encamped on the banks of the river of Paniput; on the 24th the march was continued to

* Timur Bec, p. 47; and Rennell's Memoir, p. 89.

Gehannumai, a palace erected by Ferose Shah, on the summit of a mountain, two leagues from Delhi, at the foot of which flows the great river Jown, or Jumna. Luni, a town and fortress in the neighbourhood, filled mostly with idolaters devoted to the interest of Mellou Khan, the vizier, presuming to hold out against the invader, was, in one day, assaulted, taken, the houses burnt, and the inhabitants massacred: a torrent of blood and a devouring flame marked the whole of the desolating progress of the invader from the Indus to Delhi.*

Timur the next day took a survey of the beautiful and magnificent palace of Gehannumai, a name signifying the Mirror of the Universe, and bestowed upon it on account of its romantic prospect. From its elevated summit he had a distant view of the vast city of Delhi, and all the surrounding country. His exploring eye and sagacious mind immediately marked out the proper spot on the wide plains before him, for engagement, should the enemy resolve to venture on a battle, to which spot, in that case, he meant to allure the Indian general. For the present, he proposed to distress that great capital by cutting off the supplies of grain and provision which the neighbouring districts afforded for the support of its numerous population. Strong parties were therefore sent out to scour the country in all directions, to seize the cattle, and to plunder the granaries, Gehannumai being reserved as an immense deposit for whatever could be thus obtained from the straitened foe. While he was giving these orders, a considerable body of Delhian horse and foot, about nine thousand, supported by twenty-seven elephants, were observed on the opposite banks of the Jumna. Their vanguard was faintly attacked by a small reconnoitring party of about 300 men, who, pretending to fly, gradually led them on nearer those banks, which Timur observing, immediately ordered some regiments of archers and cuirassiers to cross the river, and make a

* Timur Bec, Vol. II. p. 48, ubi supra.

more serious attack. They were first assailed by the archers with showers of arrows, which being the weapon mostly used in Indian warfare, had not the effect to dismay or disperse them; on the contrary, for a time aided by the train of elephants, they repelled them with great resolution, and the contest seemed for some time doubtful. But when the powerful Tartar cavalry, galloping up, rushed furiously upon them with drawn swords, they were filled with terror, and not being able to withstand their impetuous onset, aided by the same elephants, fled precipitately back to Delhi, the gate of which only a part of them entered with great difficulty; the rest were slain during the hot and vigorous pursuit.

After this successful rencounter, Timur, determined on more active measures, left Gehannumai, and encamped on the east of Louni. Here he was joined by the Shah Zada, the emperor's other children, and the different emirs, who had been making incursions and ravaging the adjoining country. Being all assembled in the imperial tent, Timur, equally conversant in the skilful management of a vast army, and the politic government of a mighty empire, in a strain of nervous eloquence, of which he was a great master, began a laboured harangue on the duties necessary to be exerted by both officers and men in the field of battle; the exact method of breaking through the ranks of an enemy; the proper period to attack, to make a retreat, and to rally an army overpowered by numbers, or exhausted by fatigue. He went through the whole art of war, as then conducted; he explained all its maxims, and expatiated on all its movements, as then practised, with so much energy, perspicuity, and animation, that the audience was filled with admiration and rapture. They made the most unbounded professions of zeal and attachment; they kissed the ground on which he stood; and declared themselves ready to die fighting in the cause of so valiant, renowned, and generous a conqueror.*

* Timur Bec, Vol. II. p. 53.

Before we proceed farther in detailing the events that occurred at Delhi, it may not be improper to give some description of that important capital of the Indian empire, and to take a concise view of its history and revolutions previous to this formidable attack upon it of the victorious Timur. It is principally by the glimmering light emaning from the page of Herbelot and Abulfeda that we are able to present the reader with this summary record of transactions in India previous to the invader of the Tartar chief.*

A succession of Mohammedan princes had long since established themselves in Hindostan; and they are divided into dynasties, deriving their denomination from that of the countries which gave birth to the invaders. The first is that of the GAZNAVIDES, so called from GAZNA, the capital of a province situated to the north-west of Hindostan, in the neighbourhood of Candahar. They maintained themselves in their Indian conquests from about the year 1000 of the Christian æra to the year 1157, when they were expelled. The second is that of the GAURIDES, from GAUR, a province to the north of *Gazna*. The period of their dominion in India was from 1157 till 1212. The third was that of the CHARAZMIANS, from CHARAZM, the capital of a kingdom of that name, the Chorasmia of Herodotus, contiguous to the territories of the Gaurides, whom Sultan Mohammed Shah, the sixth of this dynasty, and surnamed the Great, conquered; the period of their reign was still shorter, for, in 1221, the immortal Gengis Khan, by the total defeat of Gelaleddin, son of that Mohammed, on the banks of the Indus, put a final period to the power of this dynasty. Gengis Khan made no establishment

* The following page or two may appear like *tautology*; but I have engaged to insert the account of the irruption of Timur, as it was originally composed, before Sir W. Jones had written to me that letter concerning Ferishta, which is inserted in the second Volume *(final part)* of the Ancient History of Hindostan. The short summary of the dynasties preceding this irruption may serve to refresh the reader's memory in regard to the details of the former volume.

in Hindostan, and his successors, the Moguls, only harassed it with irruptions; but in A. D. 1230, we find a monarch of Afghan origin sitting peaceably on the throne of India, who, by uniting in his own person the sovereignty both of Delhi and Multan, and fixing his constant residence at the former place, may be called the first regular Mohammedan emperor of Hindostan. This emperor was intitled ILELMISCHE,* and founded the dynasty of Indian princes of which the reigning monarch, Mahmud Shah, was a direct, though remote descendant. Shah Mahmud was a weak and effeminate prince, ruled solely by his vizier Mellou Khan, who having the absolute command of the emperor, had placed his brother Sarenk in the government of Multan. The fortitude of Sarenk had, we have seen, lately been conspicuous in his gallant defence of that city for six months against the besieging army of Pir Mohammed; nor did he surrender it up till famine had exhausted the vigour of his troops, and driven the inhabitants to feed on the carcases of their slaughtered countrymen: with the brother of this determined soldier, rather than with Mahmud himself, was Timur now about to contest the fate of the Indian empire.

With respect to Delhi itself, not less various than the revolutions of its kings has been the fate of that far-famed city; nor is it less wonderful that, through so many changes, to nearly the middle of the last century, it preserved its original name and consequence, as the capital of the empire; for though the seat of government was afterwards, for a time, transferred by Sultan Akber to Agra, yet, on account of the excessive heats that prevail in that city, and the scorching sandy plains among which it is situated, it was restored by Shah Jehan hither, who rebuilt it, and endeavoured in vain to immortalize himself by affixing his own name to his newly-erected city. Since that monarch's death, it has recovered its former title,

* Ferishta's Altumsh. See his life, abridged from that author, in Vol. I. p. 401, of this History.

and Jehan-abad is a name less generally known than Delhi, even by the natives themselves. Plundered, sacked, and burnt in various ages, by Tartars, Persians, Afghans, and Marattas, it still retains many vestiges of its ancient grandeur; and, from its central situation, as well as salubrious climate, continued long to be the favourite residence of the monarchs of Hindostan. At the period of the invasion of Timur, Delhi is recorded to have arrived at a point of distinction, in regard to its unequalled wealth and extended commerce, which it never after reached. Sherefeddin describes that capital* as then consisting of three cities, which he denominates Seiri, Gehanpenah, and Old Delhi. Seiri was invested with a strong circular wall; † Old Delhi, or the ancient Inderput, had likewise a circular wall, but far more considerable in extent. Gehanpenah occupied the space between the two cities, and was considerably larger than either: the walls by which it was fortified running on each side in parallel lines, and connecting the two former cities. The metropolis, thus formed of three great cities, spread over a very wide extent of ground; and, according to Sherefeddin, had no less than thirty, others say fifty, gates. It was celebrated, he informs us, for a mosque of astonishing dimensions, and for a palace of admirable magnificence, which was erected by Malek Jona, an ancient king of India, and was ornamented with a thousand marble columns.‡ The eastern authors are lavish in their praises of this great and beautiful metropolis. The seat of voluptuousness, and the central repository of whatever the vast traffic carried on by the Indian

* Sherefeddin's Timur Bec, Vol. II. p. 67.

† In the Ayeen Akbery Seiri is said to have been built by Sultan Alladeen.

‡ Mr. Finch, one of the first and most respectable visitants of the interior of India, in describing the ruins of Old Delhi, particularizes the remains of this august pile, which at that period (1609), little more than 200 years after Timur's invasion, was mouldered away to what he calls "a mere carcase, worn out and disfigured to the last degree." Harris's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 88.

merchants with Persia, Arabia, and China, produced, it abounded with costly rarities of every kind; the tribute of the most distant climes, the labour of the most skilful artificers. But a ferocious conqueror now approached, before whom the pride of India, and the delight of her sovereigns, must soon bow her exalted head.

On the day subsequent to that on which the above-mentioned partial engagement took place, Timur moved his camp to a more easterly situation; and, crossing the Jumna, made the necessary preparations for that dreadful battle which was to decide the fate of India; for from deserters he learned that on a battle the Indian emperor was determined, and for that purpose was on the point of issuing from Delhi at the head of all his forces. His dispositions on this occasion were masterly; and his genius displayed itself in a manner worthy of his high military character; but, at this crisis, he was guilty of an act of horrible and unheard-of cruelty, by no means to be justified by even the barbarous policy of Tartar warfare. During their circuitous route from the Indus to Delhi, a vast number of Indians, to the amount of about 100,000 had been made captive, and were distributed in different lots among the more deserving of the officers and men. It had been observed that, during the engagement of the preceding day, at the precise moment when victory seemed to hover over the Indian army, those unfortunate wretches, in whose bosoms the throb of liberty yet beat, had manifested symptoms of triumphant exultation. It was apprehended, therefore, that in any obstinate engagement with the people of Delhi, they would infallibly rise upon their captors, and join the standard of their countrymen. There was another crime also which operated powerfully towards their destruction: they were *idolaters;* they were fire-worshippers; and to root out idolaters and idolatry was one grand incentive to this expedition; though, as yet, the most formidable opposition to the triumphs of Timur had arisen from those who themselves professed the Mussulman religion. In

conformity, therefore, partly with his own savage disposition, partly with the rigid maxims of military prudence, and, partly in obedience to the sanguinary laws of Mohammed to extirpate idolaters, these miserable captives were immediately doomed to undistinguished slaughter; and, in sight of the opposite army, the barbarous order for their extirpation was rigorously carried into execution. This wanton massacre seemed no improper prelude to the tragical event that in a few days followed!

Timur had in a manner so blockaded Delhi that no succours from the internal regions of Hindostan could at this time enter the gates of that capital, whose walls contained only about fifty thousand regular troops of which ten thousand were cavalry; yet with this comparatively unequal force, aided by an immense number of new-raised recruits, selected from the fugitives that from all the plundered and burned towns in the neighbourhood had fled thither for shelter, was the weak Mahmud, or rather his desperate vizier Mellou Khan, determined to hazard ALL in a battle with the hardy, numerous, and well disciplined Mogul army, the conquerors of Asia. Their principal dependence lay in the numerous train of royal elephants, a species of animals with which the Moguls, hitherto generally engaged in warfare in the more northern latitudes, where elephants are unknown, had not often contended, and the train of the Delhian emperor consisted of not less than one hundred and twenty in number, all regularly trained to war, and of surprising magnitude and fierceness. They are described by Sherefeddin, as being armed with vast cuirasses for their defence, as bearing between their huge tusks great poisoned daggers, and on their backs enormous wooden towers, filled with cross-bowmen and archers, intended to pour down vollied destruction amid the ranks of the terrified enemy. Besides this formidable phalanx, a band of veterans attended the Indian army, whose operations in war were of an appalling nature, and peculiarly fatal to cavalry. Their business was to hurl fire and burning pitch amongst the enemy, and to discharge a kind of

rockets armed at the end with sharpened iron, which rebounding repeatedly as they fell, made dreadful havoc, and threw the ranks of the most regular army into disorder. Mahmud himself, assisted by his vizier as lieutenant-general, appeared at the head of the main body of his troops, while the right and left wings were commanded by Indian princes of approved skill and courage.

And now, only a small space separated the two armies; Timur, with his usual ardour, rode from rank to rank encouraging both officers and men to do their duty, and displaying to their view the certain spoil, the dazzling wealth which victory must insure. He pointed to the towers of Delhi with a kind of triumph predictive of victory; and with a scornful air towards the comparative handful of men who were to defend against such superior skill and force that immense magazine of the riches of India.

He appointed Pir Mahommed to the command of the right wing; the Mirzas, Sultan Hussayn, and Khalil, appeared at the head of the left wing; but he reserved to himself the distinction of directing against the enemy the impetuous valour of those chosen bands that formed the centre of his army. Notwithstanding these flattering hopes, and this judicious arrangement, there was still a certain unusual gloom that seemed to have saddened the aspect of his soldiers, whose accustomed zeal for engaging was considerably damped by the sight of those formidable animals whom they had never but once before, and in a far inferior number, seen opposed to them in war, and whose magnitude and hostile apparatus they now beheld with a secret horror. They had conceived strange notions of the elephants: they imagined them invulnerable by the sword, or the arrow: that their strength was such as would with ease tear up the strongest trees of the forest, and batter down the firmest structures: that they were resistless in battle, and with their prodigious trunks could toss both man and horse to a vast height in the air. Such exaggerated relations they may with justice be

supposed to have heard from their prisoners, whose interest it was to magnify the power and resources of their friends. To remove this consternation, whose appearance was so alarming, and whose consequences might prove so fatal, Timur instantly gave orders to sink a deep ditch in the front of his army, behind which he caused a rampart of bucklers to be raised; he next ordered a number of buffaloes to be tied by the neck and feet with leathern thongs close to each other, with brambles placed on their heads and between each, to be set fire to, when necessary. He also caused iron hooks, with three prongs, and wooden stakes with the sharpened points upwards to be planted in the ground, and combustibles of various kinds were ordered to be kindled at the approach of the elephants, as their great abhorrence of fire was well known.

Another unfortunate circumstance had contributed not a little to depress the minds of the soldiery. Previously to their departure for Delhi the astrologers having been consulted, had declared that the aspect of the planets was *doubtful*, if not *unfavourable*. As it was customary over all the East, and indeed continues to be so until this day, to regard certain seasons as more auspicious than others, and to esteem it madness and impiety to attempt any great enterprize on a day not considered as *fortunate*, it was of the highest importance to overturn a prejudice, so fatally imbibed and from such high authority. It was on this occasion that the mighty soul of Timur broke through the fetters of that superstition by which it was too generally bound. He summoned the astrologers into his presence, and publicly informed them in an authoritative tone, that fortune did not depend on the stars, but on the Creator of the host of heaven; that when, by an exertion of those intellectual powers which the Almighty had bestowed upon him, he had once formed his designs with proper attention to the dictates of cautious wisdom, he would undauntedly pursue the object in view, nor delay one moment the execution of his schemes to wait the precarious sanction

of a season by vulgar prejudice esteemed fortunate. To shew, however, his respect to the oracles of religion, before the whole assembled army he raised on high the sacred volume of the Koran, and, either by chance or design, opened on a passage that insured the faithful of victory, and at once fired their desponding souls with the most sanguine hopes of success.

At this moment the signal for battle being given, both armies rushed together with a dreadful shock; Timur, retiring to an eminence hard by, in the sight of his army prostrated himself on the ground, and continued for some time in that devout posture, humbly entreating a blessing upon his arms of that benignant Power whom he had lately insulted by the massacre, in cold blood, of 100,000 of his creatures. While Timur was engaged in this ardent strain of devotion, the van of the two armies met, and the Mirza Pir Mohammed became soon as fervently and more effectually engaged, at the head of the Tartar right wing, in the attack of the Indian left wing, which he quickly routed with great slaughter, and drove them beyond the bason of Haviskas, that furnishes Delhi with water. At the head of the Tartar left wing the sultans Hussain and Khalil with equal impetuosity, attacked and defeated the right wing of the Indians, driving it back to the very gate of Delhi. These were easy and rapid conquests; but when the centre of the Indian army, sustained by the elephants, and led on by the intrepid vizier, advanced to meet the main body of the Tartars, the scene was dreadful beyond conception, and the carnage on both sides horrible. Never, says our historian, was a contest between unequal forces, for a time so desperately maintained; never were such prodigies of bravery performed. So loud and terrific a clangour of warlike instruments, of various nations and discordant notes, formed of the mingled sounds of cymbals, kettle-drums, and trumpets of the usual kind, responsive to those of the great brazen kettle-drums* beaten

* Probably gongs.

on the back of the elephants, the bells which the Indians rang, and the shouts of the soldiers, was never before heard on any field, nor on any occasion. The valour and fortune of Timur, however, at length prevailed; the elephants, thrown into confusion by the stratagem before recited, were driven back on their own ranks, and trampled whole squadrons to death. Daring and impetuous in proportion as they were before tardy and intimidated, the valiant princes and omrahs of the Tartar army rushed forward to assault those novel foes that had appeared so formidable at their first approach; overthrowing the castles on their backs, and hewing in pieces with their sabres the trunks of those unweildy animals. The Indians being completely routed in every quarter, Sultan Mahmud with a train of courtiers, who forsook not their sovereign in distress, retreated with the utmost dispatch to Delhi, whither he was followed by his general Mellou Khan, after having performed feats of valour that astonished his enemies. Dreading the consequences, however, of their obstinate opposition to an enraged and cruel victor, they took advantage of the darkness of the ensuing night, and fled into the deserts. Timur, elate with his triumph, now spurred on his horse towards the gate of Delhi, and having carefully examined the fortifications, and minutely surveyed the situation of the city, returned to his camp. No defence, however, was intended by the inhabitants; with Mahmud and his gallant vizier were fled every hope of preserving the empire, and every effort of defending it. The next morning, January the 4th, his victorious banners were beheld streaming on the walls of Delhi, and the Tartarian conqueror, having entered the principal gate of the city, was seen seated, on high, on the AIDGIAH, or august throne of its ancient monarchs, whence they gave audience in all the splendour of Eastern pomp, on the grand festival of the NAURUZ, or *new-year's day*. This gate was in the quarter of Gehanpenah, directly opposite the bason of Haviskas, where the main army was encamped; here a magnificent tent and

tribunal was erected for him, and thither the great lords of the kingdom, the ministers of justice, and the principal inhabitants of the city flocked in multitudes, prostrated themselves at his feet, and humbly implored the conqueror's mercy on paying an adequate ransom. As he thus sate in gorgeous array on the most magnificent *musnud* of Asia, the rhinoceros of the royal stables, and the train of state-elephants, to the number of 120, adorned with rich trappings of gold and silver, and sparkling with precious stones, were brought to the foot of the throne: instructed by their keepers, those docile animals fell prostrate before him; and uttered, it is added, a sorrowful cry, as if demanding quarter. These elephants, at Timur's return from his Indian expedition, were sent to Samarcand, and the other great capitals of his empire, as presents to his sons and chief governors. Prayers were at the same time read in the great mosque of Delhi, in the august name and titles of the invincible Timur, instead of the fugitive Mahmud; and heralds, bearing the tidings of these wonderful victories, were dispatched to the most distant quarters of Asia.*

The toils of battle were now to be succeeded by the pleasures of the banquet, and rewarded by the spoils of the capital of India. The former, unequalled in splendour and magnificence, in the costliness and variety of the viands served up in dishes of massy gold, and the wines sparlking in cups of crystal, enriched with the diamonds of Golconda, is said to have lasted many days. During its continuance was distributed among the emperor's sons and the great omrahs and generals, the long-accumulated wealth of the sovereigns of Hindostan. The sports and diversions customary with a martial people enlivened the intervals not devoted to festive jollity, and, to use the words of our author, "concerts of music, set to amorous bacchanalian tunes, so charmed the hearts of all, that they forgot the rigours of war, and the fatigues of a campaign."†

* Arabshah, Tom. II. p. 183. † Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 64.

But festivity and harmony must now give way to the direst scenes of distress and discord; for in the mean time the secretaries of the divan, stationed at the gate of Delhi, being strenuous in collecting the ransom-money, and the soldiers attending to enforce the demand, treating the inhabitants of the suburbs with insolence, a great tumult was excited in that quarter, and blood mutually shed. Timur having received intelligence of this tumult, sent orders to the great omrahs on duty there to curb the fury of the soldiery, and permit the Delhians to pay in peace and security the demanded tribute; but unfortunately all the efforts of their commanders to restrain their outrages proved ineffectual The embers of sedition, thus kindled, soon broke forth into an ungovernable flame, and an opportunity presently offered for that flame to spread in a degree at once the most fatal and extensive. Impatient to see so celebrated a metropolis and the curiosities which it contained, particularly its lofty palace standing on a thousand columns, the sultanas who attended the army, with the whole court, obtained permission from Timur to enter the city. On this occasion the great gate of the city being thrown wide open, a body of 15,000 soldiers contrived to enter with them, who, joining a much larger body already within the walls, began to commit the most dreadful outrages on the affrighted inhabitants. Provoked to vengeance, and urged by despair, they attacked the military, and some of the more daring aggressors fell, the victims of their own rashness. To prevent any farther increase of the tumult by the entrance of more soldiers, the omrahs on guard ordered all the gates of the city to be shut; but, inflamed with the desire of plunder and the thirst of revenge, the exasperated soldiers within rose upon their officers—burst open the gates—and by the morning of the 13th the whole army had gained admission. A scene shocking to nature and reflection now took place: a general massacre and devastation reigned at once in every quarter. The houses of the citizens were first pillaged, and then

burnt. The public edifices were defaced, the idolatrous temples destroyed, and this great and proud city was in a very short period reduced to an heap of ruins. An innumerable band of natives, who had fled to the great mosque of old Delhi, either to shelter or defend themselves, were without distinction cut off, and of their heads pyramids were formed; a lasting monument of the barbarity of their invaders! Indeed, we may remark, that whensoever any occasion called forth an unusual severity on the part of these oppressors, they set no bounds to their vengeance; but that their conduct was marked by circumstances of the most savage and unrelenting cruelty; cruelty, such as the fury of the blindest bigotry could alone inspire; such as the peculiar ferocity of Tartars could alone inflict. The booty obtained in this universal plunder, which lasted two whole days, and, doubtless, by the connivance, if not by the command of Timur, anxious to gratify the inferior, as he had already rewarded the superior orders of his army, was beyond imagination great; and the species of it was as various as the wealth itself was infinite. The most considerable article however, was the gold and silver plate which was found in vast abundance, besides an immense quantity of pearls and precious stones in chains, bracelets, and other ornaments, with which the Indian women and girls were decked even to profusion. Loaded with these treasures, and with innumerable captives, the rapacious soldiery were at length satiated, and order and discipline were once more, though with difficulty, restored. A large portion of slaves, both male and female, fell to the lot of every common soldier. The artisans and handicraftsmen, were liberally distributed among the chief princes and commanders; but the masons were reserved for the emperor's own use, to complete those stupendous structures at Samarcand, by which he meant to perpetuate the glories of his reign to the latest posterity.*

Timur remained several days in the ruined capital of Delhi. On

* Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 67, et Arabshah, Tom. II. p. 189.

the 18th of January, after having summoned the mussulman inhabitants, the sheriffs, the cadis, the doctors, and the sheiks to meet him in the great mosque of Gehanpenah, he appointed over them a governor, with a force sufficient to protect them from future molestation. He then decamped, and marched to Firozeabad, three miles from Delhi. He staid an hour at that delightful place, made devout protestations in the mosque, and publicly returned God thanks for the success that had hitherto attended his arms. He derived new fortitude from superstitious exercises; he determined to penetrate into its remotest regions, and carry his victorious standard beyond the banks of the Ganges. The strongly fortified city of Mirte, or Merat, in the Duab, situated thirty cosses, or sixty miles, to the north-east of Delhi, and which is said by Sherefeddin to have resisted, in the year 1240, the whole force of Turmecherin Khan, a descendant of Gengis, and one of the greatest emperors of Asia, after a short siege submitted to the superior skill and courage of his veteran troops. Here was practised a repetition of the cruelties committed at Delhi. The idolatrous inhabitants for their attempt to defend themselves, were flayed alive, and their families reduced to slavery; the city itself was burned, and the walls and bastions razed from their foundations.

On the 28th of January, he arrived at Toglocpour on the banks of the Ganges; on the opposite sides of which a numerous army was assembled to prevent their landing, while a more resolute body, advancing in forty-eight great flat bottomed boats, bade defiance to his attempt, and discharged a shower of arrows into the very heart of his camp. Roused at this insult, the emperor with a thousand officers selected for the occasion, set forward to repulse them, which they accomplished with great slaughter; spurring their horses into the water, and cutting the enemy in pieces as they entered their boats. Immediately the whole army crossed the river, and a sudden terror having seized the Indians, they were quickly routed,

and fled precipitately into the impenetrable forests that extend towards the streights of Kupele. Through these streights (imagined by the ignorant natives to be the sources of the Ganges, whose real head however has been discovered by late travellers to be many leagues distant in the mountains of Thibet) that celebrated river disembogues itself into Hisdostan. Assembled here in devout adoration of the sacred stream whose waters they regard with superstitious reverence, and fired with the sight of that holy rock from which it gushes, and which to the bigotted fancy of Indians, appeared to bear imprest the image of the animal, (the Cow) almost worshipped as a divinity among them, the collective body that had fled before his army, seemed to have united themselves in the fixed determination to assert their invaded rights, and exact a severe revenge for their slaughtered countrymen. But no sooner had Timur at the head of the advanced guard of his army, with the usual impetuosity and the dreadful war-cry of the Tartars, began the attack, than they became panic struck, were thrown into irrecoverable disorder, again betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with equal ardour into the neighbouring woods and fastnesses. It was in the heat of this pursuit, that the life of Timur himself, who, in all engagements, was ever foremost to brave danger, fell into extreme peril. The omrahs that had attended him, resolving to push to the utmost the advantage they had obtained, had left their vailiant commander, engaged in the same eager pursuit with only about one hundred of his guard. An Indian, named Malek Sheyka, who lay nigh at hand, in ambush, with an equal number of men, suddenly rushed from the thicket, and fell upon his slender guard with great impetuosity. A personal combat soon commenced between these desperate warriors, when Timur, discharging an arrow with great violence, shot the rash assailant in the belly, and then cleaving his head asunder with one stroke of his sabre, laid him breathless at his feet.

New hopes, however, seemed in a short time to animate the breasts of the desponding Indians, for fresh native forces arriving from every quarter, they attempted to make a second stand in the defile above mentioned. And now Timur, though wearied by incessant action, and almost exhausted by want of necessary repose, determined by the most vigorous and decisive exertions to put a period to the contest. He therefore summoned the most valiant officers of his army, and being joined by Pir Mohammed with his battalions, instantly conducted them through the almost inaccessible winding paths of those mountains to the spot, where he charged them with unparalleled fury, and gave them a final and complete overthrow.

By this victory, the fate of India was unalterably decided. All was Timur's, from the most western branch of the Indus to the presumed source of the Ganges. The victor himself, satisfied with having marched to the eastern borders of that empire in one campaign, prepared to repass this great river, and return, crowned with laurels, and the applauses of every pious mussulman, to the capital of his own dominions. But amidst the dreary and immense regions of mount Caucasus, along the foot of which, in a north-west direction he now commenced his march homeward, many fierce and warlike nations remained yet unsubdued. These enemies, more formidable than any he had yet encountered, prepared to dispute with obstinacy his passage through their mountainous territories: and both by ambuscade and open assault, retarded the progress, and thinned the ranks of his army. Renewed opposition served only to rekindle the fervid zeal of the devout Timur, and his valour seemed to glow brightest amidst the gloom and the snows of Caucasus. He faithfully adhered to that leading principle in the code of his great predecessor Gengis Khan; "that peace should never be made with any infidel, king, prince, or people, till they were entirely subdued." He therefore penetrated, without hesitation, far

into the bosom of the stupendous chain of mountains that stretches over two thirds of that vast empire. It would be tedious, however, as well as unnecessary, in a general work, like the present, to particularize all these various engagements in a country whose geography is so little known to us, and where the names of both the places and the people are alike barbarous; suffice it to say, that wheresoever the enemy was most numerous, or best fortified, in that neighbourhood he fixed his encampment, and rather provoked than declined the dreadful contest. On the other hand, the foe was not less resolute or insulting. They hovered perpetually over his army, posted themselves in the streights, and lay in ambush amidst the impenetrable forests that every where surrounded him. So various were these assaults, so often repeated, and so vigorously renewed, that in the space of thirty days, the period of his progress through those mountains, near twenty battles were fought; sometimes with desperate fury, at all times with determined resolution. Success however invariably attended the Tartar army, whose exertions proved that what they had obtained by their bravery, they could defend with skill and resolution. Castles of the strongest structure, and fortresses of the most difficult access in the great ridge of the Sewalic mountains, a part of the Caucasus nearest adjoining to India, daily surrendered; and the treasures and other plunder taken in them, so loaded the army that they were unable to proceed above four miles a day.

By these slow marches they at length approached the frontiers of Lahore. The prince of that country, on Timur's entrance into Hindostan, had been eminently distinguished for his attachment and fidelity to his cause, and had received from Timur many flattering testimonies of his regard; but while the sultan was prosecuting the war on the distant banks of the Ganges, he had in several instances treated with disrespect certain Moguls of high rank, who either resided in Lahore, or travelled through it to the army. Timur

was indignant at this intelligence, and sent forwards a strong detachment to plunder that rich city, and seize the person of the offending prince. The plunder, however, of the city, was commuted for a large sum paid by the inhabitants by way of ransom, and the prince of Lahore was brought in chains to the foot of the throne. The inhospitable regions of the Caucasus being thus successfully passed, the army in its progress towards Samarcand soon reached Gebhan, on the frontiers of Cashmere, that delightful province, celebrated through the east for the luxuriant fertility of its soil, the delicious softness of its air, and the refreshing sweetness of its water. Eskander Shah, its prince, who had on Timur's former route near his principality solicited his friendly alliance, had now advanced some leagues towards the camp with terms of submission, and being taxed rather highly by the omrahs, sent to confer with him on the ransom of his country, and people. Timur gave an instance of his generosity by remitting a considerable part of it.

The great object of this expedition being now accomplished, the high ambition of the general gratified, and the honour of his religion vindicated, Timur, impatient to reach his capital of Samarcand, proceeded to disband the greater part of his numerous army, oppressed with the number of their slaves, and groaning under the wealth of India. The commanding omrahs of both wings, with their colonels, captains, and other subordinate officers, were therefore about this time summoned into his presence, and having received magnificent presents in proportion to their rank and valour, were ordered to return home by the different routes marked out for them. The great lords of India, also, who had manifested their zeal for his cause, and attended his army, being in like manner rewarded, were now permitted to return to their several principalities.

The government of Multan he conferred upon Keder Khan, who had been imprisoned in its citadel by the brave Sarenk; and he

invested with great solemnity his favourite son and general, the Mirza Pir Mohammed, with the sovereignty of the whole of his remaining conquests in Upper Hindostan.

Eager to outstrip the tidings of his astonishing victories, and be the messenger of his own glory, Timur now set forward in haste before his army, and, again crossing the Indus, by rapid marches, arrived at the defile of the mountains of Sheberto, a part of the Caucasus, where he was seized with a violent illness, being severely afflicted with ulcers on his hands and feet, and obliged for many leagues to be carried in a litter, which to one of his active and indefatigable turn, must have proved a painful confinement. He did not however linger for any length of time under this cruel malady; but in a few days recovering, pressed forward with accelerated speed towards the metropolis of his dominions, which he entered in triumph on the 9th of May, 1399; having in little more than ten months finished an expedition which for its arduousness, for its vast extent, and the magnitude and importance of the acquisition, seemed to have required at least as many years for its accomplishment. The vast empire of Timur felt through all its bounds the benefit of this incursion. It brought an accession of wealth and splendour unknown before in the court of Samarcand; while the unlimited generosity of the emperor to his favourite generals, the princes of the blood, and the great officers of state, contributed to diffuse it widely through every class of his subjects. As a lasting monument of his triumphs, as well as to evince his gratitude to heaven for such signal success, he caused to be erected by the artificers whom he had brought from Delhi, a most sumptuous and stately mosque, so vast in its dimensions as to contain with ease the whole assembled body of the faithful in that extensive and populous capital.

To review farther the events that distinguished the life of this mighty conqueror; his splendid successes in Egypt and Syria, with

the captivity of Bajazet, and the immense preparations he made for that greater undertaking, which he had vowed, the conquest of China, and the extinction of idolatry through that wide region, would be a work totally unnecessary, because unconnected with the subject of this history. It will be sufficient for us to remark, that his Indian conquests remained in, at least, nominal subjection to the authority of the vice-roy he had appointed, till the death of Timur, which happened five years after, at Otrar, on the commencement of his expedition to China, on the 1st of April A. D. 1405, or A. H. 807, in the seventy-first year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his reign.*

On his death bed he summoned around him the princes of his family, the generals of his army, and the other principal lords of his court, and having, in the presence of them all, declared Pir Mohammed Gehan Ghir the sole heir and successor to all his vast dominions, ordered them to swear fidelity to him. This command they readily obeyed, not without tears for the loss of their renowned commander; and at the same time bound themselves by the most solemn obligations, to see the last will of their expiring monarch in every circumstance punctually fulfilled.

KHALIL SULTAN; FIRST SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

But scarcely had the fatal event taken place, ere they broke through those vows so solemnly plighted in favour of Khalil Sultan,

* Sherefeddin, Vol. II. p. 387, and Arabshah, Tom. II. p. 503. The above account of Timur's irruption, is the substance of what is to be found in these two writers concerning it, compared with the long article on *Timour* in the Bibliotheque Orientale of M. D'Herbelot. Whatever partakes of panegyric, apparently exaggerated, is from SHEREFEDDIN; whatever of embittered invective, is from ARABSHAH; and the foundation of the adulation of the one, and the rancour of the other, has been stated at the beginning of this chapter. A medium between both must doubtless exhibit his true character; in deciding upon it, we must ever remember the violent principles, inspired by his *religion*, and the native uncultured ferocity, peculiar to the WAR-BRED TARTAR.

(the son of Miran Shah), another of his grandsons, whom they raised to the throne; and who, having obtained possession of Samarcand, and the imperial palace with its vast treasures, was enabled by those treasures to maintain himself in the government he had thus unjustly usurped. In the mean time Pir Mohammed, the rightful heir of the throne, astonished at this general disobedience to the dying commands of Timur, and warmed with indignation at the particular infringement of his own just rights, prepared with vigour to assert his claims. The legacy bequeathed him with such unlimited generosity, amounting to half the kingdoms of Asia, was of too rare a kind, of too transcendant a value, to be tamely relinquished to an usurper; and it was bequeathed to one who seemed to possess both spirit and resources to vindicate his invaded rights. Trained from his very infancy to arms; accustomed to fight under the banner, and often by the side, of his illustrious grandfather, his soul was a stranger to the sense of danger, and the emotions of vulgar fear. Though he well knew the advantage which possession gave his antagonist, and the prostrate servility of the courtiers that surrounded him, Pir Mohammed, with a spirit as cool as determined, instantly resolved to decide the contest, however unequal; and, having collected a powerful army, advanced without delay from Gazna on the frontiers of India towards Samarcand. In his progress towards that metropolis he sent an embassy to Sultan Khalil, declaring his surprise at his violent usurpation of those dominions of which himself was declared the sole and universal heir by the will of him who, from conquest, possessed the sole right of bestowing them. An answer, at once evasive and insulting, was returned to this declaration, quickly followed by a numerous army ready to inforce by the point of the sword the justice of his pretensions. The command of this army was given to Shah Hussein, his cousin, under the direction of some experienced generals that had served under Timur: but the rash ambition

of this prince hurried him into the madness of seizing the persons of those generals; and instead of marching the troops against Pir Mohammed, he suddenly declared himself a competitor for the throne. By the judicious caution, however, of one of his generals, who had gained his confidence, the intended mischief was prevented, the imperial army preserved, and the bold adventurer driven into exile, where he soon after perished. By this delay Pir Mohammed gained a considerable advantage over his rival, who now, convinced that no time was to be lost, put himself at the head of his own army, and brought forth against him the united forces of the whole empire. The two armies soon met, and, after a most obstinate and bloody conflict, victory declared in favour of him whose cause was less just; while Pir Mohammed with difficulty escaped the fate of his family, and attendants, who were all made prisoners.

Undiscouraged by this defeat he returned to Candahar, where, amidst the hardy inhabitants of those mountains, he soon raised a still more numerous army, with which he hastened to renew the contest; but fate itself seemed to fight against him; for as soon almost as the engagement commenced an unaccountable panic seized his troops, who fled with precipitation from the field, and their commander himself was obliged to seek shelter in a neighbouring castle, which, though ill prepared to sustain an assault, was immediately invested by the victorious Khalil. As the Mirza had not with him a force sufficient to defend the place, he contrived to deceive the enemy for a time by this stratagem: he arrayed in warlike apparel the common people and the menial servants of the castle, and, thus accoutred, compelled them to mount the walls, that the enemy, who knew his resolution, might not doubt of his having troops to defend himself to the last extremity. The difference, however, between these raw novices and regular troops being soon visible, and the cause itself utterly desperate, the besieged general was compelled,

however reluctantly, to yield to the necessity of the occasion, and make the best terms possible with his competitor. A cessation of hostilities was therefore agreed upon, and a mutual compact, confirmed by oath, entered into between the contending parties, that each should enjoy, unmolested by the other, the territories in his possession.

Pir Mohammed once more returned to his government, probably with little intention to respect claims founded on injustice, or oaths extorted by violence; but whatever his future designs were, they proved abortive: for shortly after in a rebellion excited by his vizier he was taken prisoner, and basely assassinated. The traitor however did not long enjoy his ill-gotten power, for Shah Rukh or Sharock, the fourth son of Timur, advancing from his government of Chorasan, soon after revenged the Mirza's death by the destruction of the rebel that had occasioned the insurrection, and having restored affairs to their former tranquillity, established himself in the extensive dominions of his predecessor.

Though the history of Timur's successors in India till the reign of Sultan Baber is involved in great obscurity, and what little we know of it is partial and desultory, yet from the sources of intelligence in our possession we shall endeavour to carry on the chain of historical relation; and if we cannot be diffuse, at least be faithful. This will naturally include events that may seem to belong to Tartar rather than Indian history; yet as the descendants of Timur who reigned in Great Tartary must be considered, by means of his conquest, and consonantly to the Asiatic ideas affixed to conquest, as the only rightful lords of that country, this portion of their annals cannot appear totally unconnected with it. It cannot be sufficiently lamented that those Persian and Arabic records relative to this period that have been collected by Mr. Fraser and others, have not been translated into any European dialect. They would probably throw such a light on the events of this æra, as would enable those who possess

sufficient industry and leisure, to arrange in a satisfactory manner this particular section of Indian history that remains at present so clouded and confused. "Happy would it be," says a* great judge and ornament of Oriental literature, "if the principal writings of the Asiatics, which are reposited in our public libraries, were printed with the usual advantage of notes and illustrations; and if the languages of the Eastern nations were studied in our places of education, where every other branch of useful knowledge is taught to perfection, a new and ample field would then be opened for speculation; we should have a more extensive insight into the human mind, and a number of excellent compositions would be brought to light, which future scholars might explain, and future poets might imitate."

Sultan Khalil, unworthy to govern the empire he had usurped, soon degenerated from the vigour that distinguished his first entrance on regal authority, into the most unmanly and voluptuous conduct. To secure himself on the throne, he had early distributed the immense treasures amassed by Timur with lavish profusion among the great omrahs, principal courtiers, and soldiers; forgetful that by this unbounded prodigality he destroyed the resources of government, and weakened the sinews of war. After a few necessary campaigns, in which however he displayed great military abilities, he resigned himself to the absolute controul of an artful intriguing woman named Shadi Mulk, to whom he was devoted, and who gained such an ascendant over him, as by her influence to advance to the first employments of the state men of the meanest extraction, and most contemptible talents. By this ill conduct the hearts both of his soldiers and subjects were by degrees alienated from him, public affairs ran rapidly into confusion, and in a short time hardly a vestige remained of the splendour and magnificence that distinguished

* Sir W. Jones's Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations, prefixed to his Asiatic Poems.

the court of Timur. By the advice of the same jealous woman, disdaining near her any rivals in dignity, he had removed from about the court the wives and concubines of the deceased emperor; and bestowed them in marriage on persons of the most inferior rank and groveling minds; and those ladies, many of royal, all of noble, blood, finding themselves thus insulted, contributed not a little to blow up the flames of that general discontent that ended in the subversion of his power. The viceroys of the several provinces, both near and remote, did not fail to take advantage of the universal distraction that prevailed in the government, and began openly to throw off their allegiance. Many of these being equally, and some still more nearly, related to its original founder than the reigning monarch, made public boast of their pretensions to his throne, and prepared to assert those pretensions. The Sultan Sharock in particular, as superior to the others in power and extent of dominion, set out at the head of a vast army for Samarcand, and its monarch having fled before him, was received by the citizens with the loudest acclamations of joy as their safeguard and deliverer. His presence and prudent management of affairs soon restored peace and regularity to that distracted city; while the fame of his valour and the terror of his arms soon over-awed every meaner competitor, and gave him the bloodless possession of his father's throne.

SHAROCK,* OR SHAH RUKH; SECOND SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

The rash prince, whom Sharock succeeded, having been deceived and made prisoner by Khodadad Hussayn, with whom he had fled from his capital, was glad to fly back to his uncle for protection, who not only received him with honour, but settled him in the

* "Shahrokh, or, Check with the Rook, so called by Timur because he was playing at chess, and had just beaten his adversary by that stroke, when he received news of the prince's birth." Jones's Nadir Shah, page 25.

government of Persian Irak and Azerbijian; provinces, better suited than a great kingdom to his slender capacity for ruling. He did not indeed long enjoy even this inferior situation; for, whether he still remained an object of some jealousy to the new emperor, or had really engaged in treasonable practices, it was thought proper to remove him, and he was soon after taken off by poison. His death left Sharock in undisturbed possession of the greater part of Timur's extensive conquests, which he seems to have governed with great wisdom and policy, for his reign was long and distinguished by illustrious events. His life was written by Sherefeddin the Persian historian, at that time living, to whom we are indebted for the life of Timur referred to above; and from whom our guide, Herbelot, derived the particulars given in the Bibliotheque Orientale. To the talents of a great warrior Sharock added those of a nobler kind. He was both the patron and associate of learned men: in his reign many noble edifices, sacred to religion and philosophy, were erected; and the city of Shiraz, where his second son, Sultan Ibrahim, resided as governor, who was himself a scholar and a poet, and founded a college there with liberal establishments, might be justly called the seat of science and the nurse of poetry. His fourth son, Soyurgatmish, had the command of Gazna and the Indian territories, but died some years before his father; who after a long career of glory at length deceased at Rey* in Persian Irak, A. D. 1446, in the 71st year of his age, and the 40th of his reign.

* Of Rey nothing now is visible but a heap of mouldering ruins; yet if Sir John Chardin's account of it be credible, it was once the largest city in all Asia, divided into ninety-six quarters, every one of which contained forty-six streets, and every street four thousand houses. He adds, from Persian historians, that its walls inclosed "6,400 colleges, 16,600 baths, 15,000 towers of mosques, 12,000 mills, 1,700 channels, and 13,000 inns. Allowing that this account must be enormously exaggerated, yet what an image does it present to the mind of the ancient grandeur and population of the Persian empire?—How does it reconcile us to the astonishing relations concerning Persepolis and other Eastern cities, when in their glory?—And with

ULUG BEG; THIRD SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

Ulug Beg, the eldest son of Sharock, and indeed the only one of five that survived him, succeeded his father; but came not to the throne under those happy auspices of peace and submission that marked his progress to imperial sway. That fatal ambition which had seized all the offspring of Timur, and had deluged his dominions with the blood of his descendants, again began to break forth with aggravated fury, and demanded in the reigning sovereign the most active exertions, joined with the most consummate military skill. Baysankar, the third son of Sharock, had left behind him three sons, whose names were Alaoddawlet, Mohammed, and Baber, who severally stood candidates for a share of the empire. Their efforts were as sudden as their attempts were bold. The first seized on Herat, the capital of Chorasan, where he found great treasures; the second laid claim to Persian Irak and Pars, of which he had been appointed governor; and the third did the same by Mazenderan. Each immediately proclaimed himself independent, and acted with sovereign authority in the several provinces they had usurped. Undismayed at this threefold opposition, the new emperor made immediate preparations to punish the disloyalty of his nephews. Anxious to recover Chorasan, the hereditary domain of his family, allotted them by Timur, but more anxious to recover his young son Abdollatiff, who was taken prisoner at Herat, he first temporised with its invader, and having by stratagem gotten the youth out of his hands, at no distant interval placed himself at the head of the imperial army, and, giving the usurper battle, defeated him near Herat, and entered that city in triumph.

what an awful idea does it impress the soul of the sublime majesty and unrivalled splendour of the great Shahinshah, or king of kings."†

† Richardson's Dissertation on the Language, Literature, and Manners of the Eastern Nations.

Alaoddawlet, thus defeated, joined his forces to those of his brother Baber, but this junction availed him not; for Ulug marching from Herat, a second time put him to flight, and compelled both to seek shelter with their other brother Mohammed, who ruled in Persian Irak. Content with having vanquished them he did not pursue his victory, nor point against them the vengeance they deserved; but returned to Herat, where his presence was necessary to crush a rebellion reigning in the suburbs of that city, which the irritated monarch gave up to the pillage of his soldiery. After reposing his army for some time in its neighbourhood he returned to Samarcand.

Trusting that his clemency and forbearance, joined to their past experience of his power, would operate towards the disarming of the insurgents, Ulug forebore at present to prosecute the war, but had soon reason to repent of his ill-judged lenity towards those ungrateful brothers; for having obtained fresh succours they again returned to Herat, whose inhabitants, smarting under their late chastisement, in revenge opened their gates to him. A still more terrible calamity befel this amiable and brave, but ill-fated, man: for, shortly after, his own son Abdollatiff appeared in arms against him; and, when every tender paternal expostulation failed to reclaim him to duty and allegiance, the unfortunate father was compelled to give him battle, and, being routed in the engagement, was taken prisoner, and not long after cruelly put to death, in about the year 1450, in the fortieth year of his reign over Turkestan and the countries north of the Jihun, but the fourth over the Tartarian empire. This prince deserved a better end; for besides great personal bravery he possessed many excellent qualities, and, like his father and brother, patronized the sciences. In astronomical knowledge he himself was highly eminent: he* erected a noble observatory at Samarcand, and commanded, if not superintended, the

* Sir W. Jones's Preface to Nadir Shah.

composition of certain astronomical tables of high repute through the East, of which a part has been published in Europe, with a Latin version, under the title of Epochæ Celebriores. In this work he is styled Sultan al Hind et al Sind, that is, of the two grand divisions of India, which seems to carry with it presumptive evidence that no convulsions had yet wholly wrested the conquests of Timur in that country from his descendants.

ABDOLLATIFF; FOURTH SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

After the atrocious deed above mentioned Abdollatiff ascended the throne; but having imbrued his hand in paternal blood, scrupled not to proceed to the abominable wickedness of consigning an only brother to the same premature destruction. Having thus got rid, as he thought, of every object that stood in the way of his ambition or excited his jealousy, the remorseless tyrant, whose distinguishing characteristic was a certain ferocity of courage, laid out many schemes of conquest, and flattered himself with many years of glory and felicity. But the justice of Heaven overtook the barbarian, and before he had completed six months of his reign his own soldiers, tired of his intolerable yoke and daily cruelties, shot him to death with arrows.

ABDOLLAH; FIFTH SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

Abdollah, the son of Ibrahim, second son of Sharock, who had married a daughter of Ulug Beg, and at that time resided in Samarcand, considered this as a favourable crisis to assume the reins of that goverment to which he deemed himself, in some measure, by consanguinity entitled. This prince had, with the consent of Sharock, succeeded his father in the sovereignty of Pars, or Persia Proper, from which he had been driven by the violent usurpation of Mohammed, son of Baysankar, above mentioned. Ulug Beg had received him with kindness, had admitted him, by the marriage of his daughter,

to a still more intimate alliance with the reigning family, and under his protection he had ever since fixed his abode in that capital. In Abusaid Mirza, however, grandson of Miran Shah, third son of Timur, he soon found an active, determined, and finally successful rival. With a soul fired by ambition, and formed for enterprize, this aspiring chief had long meditated to erect for himself on the ruins of Timur's vast and divided empire an independent kingdom, and, amidst the confusion that ensued from Abdollatiff's unnatural rebellion, first began to manifest his daring aims. In the campaign which that monarch undertook to enforce the obedience of his rebellious son, he had joined the royal party with a considerable body of forces, and seemed heartily engaged in his cause; but, on a sudden, he withdrew his troops, and, confederating with another powerful and disaffected lord, marched to Samarcand where Abdollaziz, the second son of Ulug, commanded; who, unwilling to contend with such superior forces, precipitately retreated, leaving him master of the city. Alarmed at this intelligence, Ulug Beg immediately hastened back to the relief of his capital; and this sudden retreat from the field seems to have given that advantage to his son which soon after ended in his defeat, and death. The execrable, but decisive, measure that doomed a father to destruction, gave to this sanguinary victor at once the sceptre of imperial sway, and the forces necessary to support it. His own numerous legions, joined with the experienced troops of Ulug Beg, composed together an army formidable for its magnitude, and irresistible for its skill. Armed with these resources he marched directly to Samarcand, where Abusaid in his present circumstances refused to risque the event of a general engagement. He therefore retired from the field of public contest to that of dark intrigue and secret cabal; he affected to disband his army, and relinquished all open hostile preparations, of dubious issue, for those more slow but efficacious measures that seemed to promise unavoidable success. For some months

he continued to act with this guarded caution; but the death of Abdollatiff affording a fresh opening for enterprize, the effect of these intrigues was soon visible in the open revolt of Bockhara and its dependences. The flame of sedition quickly spread far and wide, and to extinguish it required all the exertions of the new Sultan, whose claims to empire were by no means generally acknowledged, and whose throne yet trembled beneath him. By efforts equal to the greatness of the stake, he collected an army, and on his approach towards Samarcand, met, defeated, and drove his competitor Abusaid beyond the most distant limit of his dominions. But the ardour of that mighty hero from whose loins was to descend, in direct succession, the great hereditary dynasty of the Mogul monarchs, was not to be thus quenched. The ensuing year he returned at the head of an immense body of Uzbeck Tartars, who spreading over the country, like a vast inundation, carried terror and desolation to the very walls of Samarcand. The event was a battle, fought with inconceivable fury, and attended with circumstances of unusual horror, in which Abdollah being slain, A. D. 1451, his fortunate rival at last mounted that throne, for which he had so long contended with such restless and enterprizing zeal.

ABUSAID MIRZA; SIXTH SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

The whole reign of this monarch, comprehending a period of nearly twenty years, was a continued series of warlike contention, from the jealous hatred of the neighbouring princes and the persevering opposition of the sons of Abdollatiff, contending for the empire of their father. But opposition served only to illustrate the life of Abusaid Mirza. He greatly enlarged the boundaries within which, by the encroachment of the surrounding potentates, and the vicissitudes natural to kingdoms as to men, the original empire of Timur was now reduced. Every part of that empire felt the effects of his vigorous government; and the anarchy that had long reigned in its more distant provinces, the natural consequence of the late

feeble administration and frequent changes at the helm, was both awed by his presence, and quieted by his wisdom.

To this period, or that somewhat preceding, may probably be referred the first open defect of Western Hindostan from that obedience which its inhabitants had long, at least *nominally*, paid to the governors appointed by the family of Timur; "for nothing can be less founded," says Mr. Orme,* than "the common belief that the throne of Delhi, and the whole extent of the conquests made by Timur in India were maintained by his posterity in a regular filiation, and without interruption." The conquests of that celebrated warrior were too suddenly acquired to possess great durability. He left the natives rather overwhelmed with astonishment, and overawed by his good fortune, than completely subjugated. The profound veneration of the Hindoos for their own peculiar civil institutions, the solemn rites of national religion, whose deep foundation his sanguinary executions could never shake, the extensive power which the Afghan tribes still retained in India, and the wide domain possessed by the independent rajahs, all forbid the idea of any permanent Tartar establishment in that country from the rapid invasion of Timur. Remote from Samarcand, the seat of empire, the Indian provinces were kept in subjection rather by the terror of those numerous and disciplined forces, chiefly cavalry, that remained with the viceroy at Gazna, or Candahar, ever at hand to enforce obedience, and crush rebellion, than by any fixed veneration for the laws or name of Timur. However those motives might afterwards operate when Sultan Baber and his descendants had again effected the conquest of India, the former were as yet little known, and the latter little respected. Confined as is our knowledge of the internal history of that country at this æra, yet as Abusaid is affirmed by the Oriental writers, cited in Herbelot,† to have personally extended

* See Orme's Dissertation on the Mohammedan Conquests in India.

† See the article Abusaid Mirza, p. 34. His authorities are professedly the NIGHIARISTAN and KHONDEMIR. Ferishta's account of this period will occupy the next chapter.

his dominions from Multan in Hindostan to Karazm on the Caspian sea, it may justly be supposed that intestine commotions had rendered his presence absolutely necessary in that remote region.

The death of Abusaid was not so glorious as his life had been, since it happened not in the field of battle, but by the hand of the executioner; for having in a war with Hassan the Turcoman,* in too great confidence advanced upon the frontiers of Azerbigian he was in his retreat taken prisoner, and ungenerously doomed to suffer an ignominious death in the camp of his enemy in the year of Christ 1468, and in the seventeenth of his reign.

With Abusaid expired the glory of the mighty empire of Timur, established in Great Tartary: an empire, which, in its full meridian and animated by the soul of its great founder, eclipsed all (excepting perhaps that of Gengis Khan) that the world had ever beheld; extending far as the river Ganges to the east, and to the Archipelago on the west. The symbol displayed on its banners, the SUN RISING ON THE BACK OF A RECUMBENT LION, had long blazed in every region of terrified Asia. It now hastened rapidly to its decline; yet, in the very evening of its final extinction it diffused a beam of bright though transient effulgence, over the political horizon, and the nations of the east bowed to its setting, scarcely less than to its rising ray. But it declined at Samarcand, only to rise with renovated splendour at Delhi. A spark of the genius of Timur yet remained to animate to glory another great branch of his posterity, and, in the remote regions of that empire, from the ashes of the old, to form a new government equal in renown, if not in extent, to the former.

*The Turcomen, have been already described as having originally been natives of Turkestan, who had established themselves along the coast of the Caspian Sea. They by degrees, became very powerful, gave rise to two monarchies, that of the *Black Sheep* and that of the *White Sheep*, and were formidable both to Timur's descendants who reigned in Tartary, and the Uzbeks who succeeded them. This Hassan, who afterwards usurped the province of Chorasan, was the sixth of the dynasty of the *White Sheep*. Such were the symbols painted on their ensigns.

SULTAN AHMED; SEVENTH SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR.

Ahmed, the eldest of eleven sons left by Abusaid, mounted without opposition, the hereditary throne of the house of Timur; but wanting the vigour and military abilities of his father, the extensive acquisitions made by his arms were soon lost, and the successive incursions of his powerful neighbours, in a short time reduced his dominions to the most contracted circle. In a few years the imperial domain comprehended little more than the country of Mawhranhar, or Great Bokhara; and after a reign, distinguished by no brilliant event on record, this inglorious monarch died at Samarcand in A. H. 899, or A. D. 1493, and the twenty-fifth of his reign.

SULTAN BABER; THE EIGHTH AND LAST SUCCESSOR OF TIMUR ON THE THRONE OF TARTARY, AND THE PROPER FOUNDER OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE IN INDIA.

Baber, son of Omar, (fourth son of Abusaid, grandson of Miran Shah, third son of Timur), from the sovereignty of Andekan, a province of Tartary, which he inherited from his father, succeeded on the death of Ahmed to the vacant throne. The nation that had been so highly instrumental to the greatness of Abusaid, proved fatal to the authority of his grandson. Dispersed in vast numbers throughout the whole region of Tartary; eye witnesses of the feeble administration of the affairs of the empire, and of the relaxed discipline of the troops destined to defend it; no wonder that the rapacious and military race of Uzbecks, aspired to the sovereignty of a country which their valour had contributed to conquer for another. Invited probably by his subjects settled in that kingdom, and

flushed with victories already obtained in the surrounding region, Shah Bakht, Khan of the Uzbeck tribes, with a mighty army in the fifth year of Sultan Baber's reign invaded Great Bokhara. The unfortunate Sultan, in the present debilitated state of the monarchy, unable to make head against such numerous and disciplined forces, was compelled to abdicate the throne of his ancestors, to which he never returned. Indeed no descendant of Timur, after this period reigned in Samarcand, for Shah Bakht, still wider extending his conquests, retook Chorasan from the usurper Hassan, whose family he extirpated, and, adding to his new possessions Karazm and many neighbouring principalities, laid the foundations of a monarchy whose posterity still retain the supreme dominion, while the whole of that country has since gradually assumed the name of the conquerors, and is now called Uzbeck Tartary.

Baber, as he afterwards proved, wanted neither spirit nor perseverance in any cause he undertook; but he soon saw that the empire he had lately governed, from the weakness of his predecessor, was irretrievably ruined. Instead therefore of engaging in ineffectual contests for a throne, now irrecoverably lost, he determined with equal wisdom and boldness, to plant his standard on a soil where no laurels had been lately reaped, and immortalize himself by becoming the founder of a new empire. He turned his eye eastward, and in a kind of prophetic transport beheld the glory of India's future sovereigns that were to descend from his loins. Resolved to succeed or perish in the attempt, with a mind inflamed with these sanguine hopes, the ROYAL EXILE retired to Gazna, that baleful source of the evils of Hindostan, there to plan the scheme of his future conquests, and the renovation of the fallen splendour of his family.

During the last inactive reign the provinces of Hindostan had almost entirely shaken off the Tartar yoke, which was equally odious to the Mohammedan chiefs and the native princes. The

Afghans had taken possession of the city and kingdom of Delhi, for by that name was the surrounding district then called; the great rajahs had rendered themselves for the most part independant of all foreign authority; and thus a new and wide field lay open to the aspiring genius of Sultan Baber. The plan he had thus boldly formed, he prepared with vigour and celerity to execute. With an army, small in number, but terrible in battle, and warmly attached to their leader, he set out at length on this hazardous expedition; but so rooted an abhorrence of the Tartar government had taken place in the countries he meant again to subjugate, so united and general was the opposition made to his arms both by Afghans and Indians, that for several campaigns he made but slow progress, was often repulsed, and sometimes totally defeated; nor, till he gained a final and decisive victory over Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, in his fifth invasion, could he at all be said to have gained a permanent footing in India. This engagement took place on the 1st of May 1526, and gives us the highest idea both of the military talents of Baber, and the obstinate intrepidity of the troops under his command, since, with hardly 12000 effective men, he put to flight an army of 100,000 Afghans, supported by an immense body of elephants, trained to war. We are more astonished at such success, with such disparity of numbers, because it was not, we are told, with the enervate Indian, but the hardy Afghan with whom he had to contend. It must however, be supposed that, from their frequent and prolonged incursions into the Indian territories, his veteran bands had arrived at a pitch of perfection in the science of war unequalled in those days, and were absolutely unconquerable but by troops of the same excellence, animated by a general of the same experience.

Thus a remote though lineal descendant of Timur, a fugitive from his own country, ascends in person the throne of Delhi, near 130 years after the acquisition of it by that great conqueror; and thus that portion of his dominion, which, in his meridian of glory, was

but a bright appendage to his other more valued conquests, now becomes the sole seat of his remaining empire, and the last refuge of his exiled race.

Had the Institutes by which Timur governed, been adhered to by his descendants in Tartary; had that rigid discipline, established through his vast army, been regularly and scrupulously maintained; had they inherited with its throne the personal activity, the intuitive wisdom, the enlarged policy of its great legislator, it was an empire from its very principles well calculated, as it was certainly intended by him, to continue for many centuries the admiration and terror of the world.

Timur possessed a mind at once daring and prudent. Of a temper ardent, resolute, and ambitious in the highest degree, his native fire was moderated by long habits of reflection, his resolution never betrayed him into acts of desperate precipitancy, and his ambition he so far kept within bounds, that it seldom exceeded his ability to accomplish its aims. Of the immense treasures he possessed he was liberal, but not prodigal; kept his chief officers and great omrahs in strict subordination to his authority, and seldom trusted to others for the execution of any grand, or hazardous project. Those, among his descendants, who trod in his steps, and made his illustrious life their example, arrived at a point of eminence in fame and power, that nearly bordered on his own. Such was the immortal Shahrock; such was the invincible Abusaid. The rest were in general fierce without fortitude, profuse without generosity, and instigated by a wild ambition that spurned every bound of reason and justice; seldom appearing at the head of their own armies, and then ruining the best concerted measures by precipitate ardour, or vindictive violence. All discipline in military life became neglected; and all regularity and economy in the administration of civil concerns was at an end. The disposal of the most important offices was left to the fluctuating caprice of slaves and sycophants; the

great omrahs in the distant provinces grew by degrees independent of their sovereign; while those nearer home enriched themselves by the plunder of the empire, and rioted in luxuries purchased by the oppression of laborious industry. The final ruin of that empire was the consequence; it remains to be seen whether in a second, established by his posterity, they will derive wisdom from past experience, and act more conformably to the life and maxims of their vaunted progenitor.

After the preceding very considerable, but not, I trust, irrelevant nor unentertaining digression, let us return to the consideration of what Ferishta has collected on the subject of the domestic history of Hindostan during this dark period, from the irruption of Timur till the final establishment of Baber on the throne of Hindostan. With respect to the irruption itself, as the work of Ali of Yezd, or Sherefeddin, must have been his principal guide in the narration, equally as it has been mine, there cannot be expected, and there will not be found, any material deviation in the great line of historical fact. An attempt, indeed, is made, on traditional authority to exculpate Timur from the charge of the guilt of the massacre of Delhi;* but it is weak and futile. Idolaters and their property were attacked with religious and political fury, the least resistance in the Tartar and Arab creed of faith, justified unlimited massacre. The following is the substance of that writer's account of the melancholy catastrophe of the Delhian insurgents.

The consternation of Mahmud and his minister Eckbal, after the battle of the third of January, 1399, was so great, that, not trusting to the fortified walls, they both deserted, in the night, the capital; the former flying to Guzzurat, the latter taking the route of Berren. Timur, having intelligence of their flight, detached parties after them, one of which coming up with Mahmud, killed a great number of his retinue, and took his two infant sons prisoners.

*. Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 9.

Timur received the submission of all the great men of the city, who crowded to his camp, and were promised protection upon paying great contributions; and, upon the Friday following, he ordered the royal proclamation and titles to be read in his own name in all the mosques. The next day he placed guards at the gates, and appointed the scriveners of the city, and magistrates, to regulate the contribution according to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants. Information was, in the mean time, lodged, that several omrahs and rich men had shut themselves up in their houses, with their dependents, and refused to pay down their share of the ransom. This obliged Timur to send troops into the city, to enforce the authority of the magistrates. A general confusion, uproar, and spoliation immediately ensued, which could not be restrained by the Mogul officers, who at the same time, dared not acquaint the king that their authority was contemned by the troops.

Timur, according to his custom after success, was then busy in his camp, in celebrating a grand festival, on account of his victory, so that it was five days before he received any intelligence of these proceedings. The first notice he had of them, was by the flames of the city; for the Hindoos seeing their wives and daughters violated, their wealth seized by the hand of rapine, and themselves insulted, beat, and abused, at length, with one consent, shut the city gates, set fire to their houses, murthered their wives and children, and ran out like mad-men against their enemies.

But very little effect had the despair of the unfortunate upon the Moguls, who were collected from every quarter, and began a general massacre. Some streets were rendered impassable, by the heaps of dead: and, in the mean time the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army were admitted. Then followed a scene of horror, much easier to be imagined than described. The desperate courage of the unfortunate Delhians was at length quenched in their own blood. They threw down their weapons, and submitted themselves

like sheep to the slaughter. They permitted one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him; so that we may plainly perceive, that cowardice is the mother of despair. In the city, the Hindoos were, at least, ten to one, superior in number to the enemy, and had they possessed *souls*, it would have been impossible for the Moguls, who were scattered about in every street, house, and corner, laden with plunder, to have resisted the dreadful assault. But though the Indians had the savage resolution to imbrue their hands in the blood of their wives and children, we find them still the slaves of fear, and shrinking at the approach of that death, which they could so readily execute upon others.

This massacre is, in the History of Nizam, otherwise related. The collectors of the ransom, says he, upon the part of Timur, having used great violence, by torture and other means, to extort money, the citizens fell upon them, and killed some of the Moguls. This circumstance being reported to the Mogul king, he ordered a general pillage, and, upon resistance, a massacre to commence. This account carries greater appearance of truth along with it, both from Timur's general character of cruelty, and the improbability of his being five days close to the city without having intelligence of what passed within the walls. But the imperial race of Timur take, to this day, great pains to invalidate this opinion, nor do they want arguments on their side. The principal one is this; that, in consequence of a general plunder, the king would have been deprived of the ransom, which must have been exceedingly great, instead of which he only received the elephants and regalia. Neither have we any account of his taking any part of the plunder from his army afterwards, though it must have been very immense.*

The city of Delhi remained in anarchy for the space of two months after the departure of Timur, when it was taken possession of by the

* Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 9.

pretended emperor Nuserit,* with only two thousand horse, from Merat. Two chiefs, Shab and Almass, with their troops and ten elephants, joined him soon after from the same place; Nuserit sent immediately Shab, with his troops, towards Birren, against Eckbal, who had there taken up his residence. But Shab was attacked, in the night, upon his march, by the zemindars in the interest of Eckbal, and slain; Eckbal pursuing this advantage, took all the baggage of Shab's army,

This success raising the reputation as well as spirits of Eckbal, he, in a few days, thought himself in a condition to make an attempt upon the capital, which he did with success; for Nuserit, upon his approach, fled to Merat; and Eckbal resumed the administration of affairs in the ruined city. The inhabitants, who escaped the massacre and had fled to different places, retaining still a natural prejudice in favour of their old abode, began to assemble again, and the place in a short time, put on the appearance of populousness, especially the quarter called the New City.†

Ferishta agrees with Sherefeddin in the circumstance of Timur's having appointed Chizer Khan, a kind of tributary sovereign of Multan, Lahore, and Debalpour, but we learn from the former author, that, on his return to Samarcand, and during his subsequent campaigns in the distant confines of Egypt and Syria, the whole east and south of India was convulsed with the efforts of rival competitors to obtain that throne on which the weak Mahmud, though still in existence, a miserable phantom of imperial grandeur, was not able firmly to maintain his seat. These competitor sin their respective districts assumed the title and exercised the authority of kings; but two pre-eminently so, the one styling himself the KING OF THE EAST, meaning the vast provinces stretching on each side of the Ganges; and the other, the KING OF THE WEST, who reigned in Guzzurat;

* Concerning this person, see what is said Vol. I. p. 505 of this History.

† Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 9.

and these arrogated titles continued to be enjoyed for a long period by their posterity. Thus, we are told by Ferishta, that Eckbal possessed Delhi, and the country between the two rivers, for Sultan Mahmud, which, with a small district round the city, was all that now belonged to the capital. Guzzurat was seized upon by Azim; Malva by Delawir; Cannouge, Oude, Kurrah, and Gehanpour by Jehan, commonly called the King of the East; Lahore, Debalpour, and Multan by Chizer; Samana by Ghabil; and, in the same manner, the remaining provinces were occupied by other great omrahs, through the whole extent of the empire. Mahmud retained only the nominal title of Emperor, and was wholly at the mercy of his minister Eckbal, who, during many years, held his sovereign in disgraceful bondage, disposing of him wheresoever it best suited his convenience or inclination, in cities and in fortresses; and we now find him a sovereign in Canouge, and now an unpitied exile in Guzzurat. Eckbal at length met in battle Chizer, the most formidable of his rivals, and paid with his life the forfeit of his numerous perfidies. Mahmud once more, with a feeble hand, and for a short time, was permitted to assume the sceptre; but was at length besieged in Delhi by Chizer himself, who finally ascended a throne to which he was far better intitled by his prudence and valour. Mahmud died of a fever in A. H. 816, and in A. D. 1413, after a disastrous, interrupted, and inglorious reign of twenty years and two months. With him became extinct the dynasty of Afghan princes descended from FEROSE of the tribe of Chilligi*.

* The first 50 pages in this chapter are, as I before stated, from a MANUSCRIPT composed by me, long before I had seen Ferishta, from Sherefeddin, Arabshah, and the Authorities produced in the Bibliotheque Orientale. The remainder of this and the principal part of the succeeding chapter, are abridged from Ferishta. The MANUSCRIPT will be resumed at a future period.

CHAPTER II.

Dynasty of the SEYDS, *or Race of the Prophet.* CHIZER *assumes the supreme Authority in the Name of* TIMUR—*an able and just Prince, but cannot restore the Empire, shaken to its Foundation by the Irruption of* TIMUR, *to its former stability and glory.* MUBARICK II.—*In his Reign two rival Kingdoms are formed, that* OF THE EAST, *including the Provinces lying on and near the* GANGES; *and that* OF THE WEST, *comprehending Guzzurat, and the Districts bordering on the* INDUS—*assassinated by his Vizier, who raises to the Throne—Mohammed, a Grandson of Chizer, who proving an indolent, luxurious Prince, gives opportunity to* BELOLI, *an Afghan of the Tribe of* LODI *to plan his Downfall and the Subversion of this Dynasty.—The latter rebels, and marches twenty thousand Horse to Delhi, which he besieges for some Months, but in the end is compelled to retire.—After a turbulent reign of twelve Years, Mohammed dies, and is succeeded by his Son—*ALLA II.—*a pusillanimous, irresolute Prince, during whose Reign all the great Rajahs rise in Rebellion, assuming in their respective Provinces the title of* KINGS.—*The more daring* BELOLI *again marches to Delhi, takes it, and mounting the Throne, puts a Period to the Power of the* SEYDS.—*The Dynasty of* LODI.—BELOLI—*a warlike and vigorous Prince, who vindicates the invaded Rights of the Kings of* DELHI, *and establishes the Empire in its ancient splendour.—After a long and glorious Reign, he is succeeded by his Son—*SECUNDER I. *who, in valour and in wisdom, treads in the footsteps of his Father.—He removes the Court to* AGRA, *which he makes his Capital—succeeded by his Son—*IBRAHIM—*arrogant and revengeful, he disgusts the great Omrahs, who join in a general Rebellion against*

him, and invite SULTAN BABER, *the Mogul, from Cabul to invade Hindostan.*—BABER *obeys the Summons, and in the decisive Battle of* PANNIPUT, *deprives him of his Life and Kingdom, and with him terminates the Afghan Dynasty of* LODI.

CHIZER.

WE are told of Chizer that he was of the race of the Prophet, and consequently what the Mohammedans call a SEYD. Chizer, therefore, and his three successors are distinguished as the dynasty of the SEYDS. His father, Soliman, being a person of some distinction, became the adopted son of Dowlat, governor of the province of Multan in the reign of Ferose. Dowlat was, upon his death, succeeded in his government by his own son Malleck; and he soon dying, Soliman was appointed to that viceroyship, which descended to Chizer from his father. Chizer being defeated, as we have already observed, by Sarenk, the brother of Mellou Khan, and driven from his country, waited upon Timur, after the conquest of Delhi, and, having gained his favour, was by him reinstated in his former government, with the addition of all the countries watered by the five rivers, commonly called Panjab and Dibalpour. This great accession of strength soon paved his way to the empire.

Chizer, upon his accession, distributed favors, governments, and dignities among the great omrahs, but would not assume the imperial titles to himself, declaring that he held the empire for Timur: and ordered the coin to be struck in his name. The Chutba, or form of public prayer, during the life of Timur, was read in that conqueror's name in the mosques; and after the decease of Timur in that of the Emperor Sharock his son, the name of Chizer being mentioned after him. He even sometimes sent a tribute to Samarcand. This was sound policy in Chizer, as he

could govern his fellow omrahs, with less envy, in the name of the Tartar prince, than if he had assumed the name of king himself, to which he had no claim but what his sword gave him.

It does not appear, however, that the imperial authority assumed by Chizer, was by any means established on that permanent foundation on which it rested in the time of the great Ferose, and other sovereigns of the preceding dynasty. Though the most splendid success, on many occasions, crowned his arms in his numerous conflicts with the rival omrahs; yet as the hydra was many-headed, the flame of insurrection was no sooner quenched in one province than it broke out with rekindled fury in another. At the same time, though vigour and ability marked his councils and domestic government, yet the country, shaken to its profoundest centre by the irruption of Timur, continued in a very distracted state, during the whole of his reign. Some of the more striking and prominent events that occurred in it shall be now taken notice of.

On his ascending the throne, he appointed Malleck Joppa his vizier, and sent him, in the first year of his government, with an army towards Kittar, which he subdued, and drove Rai Narsingh to the mountains; but upon paying a tribute, the latter was again put in possession of his country. Mohabut, subah of Badoon, at the same time came to meet Malleck, and promised allegiance; and from thence the vizier marched towards Koer, Kumbul, and Chidewar, and levied the revenues which were due for some years before. After recovering Jellasar out of the hands of the Rajaputs of Chundwar, he marched to Atava, which he brought under subjection, by changing the administration; and after these exploits returned to Delhi.

Soon after, a tribe of Turks, who were of the adherents of Byram, assassinating Malleck, the governor of Sirhind took possession of that country. Chizer sent Zirick, with a powerful army, against them; and, upon his approach, the Turks crossed the Suttuluz, and

retreated to the hills. Zirick pursued them thither; but these mountains being a continuation of those of Naugracut, which were then possessed by powerful zemindars who assisted the Turks, he could effect nothing material against them; and, in the end, he was obliged to retreat.

Intelligence was, in the year, A. H. 819, received at Delhi, that Ahmud, who stiled himself KING OF GUZZURAT, had advanced to Nagore. Chizer mustering all his forces, marched against him, but Ahmud declining battle, turned off towards Malva. When Chizer Khan had reached Hanir, Elias, governor of that beautiful city, which had been built by sultan Alla, came out to meet him, and was honourably received. Chizer proceeded thence to Gualior, where he levied the tribute upon the rajah, and then continued his march to Biana, receiving tribute also from its governor Kerim. After these transactions he returned to Delhi.

In the year 820, Tân, chief of those Turks who had assassinated Malleck, lay at the head of a great army before Sirhind. Zirick, governor of Sammana, was immediately dispatched by Chizer, with a strong force, against the Turk who besieged Sirhind, and he was once more driven back to his hills, and a seasonable relief was accomplished for the empire. Zirick, having in the pursuit of the enemy, reached the village of Pael, Tân consented to pay tribute, and gave him his son as a hostage, expelling the murderers of Malleck. Upon this pacification he was left in possession of Jallender, and Zirick returned to Sammana, sending the hostage, and contributions which he had raised, to the royal presence.

The emperor, in the year 821, sent his minister against Raja Narsingh. The vizier, without ending the war, plundered and laid waste the province of Kittar, and returned to Budaoon. Crossing then the river, he came to Atava, where he raised contributions, and thence returned to Delhi. Chizer went in person against the rebels of Kittar, and, upon his march, chastised the banditti of Schole.

He crossed the Rahib, laid waste the country of Simbol, and Kittar, and, without coming to battle, returned to his capital.

He continued at Delhi a few days, and then moved towards Budaoon, crossing the Ganges at Pattali. Mahabut being alarmed at his approach, shut himself up in Budaoon, where the king besieged him for six months. In the course of the siege, Cawam, Achtiar Lodi, and all the old friends of the emperor Mahmud, formed a conspiracy against the life of Chizer. The sultan discovering the plot, decamped from before Budaoon, and returned towards Delhi. On his way, he prepared a sumptuous entertainment, to which all the conspirators were invited, and the guards setting suddenly upon them, they were, to a man, assassinated.

After the sultan returned to Delhi, he was informed, that an impostor had appeared at Matchewarrah, under the name of Saring (Sarenk in Sherefeddin,) and had, by that means, collected a great body of people together. The king ordered Malleck Lodi, who, with the title of Islam Khan, was, at that time, governor of Sirhind, to march against him. The impostor was defeated, driven to the hills, and pursued by the joint forces of the governor of Jallender, the governor of Sammana, and the governor of the country between the rivers. The impostor's army on this deserted him, each man skulking away in the best manner he was able, to his private residence. The imperial forces having no further service to perform, also separated, and returned to their respective stations. But, in the year following, Saring, the impostor, issued again from his hills, and having made an alliance with the governor of Jallender, they invested the fort of Sirhind, and ravaged the country far and near. The king sent a great army against them, who, giving them a total defeat, drove them out of the kingdom.

In the year 824, Chizer marched towards Mewat, taking and destroying the fort of Kotillah. The vizier dying at that time, the vizarit was conferred upon his son. The sultan turned thence

towards Gualior, where he raised contributions, and then hastened to Attava, levying tribute on the son of Rai Sibber, who then possessed that country. Death, the greater conqueror, however, put a stop to his triumphs; for falling sick during his progress, he returned to Delhi, where he expired, after a reign of seven years and a few months. His death was greatly lamented by the people, Chizer, being, on the whole, esteemed a just, generous, and benevolent prince.

Sharock, the son of Timur, sat on the Mogul throne, during this reign, and ruled the vast empire conquered by his father, with great ability, justice, and moderation.

MUBARICK II.

Mubarick, his eldest son, by his father's appointment, ascended the vacant throne. The early years of his reign were greatly disturbed by the attempts of Jesserit, an ambitious prince of the savage mountaineers called Gickers, to seize upon Delhi and its imperial throne; but those attempts were defeated, and himself driven back with disgrace to the hilly recesses whence he issued. The obstinate rebellion of the people of Mewat, a race of banditti inhabiting a woody mountainous tract of great extent that stretches south-west of Delhi, gave him considerably more trouble; but they also were eventually subdued, and their country totally ravaged. In this reign too it is recorded that a great army of Moguls, commanded by Ali, the governor of Cabul, for Sharock, then sitting on the Tartar throne, committed dreadful ravages in Hindostan; but the good fortune of Mubarick ultimately prevailed. Ferishta, in the course of this reign,* records a variety of conflicts in which Mubarick engaged with the self-created sovereigns of the distant provinces, particularly with Ibrahim, KING OF THE EAST, and the great rajah of Gualior, the princes of which stupendous hill-fort seem to have been always the objects of the hatred and jealousy of the kings of

* Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 34.

Delhi, till it was finally conquered by Akber; but the detail is little more than a repetition of what has occurred in former pages, and is by no means important enough for the notice of general history. The circumstances of his death are thus related.

Jealous of the enormous power assumed by his vizier, Mubarick endeavoured to curb it, by joining with him in the vizarit, a nobleman named Kammal; and the latter, being esteemed a man of superior abilities, soon engrossed the favour of his sovereign and the people.

The vizier enraged at this slight, formed a project to dethrone his master. Having gained over Sidarin and Sidpal, two great Hindoo chiefs of the tribe of Kettra, and other distinguished omrahs, they watched an opportunity to assassinate the king. About this time, Mubarick had ordered a city to be founded upon the banks of the Jumna, calling it the city of Mubarick, and made an excursion towards Tibberhind, with intent to take the diversion of hunting. Having, on the way, received advices that Tibberhind was taken, he returned to the new city. He there received intelligence that war was carrying on between Ibrahim, king of the Eastern provinces, and Hoshung of Malavi, near Calpie, intelligence extremely agreeable to him, as he sought an opportunity to expel Ibrahim from his dominions. He therefore gave orders to muster his army, and pitching his tent without the city, spent a few days in regulating and collecting his forces, during which time he continued to visit the new works without fear of danger, having never given offence to his nobility, except in changing or expelling them from their governments when they misbehaved.

Upon the ninth of the month of Rijib, in the year eight hundred and thirty-seven, according to his custom, he went to worship at a mosque which he had recently constructed in the new city, with only a few attendants. The conspirators clothed in armour, rushed in with drawn swords upon him, and basely assassinated him. The

vizier having previously settled matters with Mohammed, one of the grandsons of the emperor Chizer, immediately raised that prince to the throne.

Thus perished Mubarick II. after a turbulent reign of thirteen years, three months, and sixteen days. He was esteemed a man of talents, just and benevolent; his memory was respected, and his end pitied.

Little alteration happened in the north of Asia, during the reign of Mubarick. Sharock still sat on the throne of the Moguls, and seemed more inclined to rule his dominions with justice and equity, than to extend their limits towards India.

MOHAMMED.

Exalted to the empire by a guilty and blood-stained traitor, Mohammed neither sate upon it with safety nor with dignity. The hand lifted against his grandfather was soon raised to exterminate himself. The king in an insurrection of the indignant omrahs being besieged in his palace, and perceiving that his own affairs would be ruined, if he should adhere to the vizier, endeavoured to conciliate matters with the besiegers, and, at the same time, sought an opportunity of making his escape, or cutting off the vizier. The vizier discovering this plot, designed to be beforehand with the king; accordingly, one night, with the sons of Miran Sidder, and some of his own adherents, he broke into the king's apartment. But the emperor having suspected him of these murderous intentions, had privately a guard at hand, who, on a signal given, burst in upon the conspirators. They immediately betook themselves to flight; but the vizier was cut to pieces, as he was rushing out at the door, and thus met the fate he designed for his sovereign. Mohammed, after this escape, is said to have devoted himself entirely to pleasure, neglecting all the cares and necessary affairs of government. The accounts of the king's luxurious indolence soon affected the state.

Dissatisfaction began to appear first in Multan, where a tribe of Patans rose in rebellion. At the same time, Beloli Lodi, who was afterwards emperor, but at this time the governor of Sirhind, had, without any orders, possessed himself of the city and districts of Lahore and Debalpour, with all the country quite to Panniput.

The sultan receiving intelligence of this revolt, sent his whole army against him, who drove him back to the hills. In the retreat many chiefs of distinction were put to the sword; but Beloli recruited his army, and, when the imperial forces were withdrawn, he again possessed himself of all the countries from which they had driven him. Mohammed, the next time, sent Hissam Khan, the vizier's deputy, against him, who was defeated, and beat back to Delhi; upon which, Beloli wrote word to the king, that if he would put Hissam to death, who, by his intrigues, had been the occasion of this rebellion, he would lay down his arms.

The king was weak enough to listen to this arrogant proposal, and accordingly gave orders for the death of Hissam. He also deprived Cummal of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Hamid, appointing another person deputy, with the title of Hissam Khan. The governors of the provinces observing this pusillanimous and impolitic behaviour of the king, predicted his destruction, and endeavoured to secure their own independency; while the subjects and zemindars, foreseeing the convulsions that must happen in the state, withheld their rents, in hopes that they might be passed over, in the general confusion.

Ibrahim, sovereign of the eastern provinces, possessed himself of several districts, adjoining to his dominions; while Mahmud Chilligi king of Malva, made an attempt on the capital; and advanced within two cosses of the city. Mohammed, struck with terror in this urgent situation of affairs, imprudently sent an embassy to Beloli, to request his assistance. Beloli accordingly, with twenty thousand Persian horse, came to Delhi; Mohammed, though his

army was greatly superior in number to the enemy, was afraid to take the field himself, but committed the charge of the whole to his omrahs, and reposed himself in the haram. The omrahs, according to orders, advanced with the army against the enemy, Beloli leading the van.

When Mahmud Chilligi was given to understand, that the king of Delhi was not present, he thought this circumstance was intended as an affront to him; and, to be on a footing with Mohammed, he committed the charge of his army to his sons Yeaz ul Dien and Kuddir Khan. The two armies having engaged, the troops of Delhi gave way, and left Beloli alone to dispute the field, which he maintained with invincible resolution, till the fugitives, ashamed of their behaviour, returned to the action. Night, however, coming on, the victory was left undecided. Mahmud Chilligi being greatly frightened by a dream that night, and having heard, in the morning, that Ahmed, king of Guzzurat, was advanced as far as Mundo, he was more and more intimidated, and began to be desirous of making peace: but shame prevented him from expressing his wishes. At the same time, Mohammed, with less reason, and contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, gave himself up to base fear, and sent ambassadors with presents to his rival to solicit peace.

Mahmud Chilligi was overjoyed at these proposals, which saved the appearance of his reputation, and immediately accepting them, marched from the field. Beloli, who now began justly to despise them both, and to aspire to the empire, marched out of the city with his own troops, and pursuing Mahmud Chilligi, attacked him upon his march, defeated him, and took all his baggage. The weak sultan, who did not hitherto see through his palpable intentions, gave him the title of Khan Khanan, or first of the nobles, and adopted him for his son.

In the year 845, the emperor marched to Sammana, giving the governments of Lahore and Debalpour to Beloli, and ordering him

to expel Jisserit. He himself returned to his capital. Beloli, by this means, became extremely powerful, and recruited a great army of Afghans; but, instead of fighting Jisserit, he brought him over to his party, and began to seize upon several districts, without any orders from the king. At length, without any apparent reason, but his ambition, he drew his army against Delhi, which he besieged for some months, but, in the end, was obliged to abandon his enterprize.

The king's power was greatly weakened, and began to decay very rapidly. The zemindars of Biana put themselves under the government of Mahmud Chilligi. In the mean time, Mohammed fell sick and died, A. H. 850, or A. D. 1446; leaving behind him the character of a weak, dissolute, and unwarlike prince. He reigned twelve years and some months, and his son Alla succeeded him in the empire.

Sharock, emperor of the Moguls, dying this year, the conquests of Timur were divided among his grand-children, the sons of the prince Basankar. The eldest son of Sharock, the famous Ulug Beg, enjoyed the imperial titles, but his power was almost confined to the western Tartary, or Transoxania.

ALLA II.

Alla, the son of Mohammed, mounting the throne upon the demise of his father, all the omrahs, except Beloli Lodi, who secretly aspired to the empire, came and swore allegiance to him. This contempt of Beloli, the new sultan was in no condition to chastise; but having collected an army, in the beginning of A. H. 850, or A. D. 1447, he marched to recover Biana. While he was upon the way, there was a rumour propagated, that the king of the East was advancing towards Delhi, which immediately brought back the emperor to his capital; though he was warned by Hissam, the vizier, how ridiculous it would appear in a king to be guided by a

mere vague report. This reprimand brought upon the vizier Alla's displeasure.

This fatal step, however, proved ruinous to the sultan's reputation, and the meanest of the people feared not to say publicly, that he was a weaker man in point of intellect, than even his weak father. He marched in the following year to Budaoon, where he remained some time, laying out gardens, building pleasure-houses, and making entertainments, and then returned to Delhi. Pretending that the air of Budaoon agreed better with his health, he expressed an inclination of making that city his residence; to divert him from which purpose the vizier took great pains, but only incurred his more severe displeasure.

All Hindostan was, at this time, divided into separate states; for in the Deccan, Guzzurat, Malava, Jionpoor, and Bengal, there were princes who assumed the style and dignity of kings; while Panjab, Debalpour, and Sirhind, even to Panniput, were possessed by the aspiring Beloli. Merowli, and all the country to the Serai of Lado, within fourteen miles of Delhi, were in the hands of Ahmed of Mewat; Simbol, close to the walls of this city, was possessed by Deria Lodi; Kole, by Isah; Rabari, by Cuttub the Afghan; Cumpela and Pattiali, by the Indian prince Partab; Biana was subject to Daood Lodi; so that the city of Delhi, and a few small districts, remained only to the king.

Beloli made, about this time, another attempt upon the city, but was not more successful than he was before. The king, relieved from this danger, began to consult the means of recovering part of his lost empire, and advised on this important subject with Cuttub, Isah, and Partab. Those chiefs, desirous to weaken him still more, told him that the omrahs were all disgusted with his vizier; that, should he be turned out of office, and imprisoned, they were ready to pay him due allegiance, and made no doubt but the affairs of the empire would put on a more favourable aspect. The weak

Alla became the dupe of those traitors, and accordingly imprisoned and disgraced his vizier. He immediately ordered preparations to be made for removing his court to Budaoon, from which not all the remonstrances of his best friends could restrain him; though they represented in a strong light, how impolitic it would be, at such a juncture, to change his capital.

Alla accordingly, in A. H. 852, or A. D. 1447, set out for Budaoon, leaving his vizier Hissam in the government of Delhi. When the sultan arrived at his new capital, Cuttub and Partab waited upon him, and told him, that as long as the vizier was alive, the omrahs could not be brought to trust themselves at court. The weak king was prevailed upon to command him to be put to death; but the vizier's brother having notice given him of this bloody purpose, found means, with the assistance of some his friends, to release him, and escape to Delhi. He there took immediate possession of all the king's effects, and turned his haram out of the city.

Alla put off the time by ridiculous procrastinations, by idle excuses of the weather, and unlucky times, till the vizier had summoned Beloli to take upon him the empire. Beloli exulting in the opportunity, amused the sultan, by writing him word that he was coming to chastise the vizier, till he arrived and took possession of the city, taking upon himself the title of sultan Beloli. He, however, gave place to the name of Alla, in the Chutba, so late as the year of the Hegira, 854.

Having then given the city in charge to his son, Chaja Baezid, he marched in person to Debalpour, and collected together a great army of Afghans. He wrote word, at the same time, to Alla, that, upon his account, he had expelled the vizier; and he received for answer, from that weak prince, that as his father had adopted Beloli as his son, he would esteem him his brother; he moreover promised to cede to him the empire, upon condition that he would permit him to live quietly in the possession of Budaoon. Beloli threw

immediately the name of Alla out of the public prayers, and spread the umbrella of empire over his own head. Alla remained at Budaoon till his death, which did not happen till A. H. 883, or A. D. 1478; his reign in Delhi being seven years, and his government of Budaoon near twenty-eight. A weak, and sometimes a wicked prince, while he retained the empire; in private station, a peaceable, if not a virtuous man.

Persia, and the western Tartary, were in confusion during the short reign of Alla, owing to a series of hostilities between the descendants of Timur, who had divided his conquests among them. The Mogul empire ceased, in fact, to exist, though Abusaid, the son of Miran Shah, and grandson of Timur, sustained the name of it, in the western Tartary and Chorasan.

BELOLI.

Beloli was an Afghan, of the tribe of Lodi, a race of men who forming themselves into a commercial society, carried on a commercial intercourse between Persia and Hindostan. In the time of the emperor Fersoe, Ibrahim, the grandfather of Beloli, being possessed of wealth, made his way at the court of Delhi, and raised himself to the government of Multan. When Beloli was yet a youth in his uncle's service, one day he was permitted to pay his respects to a famous derveish of Sammana, whose name was Sheidai. While he sat in a respectful posture before him, the derveish cried out, in an enthusiastic manner, "Who will give two thousand "rupees for the empire of Delhi?" Upon which, Beloli told him, he had only one thousand six hundred rupees in the world, which he ordered his servant to bring immediately and present to the derveish. The derveish accepted the money, and, laying his hand upon the head of Beloli, saluted him king. The companions of Beloli ridiculed him very much for this action; but he replied,

" That, if the thing came to pass, he had made a cheap purchase; " if not, the blessing of a holy man could do him no harm."

When Mohammed, father of Alla, basely complied with his desire of cutting off the vizier, Beloli, according to his promise, waited upon the king, that he might be better able to carry on his ambitious intrigues. He managed his affairs at Delhi so artfully, that the government of Sirhind was conferred upon him, and together with other districts near it, confirmed to him in jaghire; which were the means that enabled him to mount the throne, as we have already seen, in the former reign.

In A. H. 855, being the first year after his obtaining the imperial dignity, determined to vindicate as far as possible the invaded rights of that empire, he left Delhi under the charge of his eldest son Baezid, and marched towards Multan to recruit his army, and to regulate all the western provinces. Some of his omrahs being dissatisfied at this time, left him, and joined Mahmud, king of Jionpour,* who, during the absence of Beloli, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty-six, advanced with a great army, and laid siege to Delhi. Beloli hastened back from Debalpour by rapid marches, nor halted till he reached Perah, within thirty miles of Delhi.

Mahmud sent thirty thousand horse, and thirty elephants, under the command of Herevi, against him. When the action began, Cuttub, an omrah who excelled in archery, having sunk an arrow in the forehead of one of Herevi's elephants, the animal became outrageous, and broke the lines. At the same time Diria Lodi, one of the disaffected omrahs, was prevailed upon by the same Cuttub to quit the army of Mahmud, and he immediately wheeled off, followed by all the Patans, or Afghans, in Herevi's army. The other

* Joinpour was at that time a great city, the capital of these self-created kings of the East, but is now one of the lowest class in India. Its situation is on the river Gounty, about forty miles to the north-west of Benares.

troops being thus deserted, gave way, and Herevi was taken prisoner; but having, with his own hand, just killed the brother of Rai Kirren, that omrah, in revenge, struck off his head, and sent it to the emperor. Upon receiving the news of this defeat, Mahmud raised the siege of Delhi, and retreated with great precipitation to Jionpoor.

The power of Beloli soon became firmly established, and he began to turn his thoughts upon new acquisitions. His first movement was towards Mewat, where Hamid, the vizier, submitted himself to his authority. The emperor took seven pergunnahs from Hamid, and permitted him to hold the remainder in fee. Beloli from thence marched to Birren, and other districts; every where conquering the rebellious governors, and exacting the tribute of compelled obedience.

An omrah, called Jonah, about this time quitted the court in disgust, and joined Mahmud king of the East, from whom he received the government of Shumseabad. Jonah instigated Mahmud to make another attempt upon Delhi, who, for that purpose, took the route of Attava, where he met Beloli. The armies, the first day of their appearance in sight, on both sides sent out parties to skirmish, but nothing very remarkable occurred, and, the next day, they began to treat, when it was agreed, that Beloli should keep possession of all the countries possessed by the emperor Mubarick, and that Mahmud should hold all that was in the possession of sultan Ibrahim, of Jionpour; that the former should give up all the elephants taken in the engagement with Herevi, and the latter expel Jonah from his government.

Mahmud, immediately after this pacification, returned to Jionpour, and Beloli went to Shumseabad to take possession of it. This latter expedition of Beloli greatly offended Mahmud, and he immediately returned to Shumseabad, where the omrahs Cuttub and Diria surprized his camp in the night. But during the attack, the horse of

Cuttub having trod upon a tent-pin, threw him, and he was taken by the enemy, and his party retreated to their own camp. Beloli drew out his army in the morning, but received advice that Mahmud had just expired, and that the omrahs had set up his son Mohammed; and, by the mediation of Bibi Raja, the young king's mother, who probably had received previous assurances, a peace was immediately concluded. Mohammed returned to Jionpour, and Beloli took the route of Delhi.

It was not long before the omrahs conspired against Mohammed, king of the eastern provinces, and having assassinated him, advanced Hassen, his brother, who had fled to Canouge, to the throne. Beloli, for what reason is not known, took no advantage of these disorders, but now entered into a truce with Hassen for the space of four years. Soon after, on account of the rebellion of the viceroy of Multan, and the disorders in Punjab, he marched towards that quarter. Upon his way, he heard, that the Eastern monarch Hassen was advancing, in his absence, with a great army, to take Delhi. He therefore, through necessity, returned, and leaving Delhi in charge of Cuttub and Jehan, he went out to meet the enemy. The two armies having met at the village of Chundwar, they skirmished without intermission for seven days. A peace was at length concluded for the term of three years. At the expiration of this truce, Hassen invested Attava, took it, and drew over Ahmed, governor of Mewat, and Rustum of Koli, to his interest, while Ahmed, who commanded at Selwan, and was also governor of Biana, struck money, and read the chutba in his name. Hassen, with one hundred thousand horse and a thousand elephants, marched from Attava towards Delhi; and Beloli, no ways intimidated by that great force, marched out boldly to meet him. The two armies having advanced to Battevara, encamped for some time in sight of each other, and after some skirmishes, in which there was no superiority of advantage on either side, they again concluded a peace; a peace by no

means permanent. Hassen advanced again towards Delhi some months after, and was opposed at the village of Sinkar, and obliged to depart upon peaceable terms.

In the year 883, the abdicated emperor, Alla, died at Budaoon, upon which Hassen went to settle matters at Budaoon, and, after the funeral ceremonies were over, he took that country from the children of Alla. Marching from thence to Simbol, he imprisoned Mubarick, governor of that province; then marching towards Delhi, he crossed the river Jumma near Gutteruitch. Beloli, who was at Sirhind, upon receiving intelligence of this invasion, returned with all expedition to save his capital. Several slight actions ensued, in which Hassen had, in general, the advantage.

Cuttub dispatched a person to Hassen, informing him, that Beloli was ready to relinquish all the countries beyond the Ganges, upon condition he should leave him in possession of all the provinces on this side of that river. These terms being accepted, they reversed their hostile spears, and Hassen marched homeward; but Beloli, in a perfidious manner, broke the peace, and, pursuing Hassen, attacked him upon his march, killing a great number, and taking forty omrahs prisoners, besides part of his treasure and equipage. Beloli pursued his victory, and took several districts belonging to Hassen, and appointed agents to manage them under himself. But when he had pursued Hassen as far as Arumbidger, the latter stood his ground, and engaged Beloli. The victory being dubious, a peace was patched up between them, the village of Doupamou being settled as the boundary between the empires. After this pacification, Hassen proceeded to Raberi, and Beloli returned to Delhi.

Hassen could not, however, forget the perfidy of Beloli. He recruited his army, and some time after marched against him, and met him at the village of Sinhar, when an obstinate battle ensued, in which Hassen was defeated, and lost all his treasure and baggage;

Hassen having retreated to Raberi, he was followed thither by Beloli, and venturing upon a second engagement, he was again totally defeated. After the battle, he retreated towards Gualior; the rajah of Gualior brought him some lacks of rupees, elephants, horses, camels, and a fine set of camp equipage, and accompanied him to Calpie (Calpy on the Jumna).

Beloli marched, in the mean time, to Attava, where he besieged Ibrahim, the brother of Hassen, and took the place by capitulation. He, however, generously made him a present of the fort, and proceeded to Calpie; Hassen met him upon the banks of the river, where they remained for some months. But Rai Chand of Buxar, coming over to Beloli, shewed him a passable ford in the river, by which he crossed, and attacking Hassen, defeated him and drove him to Jionpour, upon which Beloli turned off to the left towards Canouge. Hassen again met him near that city, but he was once more defeated with great slaughter. His regalia and equipage were taken, and also the chief lady of his seraglio. Beloli returned after this victory to Delhi.

Having recruited and regulated his army, he advanced the spear of hostility again towards Jionpour. He conquered that country, and gave it to Mubarick Lohani, leaving Cuttub, Jehan, and other omrahs at Migouli, to secure his conquests. He himself went to Budaoon, where he soon after heard of Cuttub's death. Jehan, Mubarick, and other omrahs, though they maintained the appearance of fidelity, were, after the death of Cuttub, concerting measures to throw off Beloli's yoke. Beloli being apprized of their intentions, marched towards Jionpour, and drove away Hassen, who had made an attempt to recover it, and placed Barbec, one of his own sons, upon the throne of Jionpour. He himself returned to Calpie, which he took, and gave to his grandson, Azim Humaioon, the son of his eldest son Baizied. He directed thence his march to Dolipore, raising a tribute upon the rajah of that place, who began to rank

himself among Beloli's subjects. The king marched from thence to a place in the districts of Rantimpore, which he plundered, and soon after returned to Delhi.

Beloli being now extremely old, and infirmities beginning daily to increase upon him, he divided his dominions among his sons, and nephews. In this division it is alone necessary to mention that Delhi, with several countries between the two rivers was allotted to his son Nizam, known afterwards by the name of Sultan Secunder, whom he appointed his successor in the imperial dignity.

Some time after this division, the emperor proceeded to Gualior, and raising a tribute of eighty lacks of rupees from the rajah of that place, came to Attava, from whence he expelled Sickit Sing, and then turned his face towards Delhi. Falling sick upon his march, many of the omrahs were desirous that he should alter his former will, with respect to the succession, which, they urged, was the undoubted right of Humaioon, his grandson. The sultana, upon this, wrote to her son Nizam, who, having heard of his father's illness, was setting out from Delhi, by no means to come, otherwise he might be imprisoned by the omrahs: at the same time the king, by the advice of other omrahs, ordered public letters to be sent him, to hasten him to the camp, that he might see him before his death. Nizam was greatly perplexed how to act upon this nice occasion. He, at length, was advised by Cuttuluk, the vizier of the Eastern emperor Hassen, who was then prisoner at Delhi, to pitch his tents without the city, and to advance by very slow marches. In the mean time the king's disease overcame him, and he died at Malauli, in the pergunnah of Sikite, in A. H. 894, or A. D. 1488 after a long reign of thirty-eight years, eight months, and seven days.

Beloli was esteemed a virtuous and mild prince, executing justice to the utmost of his knowledge, and treating his courtiers rather as his companions than his subjects. He was extremely temperate in his diet, and though a man of no great literature himself, he was

fond of the company of learned men, whom he rewarded according to their merit. He had given so many proofs of personal bravery that none could doubt it; at the same time he was often cautious to excess, never choosing to trust much to chance, and delighting greatly, as we have seen by his frequent treaties with Hassen, in negotiation.

During the long reign of Beloli, in Delhi, the empire of Persia remained divided into a number of petty principalities, most of them subject to the descendants of Timur Bec and Gengis Khan. Transoxiana, the greatest part of Chorasan, and the provinces towards the Indus, were subject to the posterity of Timur, who were engaged in almost uninterrupted hostilities against one another.

SECUNDER I.

The omrahs, immediately upon the death of Beloli, formed themselves into a council, in which some appeared to be attached to the interest of Humaioon, some to Barbec, eldest son of the sultan, then living, and some to Nizam, who had assumed the name of Secunder, in consequence of his father's will. While they were debating, the mother of Secunder, whose name was Rana, originally a goldsmith's daughter, but raised to the sultan's bed by the fame of her beauty, came behind the curtain, in the great tent, and made a speech to the omrahs in favour of her son. Upon which Isah, the nephew of Beloli, answered her in a disrespectful manner, and concluded with saying, that a goldsmith's offspring was not qualified to hold the empire.

Firmilli, who had been dignified by Beloli with the title of first of the nobles, a stout daring man, rebuked him, and told him, that Beloli was yet scarce cold in his hearse, and that the man who threw such ungenerous aspersions upon his family, deserved only contempt. Isah replied, that silence would better become him, who was only a servant of the state. Instantly the other rose up in

a rage, declaring he was indeed a servant of Secunder, and would maintain his right against all who durst oppose it. He then rushed out of the council, followed by all his party, and carried off the body of the deceased king to Jellali, where he was met by Secunder, who there ascended his father's throne.

Secunder sending the corpse of his father to Delhi, marched against Isah, and having defeated him, afterwards forgave his offence. Returning then to Delhi, he, in the manner of his father, conferred favours upon all his kindred.

Secunder soon sent a trusty person to Barbec, his brother, king of Jionpour, desiring he would do him homage, and order his name to be read first in the chutba all over his dominions. Barbec rejected these proposals, and Secunder marched against him. Barbec and Calla Par came out in order of battle to meet him. An action ensued, in which Calla Par, charging too far among the troops of Delhi, was taken prisoner. Secunder, upon seeing him, alighted from his horse and embraced him, saying, that he esteemed him as his father, and begged to be looked upon as his son. Calla Par, confounded at the honour done him, replied, that, except his life, he had nothing to offer in compensation for such kindness, desiring a horse, that he might show himself not wholly unworthy of the royal favour. He was accordingly mounted, and perfidiously sold his reputation for a compliment, turning his sword against Barbec; which circumstance, in some measure, contributed to the success of Secunder. The troops of Barbec seeing Calla Par charging them, imagined that all his forces were also gone over to the enemy, and betook themselves to flight. Barbec did all that bravery could perform; but finding himself deserted, he fled to Budaoon, while Mubarick, his son, was taken prisoner. Secunder pursuing him close, invested Barbec in Budaoon, who, soon driven to distress, capitulated, and was received with great kindness and respect. The king carried Barbec with him to Jionpour; but as Hassen, the

expelled king of the eastern provinces, was still a powerful prince in Behar, he thought Barbec would be the properest person to check him, and accordingly confirmed him as before in the government of Jionpour; leaving, however, some trusty friends at his court, upon whom he bestowed estates and jurisdictions, to keep them firm in his own interest.

In 897 Lickim, the son of Rai Bhede, and other zemindars, wrote to sultan Hassen, the titular king of the East, now in possession of the province of Behar, that the cavalry of Secunder was in a wretched condition, and that it was an excellent opportunity for him to take satisfaction for his former defeats. This induced Hassen to put his army in motion, and march directly against Secunder. The emperor hearing of his intentions, put his army upon the best footing possible, and crossed the Ganges to meet him, which he did thirty-six miles from Benares: an obstinate battle was fought, in which Hassen was defeated, and fled to Battea.

Secunder leaving his camp with a proper guard, pursued the fugitives for three days, with a party of horse; but hearing that Hassen was gone to Behar, he stopped, and upon the ninth day returned to his camp. He soon after marched with his whole army towards Behar, but upon his approach, Hassen left Cundu to guard the city, and fled himself to Calgaw, in the dominion of Bengal. Alla, then king of Bengal, called Hassen to his court, and treated him with the greatest respect during the remainder of his days, which he passed with him; so that with Hassen the royal line of Jionpour was extinguished.

Secunder having regulated his army, marched towards Bengal; but when he had reached Cuttlishpoor, Alla king of Bengal sent Danial his son to oppose him. Secunder detached Zere Zichme, one of his generals, to acquaint him that he had no intention to subdue the country; but as their dominions now bordered upon each other, it became necessary to know upon what footing he

must consider Alla, before he left that country. The king of Bengal gladly accepted of a peace, wherein it was stipulated, that neither monarch should permit any of their governors to invade each other's dominions, and that neither of them should give protection to the other's enemies.

Secunder having asked the daughter of Sal Bahin, rajah of Battea, in marriage, the father refused to comply with his request. Secunder, to revenge this affront, put his army in motion against the rajah, in the year 904, and marching to Battea, sacked it. After having ravaged the country round Bandugur, he returned to Jionpour, where he spent some time in the civil regulations of the empire. About this time, the accounts of Mubarick Lodi being inspected for the time of his administration in Jionpour, and a great balance being found due to the royal revenue, the king ordered it to be levied upon him. This severity greatly disgusted the omrahs, among whom Mubarick was very much esteemed. A faction accordingly arose in the army, which first discovered itself by private quarrels. For, one day, as the sultan and his court were playing a party at club and ball, on horseback, the club of Hybut, by accident or design, wounded one Soliman in the head. Chizer, the brother of Soliman, came up, and returned the compliment to Hybut; so that, in a few minutes, the parties on both sides joined in the quarrel, and the whole field was in arms.

Secunder, fearing a conspiracy, fled to the palace; but nothing of that kind transpiring, he made another party at the same game some days after, and a quarrel of the same nature ensued, for which Shumese Khan, who began it, was disgraced, and bastinadoed. However the sultan would not be satisfied but that there was some plot in agitation, and therefore ordered his guards to be selected, and to keep upon the watch.

Secunder, in the year 905, marched to Simbol, where he spent four years in pleasure, and in transacting civil affairs. But hearing

of some mal administration of Asghir, the governor of Delhi, he sent an order to Chawass Khan, governor of Matchiwarri, to march to Delhi, and send Asghir prisoner to court. The governor receiving advice of this order, left Delhi, and threw himself at the king's feet, but not being able to form any excuse for his bad practices, he was ordered into confinement.

In the year 907, Rai Man Sing, of Gualior, sent one of his dependants, called Nehal, to the king with rich presents; but as this embassador talked in too high a strain, Secunder ordered him to depart, and declared war against his master. He was prevented however, from the execution of his purpose, for some time, by the death of Firmilli, governor of Biana, and by those disturbances in that province which succeeded that governor's death. The government of Biana having devolved upon Ameid Soliman, the son of Firmilli, who was yet too young and unexperienced for such a charge, the king gave that appointment to Chawass. Sifder was sent with a force to reduce Agra, which belonged to the province of Biana, and had then revolted; another detachment being sent, at the same time, to reduce the fort of Dolipour, which was in the possession of Rajah Benacdeo, who had begun to make warlike preparations. Here Chaja Bein, a warrior of great fame, fell by the sword, which so irritated Secunder, who had a great esteem for him, that he marched himself against that place. Upon his approach Benacdeo left some friends in the fort, and fled towards Gualior; but the garrison, the next night, evacuated the place, and left the king to take possession of it. He remained there about a month, and then marched to Gualior. The rajah of that place, changing his haughty style, now humbly sued for peace, sending to him various rebels, who had, at different times, fled from Secunder, and taken protection under him. At the same time he sent his own son, Bickermajit, with presents, who had the address to procure peace.

Secunder returned to Dolipour, which he again bestowed upon Benacdeo; then marching to Agra, he, for the first time, made that city imperial, by fixing his residence there, and abandoning the city of Delhi. Here he remained during the rains, and, in the year 910 marched towards Munderael, which he took, and destroyed the Hindoo temples, ordering mosques to be built in their stead. Secunder returning to Dolipour, removed the rajah from his office, and gave it to one Kimir. He passed from thence to Agra, giving his omrahs leave to return to their respective estates.

In the following year, 910, there was a violent earthquake in Agra, so that the mountains shook on their bases, and every lofty building was levelled with the ground, some thousands being buried in the ruins. Secunder in the same year moved towards Gualior, and stopped by the way some time at Dolipour, where he left his family, and, with an unincumbered army of horse, proceeded to the hills, to plunder some Hindoo rajahs, from whom he took great spoils, and ravaged their peaceful habitations. Just as the king was passing by the town of Javer, in the dominions of the rajah of Gualior, he was attacked by a resolute body of men, who had lain in ambush for him; but, by the bravery of Awid and Ahmed, the sons of Khan Jehan, the Hindoos were defeated, and a great number of rajaputs slain.

The sultan returned to Agra; and, in the year 912, went towards the fort of Awintgur; and, as he had despaired of reducing Gualior, he bent his whole strength to the reduction of this place. It was accordingly in a short time taken, and all the rajaput garrison put to the sword, the temples destroyed, and mosques ordered to be built in their place.

Secunder, eyeing from his march the ruins of Agra, moved towards Narvar, a strong fort in the district of Malva, then in the possession of the native rajahs. He ordered Jellal, governor of Calpie, to advance before him and invest the place, which was

accordingly done. When the king arrived before Narvar, Jellal drew up his army, out of respect, that the king might review them as he passed. This circumstance proved very hurtful to Jellal; for, from that time, the king became jealous of his power, and determined to ruin him. Secunder surrounded the place, which was sixteen miles in circumference, and began to carry on the siege. The siege was now protracted eight months, when the sultan received intelligence, that a treasonable correspondence was carried on between some of his omrahs and the garrison, for which Jellal and Sheri were imprisoned in the fort of Awintgur. The garrison, soon after, was obliged to capitulate, for want of provisions, and the king remained, for the space of six months, at Narvar, breaking down temples, and building mosques. He there also established a kind of monastery, which he filled with divines and learned men.

We find no other transactions worthy of memory in the empire, till the year nine hundred and twenty-two. Ali Nagori, subah of Suisuper, in that year prevailed upon Dowlat, governor of Rantimpore, which he then held of Malva, to deliver the fort to Secunder, if that monarch should come in person to take possession of it. Secunder, with great joy, closed with the proposal, and set out towards Biana, to which place the governor of Rantimpore came to meet him, and was graciously received. But Ali, who had been disappointed in some favours which he expected for bringing this matter to issue, resolved still to prevent the accomplishment of it. He had so much influence upon the governor, that he made him retract his promise relative to giving up the fort, though he had put himself in the sultan's power. The sultan having found out the cause of this change, disgraced Ali, and deprived him of his government, but was obliged to return to Agra without succeeding in his design upon Rantimpore, setting the governor at liberty, notwithstanding he had so egregiously deceived him.

To Agra, in which city the king had constructed many superb edifices, adorned with spacious gardens, as the future capital of the Indian empire, Secunder summoned all the distant omrahs together, with an intention to reduce Gualior. But he was, in the midst of his preparations, taken ill of a quinsey, of which he died, A. H. 922, or A. D. 1516, after having reigned, with great reputation and ability, twenty-eight years and five months. The talents which he exhibited during his reign, justified the choice of his father, who singled him out, though a younger son, as the person most capable of supporting a title to which his family had no claim by inheritance.

IBRAHIM II.

Secunder dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim immediately succeeded him on the throne. This prince, contrary to the maxims and policy of his father and grandfather, behaved himself with insupportable pride and arrogance to his friends and family. One absurd expression of his was, that kings had no relations, but that every body should be the slaves of royalty. The omrahs of the tribe of Lodi, who were always before honoured with a seat in the presence, were now constrained to stand by the throne, with their hands crossed before them. They were so much disgusted with this insolence, that they privately became his enemies.

A conspiracy therefore was formed by the omrahs of Lodi, in which it was agreed to leave Ibrahim in possession of Delhi, and a few dependent provinces, and to place the prince Jellal, his brother, upon the throne of Jionpour. Jellal marched from Calpie, by the aid and advice of the disaffected omrahs, and mounted the throne of Jionpour. He appointed his cousin Fatte Khan his vizier, who brought over all the omrahs of the eastern provinces to his interest.

Jehan Lohani came at that time from Beri, to congratulate

Ibrahim upon his accession, and, in a very indignant strain, inveighed against the omrahs for dividing the empire, which, he said, would be attended with many evil consequences to the family of Lodi. The omrahs, sensible of the impropriety of their conduct, determined, as Jellal could not be yet well established, to send messengers, soliciting his immediate return; but Jellal took no notice of their solicitations and intrigues. Ibrahim, and his omrahs, in consequence, issued a proclamation, declaring all those omrahs, who should join him, traitors to the state; at the same time sending presents and messengers to all the principal officers in those parts. These means had the desired effect, and the omrahs on the side of Jellal were gradually seduced from his interest. The affairs of Jellal being in this declining state, he saw that nothing but a resolute attempt could retrieve them; accordingly marching to Calpie, he secured his family in that fort, and, collecting all his strength, assumed the title of emperor, under the title of Jellal ul Dien, determined to try his fortune in the field. He sent at the same time a trusty ambassador to Azim Humaioon, who held Callinger for Ibrahim, and had a great army in pay, to beg his assistance. Azim was prevailed upon to join him; and a resolution was formed, first to settle the countries about Jionpour, and afterwards to enter upon affairs of still greater moment. They accordingly marched with all expedition against Mubarick Lodi, subah of Oude, whom they drove to Lucknow.

Ibrahim, informed of these transactions, marched his army to that quarter, sending his other brothers, in confinement, to Hassi, where he pensioned them for life. Upon his march towards Oude, he was informed that Azim Humaioon had deserted Jellal, and was now upon his way to meet him, which gave him great joy. He sent some omrahs to escort him to his camp, where he was very favourably received. A number of other omrahs of those parts joined Ibrahim; and he dispatched the greatest part of his army

under the command of Azim Humaioon Lodi, against his brother. But before Azim could come up with Jellal, he threw a strong garrison into Calpie, and, with thirty thousand horse, marched by circuitous and unsuspected routes towards Agra, while Azim laid siege to Calpie. Jellal had it now in his power either to take possession of, or to plunder the treasury. But he seems to have been perfectly infatuated. Adam, the governor, who was in the city with a small garrison, not only prevailed upon him to relinquish that advantage, but amused him with hopes of his brother's favour, till he sent him all the ensigns of his assumed royalty. Adam went so far as to promise to Jellal the government of Calpie, and other advantages, without having any powers of treating from the king.

Adam sent the whole to Ibrahim, and made him acquainted with every particular. But the king having by this time taken Calpie, and the treaty having been concluded without his authority, he took no notice of it, but marched against Jellal, who, now deserted by his army for his pusillanimity, was obliged to fly to Gualior, and solicit the protection of the rajah of that place. Ibrahim returned to Agra, where he remained to regulate the affairs of the government, which, since the death of Secunder, had fallen into great confusion. The omrah Karim was sent to take charge of Delhi, and Mungu to Chundri.

In the year 925, the king formed a resolution of reducing Gualior, that great eye-sore to the monarchs of Delhi, and ordered Azim Humaioon to march from Kurrah against it, with thirty thousand horse, and three hundred elephants. Seven other omrahs, with armies, were sent to reinforce Azim. Jellal, who had taken refuge in Gualior, being intimidated, fled to the king of Malva. The imperial army arriving before Gualior, invested the place, and in a few days rajah Man Sing, who was a prince of great valour and capacity, died, and his son Bickermajit succeeded him in the rajahship. After the siege had been carried on some months,

the army of Ibrahim at length possessed themselves of an outwork at the foot of the hill, upon which the fort called Badilgur, stood. They found in that place a brazen bull, which had been for a long time worshipped there, and sent it to Agra; whence it was afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and placed at the gate of Bagdat.

The unfortunate Jellal, who had gone over to king Mahmud of Malva, not being well received there, fled to the rajah of Kurykatka, but was seized upon by the way, and sent prisoner to Ibrahim's camp. Ibrahim pretended to send him prisoner to Hassi, but gave private orders to assassinate him upon the way, which was accordingly done. What are those charms in power which could induce a man to shed the blood of a brother? Nor was Ibrahim satisfied with the death of Jellal; he imbrued his hands in the blood of several omrahs of great distinction. The sultan having received advices of the reduction of Gualior, which had been for a hundred years in the hands of the Hindoos, he had leisure to turn all his power to suppress other rebellions, to which his cruelty, revenge, and arrogance had given birth.

Ibrahim placing very little dependence upon the fidelity of the troops which he had near him, issued orders for those of the distant provinces to repair to his standards. He, in the mean time, conferred great favours upon Ahmed, the brother of Azim Humaioon, and giving him the command of the army, sent him against Islam, who had erected in Kurrah the ensign of insurrection. Ahmed having arrived in the environs of Canouge, Eckbal, a dependant of Azim Sirwani, rushed out from an ambush with five thousand horse, and having cut off a number of the imperial troops, made good his retreat. The king was greatly exasperated against Ahmed, upon receiving intelligence of this defeat. He sent him word not to expect his favour, if he did not quickly exterminate the rebels; at the same time, by way of precaution, he dispatched another army to support him. The rebels were now about forty thousand strong

in cavalry, independent of five hundred elephants, and a great body of infantry. When Ahmed had received the reinforcement which we have mentioned, and the two armies came in sight of each other, rajah Bochari, who was esteemed the first man for parts in that age, was desirous of bringing affairs to an amicable accommodation. Overtures being made, the rebels consented to dismiss their army, upon condition that Azim Sirwani should be set at liberty. Ibrahim was too proud to hearken to these terms. He sent orders to the governor of Behar, and others who commanded troops in that quarter, to advance with all their combined forces against the insurgents; while they imprudently permitted themselves to be amused till those armies had joined. The treaty being then suddenly broken off, they were reduced to the necessity of either flying, or fighting upon unequal terms. They resolved upon the latter, and accordingly drew up in order of battle. Urged on by despair, and fired with resentment, they did justice to valour, and were upon the point of defeating the imperialists, when Islam their general was killed, and Seid, the second in command, was dismounted and taken. These unfortunate accidents damped the courage of the rebel host; they stopped short, and soon after turned their backs and fled. Their dominions, treasure, and baggage, fell at once into the hands of the king.

Ibrahim now gave full scope to his hatred and resentment against the omrahs of Secunder, and many of them were barbarously put to death. Azim Humaioon Sirwani, Miah Boah, and others, who were in confinement, were at the same time assassinated, and mistrust and terror took possession of every heart. These cruelties and assassinations gave rise to other rebellions, which distracted the close of this tyrannical reign.

Dirai, of the tribe of Lodi, subah of Berur, died about this time, and his son, of the same name, assumed the title of emperor, under the name of Mohammed, with all the ensigns of royalty. He was joined by all the discontented omrahs, and found himself at the

head of a hundred thousand horse, with which he took possession of all the countries as far as Simbol, defeating the imperial troops in repeated engagements. Ghazi Lodi hastened down with the army from Lahore, by the sultan's orders; but having heard of his tyrannies by the way, he was apprehensive of danger to himself, and returned to his father Dowlat, at Lahore. Dowlat seeing no safety but in extremity, revolted from the sultan, and solicited sultan BABER, THE MOGUL, who then reigned in Cabul, to undertake the conquest of Hindostan. But the great project of BABER for the invasion of Hindostan, was not yet mature. Alla, the brother of Ibrahim, who had been ejected from his government of Debalpour, had fled in disgust to Cabul, and he was dispatched with a great force to his assistance. Alla in his progress was joined by most of the omrahs of those parts, so that his army soon consisted of upwards of forty thousand horse, with which he marched to, and invested Delhi. Ibrahim resolved to march against him, but when he came within six cosses of Alla's army, his camp was surprised by that prince in the night. A confused and tumultuous fight was maintained till day-break, when Ibrahim found that he was deserted by some of his omrahs, who had joined Alla; but at the same time observing that the troops of Alla were dispersed in bodies, plundering the royal camp, he rallied a number of his troops, and the greatest part of his elephants; with these he returned to the attack, and drove him off the field, with great slaughter. Ibrahim entered Delhi in triumph, and Alla, seeing no hopes of reducing it, retreated to Panjab.

No other remarkable event happened in the empire till Baber led his army against Ibrahim, as in the next reign will be related more at large, overthrew him in the field of Panniput, deprived him of his life and kingdom, and transferred the empire from the Afghan tribe of Lodi, to the family of the great Timur Bec. His death on that field took place, after a reign of twenty years, in

A. H. 932, or A. D. 1525. Ibrahim possessed bravery and talents; but both were obscured by his haughty and sanguinary disposition.

For the first eight years of the emperor Ibrahim, Ismael, the first of the Sofi family, reigned in Persia. He was succeeded by his son Shah Tahmasp, who acceded to the Persian throne, upon the death of his father, which happened in the nine hundred and thirtieth year of the Hegirah.

CHAPTER III.

BABER, *Founder of the* MOGUL DYNASTY *in India—the History of his Irruptions and Progress in the Conquest of Hindostan from the* VAKEAT BABERI, *or* BABER'S *Commentaries—after the Defeat and Death of* IBRAHIM, *the Conqueror every where attacks the* PATANS, *and for the most part successfully—liberal to profusion of the vast Treasures found at* DELHI *and* AGRA—*attempted to be poisoned by the Mother of Ibrahim, but surmounts the Danger—his great martial Skill, and his unequalled Magnanimity under extreme Difficulty—in a general Battle he again defeats the combined Omrahs of* PATAN *extraction—his Death and exalted Character.—*HUMAIOON *ascends the Throne of his Father—commences a vigorous War against* BAHADUR, *King of Guzzerat, and displays, in the course of it, uncommon Gallantry.—Rebellion of* SHERE KHAN, *the Afghan; ungenerous Conduct of the Brothers of* HUMAIOON—*that Prince unfortunate in several Engagements with* SHERE; *compelled at length to fly from Hindostan, and seek Refuge at the Court of Persia—dreadful Distress endured in that Flight—*SHERE KHAN *seizes upon the Throne.—Short History of this daring Usurper.—By a Stratagem he takes* ROTAS, *a Fortress deemed impregnable—conquers the Kingdom of* BENGAL—*reduces* MALVA—*takes* RANTAMPORE—*takes* CHITORE, *at the Siege of which he is killed by the bursting of a Shell.—Though an Usurper, his Conduct as an Emperor marked by strict Justice, and by Deeds of public Magnificence, of which many Monuments yet remain in Hindostan.—Succeeded by his younger Son* SELIM—*in Opposition to the just Claim of* ADIL, *his eldest.—In consequence of this Infringement of a Brother's Right, his Reign is distracted by Commotion and Rebellion.*

—*Having escaped various Attempts to assassinate him, he is carried off by a Fistula, after a short Reign, distinguished neither by prominent Virtue, nor glaring Vice.*—MOHAMMED *having massacred Feron, the infant Son of Selim, causes himself to be crowned—ignorant, debauched, polluted with Blood and Crime, he is soon driven from his ill-gotten Throne by* IBRAHIM III. *his Cousin and Brother-in-law, who, in his turn, is attacked and defeated by* SECUNDER, *bound by the same ties of affinity, and who afterwards assumes the Imperial Titles at Agra. These intestine Commotions pave the way for the triumphant Return of* HUMAIOON *to the Throne of his illustrious Progenitor, and by that Return was effected the Extinction of the second* PATAN *Dynasty, commencing in* SHERE, *and terminating in* IBRAHIM.

BABER, THE FOUNDER OF THE MOGUL DYNASTY IN INDIA.

THE reader has already been presented, towards the close of the preceding chapter, * with a concise sketch of the daring character, and singular adventures of Sultan Baber, extracted from Herbelot, and all the attainable sources in my power at the time that portion of this work was originally composed. As the history of Baber, in Ferishta, is professedly taken from the VAKEAT BABERI, or *Commentaries of Baber*, written by himself; we shall pay more than usual attention to that authentic narrative of the exploits of the GREAT FOUNDER OF THE MOGUL DYNASTY OF INDIAN SOVEREIGNS.

With the early efforts of his bravery when manfully contending against the overwhelming armies of Uzbeck Tartars, headed by Shah Bakht, that eventually deprived him of his patrimony, the thrones of Fargana and Samarcand, this history has no particular

* Consult page 46 preceding, et seq.

concern. Compelled finally to abdicate the throne of his ancestors, we have seen the royal exile retire to GAZNA, on the frontiers of Hindostan, which his arms had subdued, to plan the subjugation of that great empire.

When Secunder, the emperor of Hindostan, died, he was succeeded, as we have already related, by Ibrahim the Second, in whose reign the Patan, or Afghan chiefs of the imperial family of Lodi, became so factious, that they totally broke the power of that empire. Baber esteemed this a good opportunity to establish himself in India, the conquest of which he had long meditated, though he was always embroiled in other affairs. Baber accordingly, in the year A. H. 925, or A. D. 1519, marched his army as far as the Nilab, or blue river, one of the branches of the Indus. He subdued all the countries in his way, and crossing that river, advanced to Berah, in Panjab, raising heavy contributions, according to the Mogul maxims of war, for with-holding his troops from plunder. He sent from Berah an embassy to the emperor Ibrahim, acquainting him, that as that country had been for many years in the possession of the house of Timur, it was proper he should now relinquish his pretensions to it, and thus prevent the war from being carried further into India. He appointed Hassen Beg, governor of the conquered countries as far as Chinaab; he then marched in person against the Gickers, and besieged the fort of Pirhala, whither Hati, their chief, had retired. The Gickers were tempted to take the field, and were defeated by Doost Beg, the Mogul general, while the king in person cut off their retreat to the fort, and obliged them to fly to the mountains. The fort, in which there was a considerable treasure, fell by this means into his hands, which satisfied Baber for the present, and he returned to Cabul.

In the latter end of the same year Baber returned to Hindostan, with an intention to take Lahore, and in his way chastised some

Patans of the tribe of Zehi, who molested him in his march. He built a fort at Peshawir, and then advanced to the Indus. He there received intelligence, that the king of Kashgar, or Little Bucharia, had marched into Badachshan, which obliged him to return, leaving the prince Mohammed, one of the descendants of Timur, with four thousand horse, to support his authority in that country. He had not, however, reached Cabul, before he heard that the king of Kashgar had been obliged to retreat. Baber, therefore, turned his face against the Afghans, who began to make depredations upon the kingdom of Cabul in his absence, and severely chastised them for their insolence, spoiled their country, and returned to his capital.

Baber, in the following year, marched a third time towards India, chastising the Patans in his way, till he reached Salcot, the inhabitants of which country submitted, and saved their possessions. But the people of Seidpoor, erecting the standard of defence, were, in the end, put all to the sword, their wealth given up to depredation, and their children and wives carried away captive. Baber was here alarmed by intelligence from Cabul, that obliged him to return, for the Kandharians had invaded his country. He marched against them, drove them out of the field, and invested their capital.

Soon after the surrender of Kandar, Dowlat Lodi, apprehensive of the emperor Ibrahim, sent a deputation to Baber, at Cabul, begging his protection. Baber, in the year 930, augmented his army, and advanced within six crores of Lahore, where Par Lodi, and Bicken Lohani, who were powerful omrahs of Panjab, joined their forces, and opposed him; but they were defeated with great slaughter. Baber, in person, marched to Lahore, and took it, setting fire to the bazar, according to a superstitious custom of the Moguls.

The king remained four days only in Lahore, and then advanced against Debalpoor. He summoned the place to surrender; but

as the garrison forced him to risque an assault, in which he was successful, he put them all to the sword. Dowlat Lodi, with his three sons, joined Baber at Debalpoor, and the father was appointed to the government of Jallender, Sultanpoor, and other districts of Panjab, which rendered him very powerful. From particular circumstances that greatly affected Baber's interest in Hindostan, he thought it no ways advisable to proceed to Delhi this year. He accordingly returned to Lahore, and having appointed governors to the different countries in his possession in India, set out for Cabul.

During Baber's absence, Dowlat Lodi, marching with a formidable army to Debalpoor, fought Alla, the brother of the emperor Ibrahim, and Baba Kiska, and defeating them, subdued that country. Alla fled to Cabul, and Baba to Lahore. Dowlat sent five thousand Afghans against Salcot, but Mir Aziz, governor of Lahore, immediately marched, with what forces he had, to the assistance of Kokiltash, who held the government of Salcot, and meeting with this detachment of Afghans, defeated them, and returned to Lahore.

Much about this time, an army, on the part of Ibrahim, emperor of Delhi, marched against Dowlat Lodi and his son. Dowlat turned his army to give them battle, and, having met them at Bidwarrah, found means to stir up a faction in his own favour in the imperial camp, insomuch that such as were not disaffected were obliged to fly the camp, and return to Ibrahim.

Alla, who had lost his government of Debalpoor, and had fled to Cabul, now arrived in Lahore, with orders from Baber to all his officers in those parts, to join him with all their forces, and march towards Delhi, and that he would support them in person as soon as his affairs at home would permit. Dowlat and Ghazi Lodi, hearing of this order, acquainted the Mogul omrahs, that they were glad to find that Baber espoused the cause of Alla, who was the very person they themselves would choose to raise to the throne of

Delhi; that if they would, therefore, send him to them, they would undertake to place him upon the musnud. The Mogul chiefs, having first obtained a grant for Baber of all the countries to the north-west of the Indus, permitted Alla to join the Lodis himself, without complying further with their master's orders. When accordingly Alla arrived in their camp, Dowlat and his son supplied him with the greatest part of their force, with which he marched towards Delhi, and invested it, as before related, with forty thousand horse. In the mean time, the emperor Ibrahim advanced against his brother from Agra, and was surprised in the night, when he had nearly reached the city; but, by the irregular behaviour of Alla's army, who, in the morning, dispersed themselves to plunder, they were fallen upon by Ibrahim, and defeated in their turn, which obliged Alla to retreat in great distress to Panjab. When Baber heard of the defeat of Alla, he awoke from the dream of indolence and luxury which he had indulged for some time in Cabul, and, in the beginning of the spring of the year 932, marched the fifth time towards Hindostan. He was joined by his son Humaioon, with a great force, from Badachshan, and Chaja Callan, with the troops from Gazna. He took the rout of Lahore, and in the way used to hunt rhinoceroses, with which that country abounded, and thus had an opportunity of putting the personal bravery of most of his chiefs to trial, as that was a dangerons and warlike exercise. Many of those animals were killed, and some taken alive in toils.

Upon the first of the month Ribbi, Baber crossed the Indus, and upon the banks of that river mustered his army, which consisted of only ten thousand chosen horse. Crossing then that branch of the Indus which is called Behat, he advanced to Salcot, where Alla met him, and likewise Ali, governor of Cullanore, and Hassen, the collector of the revenues in those provinces. Dowlat Lodi and his son Ghazi who had enrolled themselves publicly in the service of Alla, now lay upon the banks of the Ravi, near Lahore, with an

army of forty thousand men; but when Baber advanced towards them, they fled; Dowlat to the fort of Milwit, and Ghazi to the skirts of the hills. Baber invested Milwit, and Dowlat, after a few days, capitulated. It seems, that some days before he put on two swords, and boasted what he would do to Baber. Baber now ordered those two swords to be hung round his neck, and in that manner Dowlat was brought to his presence; but notwithstanding his behaviour, the king forgave all his crimes, and took him into favour. When the gates of the fort were opened, the troops pressed in an irregular manner, and began to plunder. Baber, upon this, mounted his horse, and entering, was under the necessity of using violence, to prevent their outrages. He killed, upon this occasion, a principal officer of his son Humaioon's retinue, with an arrow, for which he was extremely grieved, as it happened by mistake. The king, by this means, saved the honour of Dowlat's family, who were all in the place, and preserved a noble library which he had collected, Dowlat being a poet and a man of learning.

Baber having, in several actions, perceived the inferiority of the Indian troops to his own, determined to delay no longer his final attempt upon the empire. He accordingly marched towards Delhi, having some letters of encouragement, at the same time, from a few of the malcontents at the court of Ibrahim. When he had reached the banks of the Giger, he heard that the governor of Firosa was waiting to oppose him in front, with the troops of those parts. Baber, therefore, sent his son Humaioon, with some of his most experienced officers, to drive the governor from his post, which they effected, and returned victorious to the army. As this was the first battle in which Prince Humaioon commanded, his father was greatly rejoiced, and gave him the countries of Firosa and Jallender in jaghire. Two days after, Meian, a chief of the party of Ibrahim, appeared in sight, and desired to join Baber's colours with three thousand Patan horse, and was accordingly entertained in his service.

Baber having arrived within two stages of Shawabad, received intelligence that Ibrahim, with a great army, had marched out of Delhi to oppose him, and that Daood and Hatim formed his van-guard with twenty seven thousand horse. The sultan immediately detached Timur, and other nobles, with all the troops of the left wing, against this advanced post. They accordingly fell in with them the next morning at sun-rise, and after an obstinate conflict, put Daood and Hatim to flight, but the latter fell in the pursuit. The victors took seven elephants, and a great number of prisoners, with whom they returned to Baber; but he, deviating from his usual humane conduct, put them to death, by way of striking terror into his enemies.

Baber advancing to the field of battle, encamped there six days, ordering chains to be made to link the carrriages of his guns together, to prevent the horse from breaking through them. The imperial army under Ibrahim, by this time, consisted of one hundred thousand horse, and a thousand elephants; that of Baber, of thirteen thousand only. When Ibrahim had advanced sufficiently near, Baber ordered five thousand horse to attack the Indian camp in the night; but, finding the enemy upon their guard, this detachment returned without attempting any thing.

This retreat hastened Ibrahim to action, and accordingly he marched next morning to Panniput. Baber, at the same time, advanced within twelve miles of Ibrahim's encampment. Upon the day after, the two armies came in sight of each other. Baber divided his troops into two lines, and four grand divisions, with a body of reserve in the rear of each, and a few light horse to skirmish in front. The first division on the right was commanded by Prince Humaioon. The first on the left was under the orders of the King's cousin Mohammed. The second, on the right towards the centre, was commanded by Timur. The second, to the left towards the centre, by the noble Chalifa. Chusero, and other omrahs, were appointed to command the light horse in the front. There was a

reserve in the rear of both lines, that on the right commanded by Casim, and that on the left by Ali. The king himself took his post in the centre of the first line, after having personally given orders to his generals.

The emperor Ibrahim, ignorant of the art of war, observed no regular order of battle, but drew up his forces in one great line or column of unequal depth, and ordered them to charge the Mogul army, vainly imagining that he could bear them down with numbers. But he found himself soon fatally deceived. So formidable were the Moguls to the Patans, from their known courage and steady order, that the emperor's unweildly column began to break and grow thin, before they came up to the charge, which was directed against the centre of the Mogul army. Those who advanced were repulsed with great bravery, but when they sought to retreat, they found themselves surrounded; for the two bodies of reserve, in the rear of the Mogul line, had wheeled round their flanks, and meeting in the centre, fell upon the rear of those who had advanced to the charge, by which means the Patans were almost all cut to pieces. The reserve having performed this service, retired to their post in the rear, and the Mogul lines advanced, sustaining various irregular charges from the Indian army, whom they repulsed with great slaughter.

Ibrahim, at last roused with shame and indignation, advanced in person, followed by the flower of his army, and gave such a violent shock to the Mogul line, as threw it into disorder. Nothing now but personal bravery was left to decide the day; but in this, and the compact form in which the Moguls whole force was wedged, they were still superior to the Indians. Five thousand fell with Ibrahim in one small spot of ground. The Patan army, when their king was slain, recoiled like surges from a rocky shore, and the torrent of flight rolled towards the banks of the Jumna, dying the course of that river with blood; for so far did Baber continue the

pursuit; but being wearied with slaughter, he gave hope to fear, and respite to death.

According to the most moderate accounts there were sixteen thousand Patans killed in this action, though some say fifty thousand. Of the loss of Baber we have no information; conquerors having it always in their power to conceal the number of their slain. We may date from this battle, the fall of the Patan empire, though that race afterwards made many efforts, and recovered it, for a few years, as we shall see in the life of Humaioon.

Baber did not fail to make the best use of his victory. Immediately after the battle, he detached the Prince Humaioon, and three of his principal omrahs, to Agra, before they could have time to recover from their consternation, or to remove their wealth. He also sent his cousin Mohammed, and three other chiefs, to Delhi, to take possession of that capital, while he himself came up in the rear, and, on the twelfth of Rigib, entered the city. The chutba was read in his name, by Zein the metropolitan of Delhi; and, after having surveyed the city, and visited the tombs of the saints and heroes, he set out for Agra, where he arrived the twenty-fifth of the same month, and immediately invested the fort, which was in possession of the former government, garrisoned by the troops of the Raja of Gualior, who had been killed in the action. But so much had the terror of the Mogul arms now taken possession of every mind, that they immediately desired to capitulate, and sent him, by way of ransom, a perfect diamond weighing two hundred and twenty-four ruttys,* which was formerly the property of the emperor Alla. Baber presented it to his son Humaioon. Thus, upon the fifth day after his arrival, he was put in possession of the place, in which he found the mother of Ibrahim, who was treated with becoming respect, and permitted to enjoy all her wealth.

Upon the twentieth of Rigib, Baber went into the treasury, which

* A rutty is seven eighths of a carat.

was very rich. He reserved not a single dinar for himself, but divided the whole among his omrahs and troops; the share of the former amounting to two lacks of rupees each; and those of others were proportionable to their rank and stations. A part was sent to Cabul, to be divided among Baber's subjects, which yielded to each a silver sharoch,* besides presents, which he sent to Samarcand, Chorasan, Mecca, Medina, and other holy places, in charity. This generosity, which bordered upon prodigality, fixed upon Baber the name of Collinder, whose custom it is to keep nothing for to-morrow.

As the Patans were in great terror of the Moguls, and had a natural antipathy to their government, they still refused to submit, and appeared every where in arms, strengthening their forts, and erecting the standard of defiance in their different provinces. But as it was necessary to form an alliance for their mutual defence, they unanimously appointed Par Chan, the son of Diria Lodi, their general, or, rather, king, by the title of Sultan Mohammed; and all rendezvousing at Canouge, advanced towards Agra. At the same time Mai, the Afghan chief who had joined Baber, deserted him, with all his adherents: even the inhabitants of the country round Agra cut off his foraging parties, and rendered it very difficult for him to support his cavalry, or supply his troops with provisions: Add to this, the intolerable heat of the weather, by which a great many Moguls, not being accustomed to such a climate, died.

In this situation of affairs, Baber received an address from all his chiefs, requesting him to return to Cabul; to which he replied, That a kingdom which had cost him so much pains in acquiring, was not to be wrested from him but by death alone. He at the same time issued a proclamation, that he was determined to abide his fate in India; but if any person was desirous of returning to Cabul, preferring safety to glory, and ignoble ease to the manly toils and dangers of war, they might retire in peace, and leave him only

* A silver sharoch is in value about a shilling sterling.

those whose valor would reflect honour on themselves, and glory on their king and country. The omrahs hearing this, were ashamed of their former behavior, and, striking their breasts, swore they would never forsake him. When it was known that Baber had determined not to leave Hindostan, as his ancestor Timur had done, some omrahs, who were willing to be first in favor, began to come over to him; first, Gurin, with three thousand horse, from between the rivers, offered his service, which was accepted. The next was Formalli, from Mewat, to redeem his sons who had been taken in the battle; then Firose and Chirmali, with the whole of their dependents. Baber, encouraged by this, sent his son Humaioon, with the greatest part of his army, against the confederate Patan omrahs, whose forces amounted to fifty thousand horse; but, upon Humaioon's approach, they retreated from Canouge to Jionpoor. Humaioon having prevailed upon Fati, the former emperor's vizier, to join him, sent him to the king at Agra, who treated him with the utmost respect and favour, which induced several other Afghan chiefs to come over to his interest.

Nizam, governor of Biana, though he was now hard pressed by Rana Sinka, who aspired to be the sole master of that province, still refused to submit to the king's authority, which obliged Baber to send Baba Kuli against him with a detachment, which was defeated. But Rana Sinka soon after reduced Nizam to such extremities, that he sent a deputation to Baber, begging pardon for his offence, and requesting he would support him, for which he was ready to pay him due allegiance. The king, glad of the opportunity, made no hesitation to embrace the offer, and, sending a force to drive off Rana, Nizam was put in possession of the place, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies, for the annual payment of twenty lacks of rupees.

Tatar and Saring, who were in possession of the fort of Gualior, being besieged by the Indian prince of that country, in the same

manner addressed the king for succours. Baber dispatched a detachment, which defeated the rajah, but Saring recalled his promise, and refused to deliver up the place. However, it was at length obtained by a stratagem, in which philosophy condescended to become the pander to ambition.

In the year 933, Chajagi, who had been sent ambassador from Cabul to congratulate Shah Tahmasp, king of Persia, upon his accession, returned, accompanied by Soliman, and brought various curiosities; but that which pleased the king most, was two beautiful female slaves, just come to maturity, of whom he became greatly enamoured. The mother of the emperor Ibrahim, who had been before the greatest favourite in the seraglio, incensed at this change in the sultan's affections, conspired with the taster and cook to poison him. The poison was accordingly administred in some hare-soup; but the king, after eating a few spoonfuls, nauseated the taste, and immediatele vomited, which saved his life. After proper enquiry had been made, the taster and cook denying their knowledge of any such thing, the king ordered a dog to be brought, who having eat of the soup, was soon seized with convulsions, and died. Two of the under cooks being also brought to the trial, expired in the same manner: upon which the taster and head cook, with several of their assistants, were put to the torture. The plot was discovered, and the mother of Ibrahim cast into prison, and all her wealth confiscated. One of Ibrahim's sons was sent at the same time to Cabul, where he remained in banishment. Prince Humaioon having defeated the omrahs at Jionpoor, left Birlass to keep those provinces in awe, and returned himself to court, having upon his way conciliated matters with Allum, governor of Calpee, who now accompanied him, and was received with great respect.

The king was, at this time, suddenly alarmed by advices that many Patan omrahs, with Mahmood, the son of the emperor Secunder, and other chiefs and rajas in alliance, whose force

exceeded one hundred thousand horse, were preparing to attack him. Baber, having no dependence on the Patan chiefs who had joined him, detached them to defend different provinces, and with his own Moguls hastened towards the enemy. His van guard falling in with their's, upon the frontiers of Biana, after a sharp conflict, were repulsed by the enemy with great loss, which struck unusual terror into the king's small army. Neazi fled to Simbol, Hassen joined the enemy, and every day brought disagreeable intelligence from all quarters. Nor did the predictions of Sherif a little add to the general consternation. This pretended wizard averred, that Brisput* (in Sanscreet VRIHASPATI) was in the east, and consequently, that whoever marched from the west should be overthrown.

The king perceiving this panic, called, immediately, a council of war. The greatest part of the officers gave it, as their opinion, that as the superiority of the enemy was evident, it was advisable to leave a strong garrison in Agra, and to retreat with the bulk of the army to Panjab. Baber, with a sullen aspect, fixed his eyes in silence upon the ground. He at length sternly asked the chiefs, What would the world say of a monarch, whom the fear of death should oblige to abandon such a kingdom? "The voice of glory," said he, "is loud in my ear, and forbids me to disgrace my name, by giving up what my arms have, with so much difficulty, acquired. But as death is at last unavoidable, let us rather meet him with honour, face to face, than shrink back, to gain a few years of a miserable and ignominious existence; for what can we inherit but fame, beyond the limits of the grave." The whole assembly, as if inspired with one soul, cried out at once, "War! War!" The king, having been formerly much addicted to wine, made a vow never to drink any more, should he, upon this occasion, prove victorious.

* The planet Mars.

Upon the ninth of the second Jimmad, of the year 933, which happened to be Norose,* Baber formed his line of battle, with his guns and rockets in his front. In that order he moved towards the enemy, who lay at the distance of six miles. But after he had advanced two miles he halted, and encamped his army. Several young warriors, fond of distinguishing themselves, issued out, under the command of Mohammed Casim, to skirmish with the enemy's scouts and advanced guards, among whom they did great execution.

The king next day advanced two miles further, and marked out his camp at the village of Kava, but his tents were scarcely pitched, when he perceived the enemy advancing upon him. He formed his line with great expedition, in the manner which he had practised for some days before, and in a few minutes was able to receive the shock of battle. His order of fight was as follows: the line, which upon this occasion was single, consisted of six brigades, exclusive of the king's life guard's in the centre, where Baber posted himself. Before each of the brigades, a few paces in front, the king placed a squadron of light horse, which formed another kind of line with great intervals. In front of the whole, the artillery and rocket-waggons were drawn up in three divisions, the right, left, and center. The guns were chained together, so that there was a kind of fortification formed against the enemy's cavalry. The brigade immediately to the right of the center was commanded by Timur, consisting of his own tribe, and the troops of many other omrahs of distinction. The brigade to the left of the centre was under the immediate orders of Allum, a descendant of the emperor Beloli, and composed of his national troops, and those of five other nobles. The two brigades of the right wing were commanded in chief by prince Humaioon, and of these the right-hand brigade consisted of the troops of Casim Hussein, and other chiefs of family

* New-year's day.

and experience in war. The left-hand battalion of prince Humaioon's division was made up of the troops of Seid Amir, and of those of other six nobles of the Mogul race.

The two brigades of the left wing were commanded by Seid Chaja; the left-hand battalion of whose division was composed of different squadrons, commanded by their respective chiefs. The right-hand brigade was made up of the troops of Angi the Mogul, and those of Kumal, of the race of Alla, formerly emperor of India. The light horse of the left wing were commanded by Tirdi Beg; and those of the right wing by Mahmud Casim. Mohammed, the captain-general, took post before the king, with all his yessawils,* and a choice body of horse.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon the action was commenced by the artillery. The left of the enemy, charging the right of the Moguls, soon fell in hand to hand, with the battalions of Kokultash and Malleck Casim, and compelled them to give way. But Timur, by the Sultan's orders, inclining to the right with his brigade, seized upon their ground, and falling upon the assailants with great fury, put them to flight, the light horse pursuing them with great slaughter, quite through their own line. The enemy, in the mean time, being so numerous, extended their flanks far beyond the wings of the king, and came down upon him from all sides. Baber ordered his right and left wing to fall back, by which means his army was condensed into a circle. In this position he resisted the repeated assaults of the Patans till three o'clock, Alla Kuli of Rumi†, who commanded the artillery, making great slaughter among them.

Baber finding the enemy fatigued by their repeated assaults, determined to act offensively, to drive them quite out of the field.

* Aids-de-camp.

† Rumi is the Mohammedan name of the lesser Asia, so called from its being a part of the Roman empire. It is remarkable that the Eastern nations call the Ottomans, Romans to this day.

He therefore put himself at the head of the brigades of Timur and Allum, and charging them like a lion rushing from the forest, after an obstinate resistance put their whole army to flight. Hassen of Mewat was killed with a cannon shot, and Raw Luddive, Chunder Ban, Mannuk Chohan, Kirim Sing, all powerful princes of the enemy, were numbered among the dead. The king, immediately after the victory, assumed the title of Ghazi; and, as a monument to perpetuate the memory of the battle, he ordered a pyramid to be built upon an eminence near the field, which, according to the custom of his age and nation, was stuck round with the heads of the slain. The astrologer, after being severely reprimanded for his false prediction, was presented with a lack of rupees, and banished from the kingdom.

In the year 934 the king marched for the purpose of hunting towards Kole and Simbol. Having diverted himself with the chase for some time, he returned to his capital, and was taken ill of a fever, of which however he soon recovered. He then marched towards Chinderi, where Medeni Rai, a Hindoo chief, had shut himself up with a strong garrison of Rajaputs. The place was invested, and the Rajaputs sallied out and attacked the king; but they paid dear for their rashness, and lost six thousand men upon the field. Those who returned after this defeat into the fort, seeing no hopes of defending it longer against the enemy, according to their dreadful custom, murdered their wives and children in the following manner: they placed a sword in the hand of one of their chiefs, and he successively slew the unhappy victims, who, one after another, bent, of their own accord, their necks before him; they even contended among themselves for the honour of being first slain. The soldiers then sprinkled a yellow powder over their garments, as on a day of festivity, and throwing loose their hair, issued forth with their swords and shields, and sought after that death,

which they all obtained. The fort, wholly empty, fell into the hands of the Moguls.

The Emperor's relation Ashkari, who governed Multan, was this year ordered to court, and having exhibited the tokens of obedience, he was commanded to go against Nuserit, one of the Patan chiefs, on the borders of the Decan. Nuserit, hearing of the approach of the Moguls, sent an ambassador to the king, subjecting himself to the royal authority. Nizam Beri, prince of Ahmednagur, at the same time sent to congratulate Baber on his good fortune, and proffered obedience. Baber, towards the close of this year, received advices that Mahmud, the son of the emperor Secunder Lodi, had possessed himself of the province of Behar, and that one Bellocha had erected the standard of rebellion in Multan. The king sent orders to his omrahs in the north-west, concerning the affairs of Multan, and marched in person towards Behar. When he arrived at Kurrah, Jellal, descended of that dynasty of Patans who stiled themselves Emperors of the East, prepared a royal entertainment for him, and was honoured with his presence. Zeman was detached from Kurrah to the conquest of Behar, and he quickly drove Mahmud out of the field.

But a few months after, the Afghans of Behar, collecting themselves together a second time, advanced to the Ganges, opposite to Hideri. The king detached Ashkari with a division of the troops to oppose them, and the next day followed that officer with the whole army. When he came to the banks of the river, and saw the enemy on the opposite bank, he was preparing boats to cross; but Timur begged permission to go before. As soon as he made his landing good with eighty horse, Ashkari, who had crossed at another place, appeared in the enemies rear; and they immediately took to flight. The king, after this action, left Junied Birlass to prosecute the war in conjunction with Nuserit, and returned to pass the rainy season in Agra.

In the year 936 the sultan fell sick, and his disorder continued daily to gain strength, in spite of the power of medicine. Despairing at last of life, he recalled his son Humaioon, who was then besieging the fort of Callinger, and appointed him his successor. Upon Monday, the fifth of the first Jemmad, in A. H. 973, or, A. D. 1530, he resigned in peace that life which he had so often exposed in war. According to his will, his body was carried to Cabul, and interred in a holy sepulchre.

What shall we say of Baber, the wonder of the age in which he lived! He mounted a throne at twelve years of age, and, with various turns of fortune, reigned thirty-eight. He was a prince of great humanity, and carried his generosity to such excess, that it bordered upon prodigality.

He was of the sect of the Hanifites, in whose doctrine and tenets he was perfectly versed; yielding more to the evidence of reason, than to the absurd legends of superstitious antiquity. He was not, however, forgetful of that rational worship which is due to the great Creator, nor a contemner of those laws and ceremonies which are founded on sound policy. He was a master in the arts of poetry, writing, and music. He wrote his own Commentaries in the Mogul language, with such elegance and propriety, that they are universally admired. This work was translated, in the reign of Akbar, by Chan Chanan, into the Persian language, and from it we have abridged the preceding history of the life of Baber.

In his person, he was something above the middle size, nervous, and well formed. His countenance was pleasant, and in disposition he was easy, facetious, and affable.

To establish his reputation for justice and honor, we shall relate one instance out of many. When he was prince of Argana, a rich caravan of Chitta and China, which was crossing the mountains of Indija, was buried in the snow. He ordered all the goods to be collected, and sent messengers to China to proclaim the accident,

and bring the owners, or their heirs, to his court. Upon their arrival, at the end of two years, he entertained them hospitably, and returned them all their goods, not only refusing to accept a present, but even to be reimbursed for his expences.

Notwithstanding his great vigour in war, he was much addicted to wine and women, and all the fashionable pleasures of courts. He sometimes used, when he had an inclination to make merry, to fill a fountain with wine, upon which was inscribed a verse to this purpose: "Jovial days! Blooming springs! Old wine, and young maidens! Enjoy freely, O Baber, for life is not twice to be enjoyed!" He then would sit down in the midst of his friends, drink freely, and feast his eyes on the daughters of beauty who danced before him.

Whithersoever he marched, or rode, he had the road measured after him. He also made a statute concerning the measurement of distances, which still remains in force.

With respect to his military character, he seems to have had few that could equal him. He rendered the most dangerous enterprizes easy, by his undaunted courage and perseverance, which rose above all difficulties, and made him much more the object of admiration in his adversity, than in the height of his prosperity. Nor did he forget himself in the latter, but always behaved with that moderation and equanimity which characterises a soul truly heroic.

Tahmasp, the second of the Sophi dynasty, began his reign seven years before the death of Baber. He held the empire of all Persia and Maver-ul-nere or Transoxiana, in peace for more than ten years after his accession. The provinces between Chorasan and India remained in the house of Baber.

HUMAIOON.

The Prince HUMAIOON, immediately after the death of Baber, mounted the throne of his father, in India. He was devoted to the study of astronomy, and took great delight in judicial astrology. He is said to have fitted up seven houses of entertainment, and named them after the seven planets. In each he gave public audience, according to the ruling planet of the day, ordering all the furniture, paintings, and also the dresses of those who waited upon him, to bear something that was an emblem of the tutelar star of the house. In the house of the Moon met foreign ambassadors, travellers, and poets; military men attended him in the house of Brisput;* and judges, lawgivers, and secretaries, were received in that of the Recorder of Heaven.†

But the urgency of public affairs did not permit Humaioon to follow long these innocent vagaries of peace and leisure. In the first year of his reign he led an army against the strong fortress of Callinger, and invested the place. While the king carried on the siege, Mahmud, the son of the emperor Secunder Lodi, in conjunction with Bein the Afghan, took possession of Jionpoor, and kindled the flames of war in the eastern provinces. Humaioon, having received intelligence of these commotions, decamped from before Callinger, marched to Jionpoor, in a pitched battle overthrew the Afghans, and reinstated Juneid Birlass in his former government of that province.

The emperor, after this signal victory, returned to Agra, and bestowed honorary dresses upon above twelve thousand of his courtiers. He in the mean time dispatched a herald to Shere Khan, and demanded possession of the fortress of Chunâr,‡ which

* The planet Mars. † Mercury.

‡ Chunâr is a very strong fortress in the province of Oude, within seven crores of Benares. Both Shere Khan and Sultan Bahadur were governors under the former empire, and had, after the death of Ibrahim, assumed independence.

being refused, Humaioon marched his army that way. When the king lay before Chunâr, he was informed that Bahadur, king of Guzzurat, had turned towards him the points of his spears. This obliged him hastily to conclude a sort of peace with Shere, and to return towards Agra. Cuttub, the son of Shere, whom the emperor had taken as an hostage, found means on the way to make his escape, and to return to his father at Chunâr.

Mohammed Zeman, of the race of Timur, the grandson of Hussein, aspired to the throne, and was supported in his pretensions by the omrahs of Chigittai. The plot was discovered, and the leader of the conspiracy pardoned; but Humaioon finding him a second time meditating treasonable practices, he ordered him to be confined in the fortress of Biana. Orders were given to put out the eyes of Mohammed Sultan and Nuserit Mirza, for being the principal abettors of the prince's ambitious designs; but the person to whom it was intrusted to inflict this punishment, saved the eyes of the former, while the latter found means to escape to Guzzurat. Sultan, by the aid of his sons Ali Mirza and Shah Mirza, who formed a party, was carried away to Canouge, where he was joined by about six thousand Moguls, Afghans, and Rajaputs.

Humaioon sent to Bahadur, under whose dominion was the city of Canouge, and commanded him to deliver up Mohammed; but he rejected the orders in an insolent manner, which obliged the emperor to march against him. Bahadur king of Guzzurat had, about this time, resolved to wrest the fort of Chitor from the Rana. Rana threw himself under the protection of Humaioon; but the emperor, for what reason is not known, having advanced as far as Gualior, encamped there for two months, and returned, without effecting any thing, to Agra. Rana, despairing of relief, sent a crown and a considerable sum of money to Bahadur, which induced him to raise the siege.

Bahadur, whose affairs were now in a very prosperous situation,

by the reduction of Mandu, and other places, began to shew his contempt of Humaioon, by advancing the conspirator Mohammed to great honours. He also prompted Alla, descended of the emperor Beloli Lodi, to attempt possessing himself of the throne of Delhi. He for this purpose made Tatar, the son of Sultan Alla, his general, and dispatched him, with forty thousand men, against Humaioon, with which he subdued Biana, and advanced to the environs of Agra.

This pressing danger awakened the king from his lethargy. He immediately sent his brother, the prince Hindal, with a force to oppose Tatar. When the armies approached one another, there was so great a desertion from Tatar's troops, that, in the space of ten days, ten thousand horse scarce remained to him. He however resolved with these to stand his ground, and give battle to the imperial army; but he was totally overthrown, lost the greatest part of his troops, three hundred officers of distinction, and his own life. Hindal after this victory retook Biana, and all the other places which had before fallen into the hands of the enemy, and returned in triumph to Agra.

Bahadur, in the year 940, marched a second time towards Chitore; and in the mean time Humaioon ordered a fort to be built in Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna, which he called Panna. The sultan soon after marched towards Saringpoor, then governed by Bahadur, as king of Guzzurat, and wrote to him a sarcastic couplet, unworthy of the dignity and majesty of a king.

Bahadur, after receiving the above insult, summoned a council of war. It was the decided opinion of the majority, that as Humaioon had all his force with him, it were better to raise the siege, and march against him, and thus at once terminate the contest. Others urged, that Humaioon was so rigid in his religious principles, that he would not disturb them in their war with idolaters; that therefore it was most adviseable to finish the siege, which was now far

advanced, and afterwards to think of other matters. Bahadur himself favoured the latter opinion. The siege was accordingly continued; and Humaioon, piquing himself upon his religious principles, continued loitering at Saringpoor till Bahadur had taken the fort. Bahadur, in the year 941, marched with great expedition against Humaioon, who, hearing of his approach, marched forward to meet him. The two armies appeared in front of each other near Munsoor. Bahadur, who had collected a great train of artillery, by advice of his engineer, Rumi Chan, entrenched his army, and placed his cannon in redoubts, in his front. This prevented Humaioon from risquing an attack, and both armies continued in sight of each other for the space of two months. Daily skirmishes were in the mean time fought, with various success.

Humaioon, finding that he could not draw Bahadur out of his trenches, employed all his attention to cut off his supplies. He ordered his horse, in successive bodies of five or six thousand, to scour the rear of the enemy, by which means famine began soon to be severely felt in their camp; men, horses, elephants, and camels, perishing daily in great numbers.

Bahadur, instead of making one brave effort to relieve himself, permitted base fear and despair to seize upon him; and, with only five friends, left his camp in the night, and fled towards Mandu. This was no sooner known than the flight became general, the chiefs dispersing themselves with their adherents. Humaioon in the morning ordered the pursuit to commence, which was continued as far as Mandu, with great slaughter of the unfortunate victims, who had neither the power to escape, nor the means to defend themselves. Bahadur threw himself into Mandu, and the place was closely invested.

In a few days three hundred Moguls scaled the walls of Mandu in the night; and though the garrison consisted of many thousands,

such was their panic, that they all betook themselves to flight. Bahadur escaped to Chapanier, which was then the capital of Guzzurat, while Sidder Khan, his captain general, who was dangerously wounded, not able to proceed farther, shut himself up in the fort of Sunkar, where, being besieged, he capitulated the second day, and was, on account of his excellent character, received into great favour. Sidder, during the pursuit, saved Bahadur, when almost taken by Humaioon, by throwing himself in between the kings, till his master had an opportunity of making his escape. But he himself was attacked with such violence by Humaioon, in person, that, after receiving many wounds, he got off with great difficulty.

The king, three days after the taking of Mandu, renewed the pursuit of Bahadur, who, having taken all his treasure and jewels out of the city of Chapanier, fled towards Amedabad. The king, giving up the city of Chapanier to plunder, and committing the siege of the citadel, which still held out, to Dowlat Birlass, continued to pursue Bahadur. The unfortunate Bahadur, hearing of his approach, fled to Cambay, but Humaioon pursuing him thither, he retired to the island of Diu; Humaioon arrived in Cambay the very evening of the same day in which Bahadur forsook it.

Humaioon remained a few days in this place, but hearing that Bahadur's wealth was mostly in the citadel of Chapanier, he returned to carry on that siege. Achtiar, who commanded in the place, defended it with great bravery. But though he had several years provision in the fort, he was covetous of more, and took in daily supplies by a certain part of the citadel, which was covered by a thick wood. The king, one day, reconnoitring the place, observed the proceedings of Achtiar, with regard to the provisions. He immediately seized upon a party of country people who carried the supplies through the woods. He persuaded, or rather commanded

them, to carry him, in disguise, to the place. They had admittance. The king made the necessary remarks, returned to his camp, and the same night ordered a quantity of iron spikes to be made.

He himself, with three hundred select men, went to the place, while feigned attacks were made upon every other quarter of the fort. As the access to this part of the fortress was extremely difficult, the attention of the enemy was entirely drawn towards other points of assault. This negligence of theirs furnished the king with an opportunity of fixing his iron spikes in the wall, by which means thirty-nine officers mounted, and the king himself made the fortieth. Before sun-rise his whole detachment was within the walls, when he displayed a signal which had been previously settled with his troops. They accordingly made a violent assault upon all sides, while Humaioon, at the head of his detachment, cried out, Alla Akbar! and forcing his way, sword in hand, through the enemy, possessed himself of one of the gates: he immediately opened it and admitted his troops, and all, except Achtiar and his family, who were in an outwork, were put to the sword. The governor defended himself so bravely, that he obtained terms of capitulation. The great strength of this place, the numerous garrison, and the boldness of the attempt by which it fell, rendered this action of the king equal, in the opinion of all mankind, to any thing of the like nature recorded in history. Here the treasure of Guzzurat, which had been collected in the course of many years, was distributed among the troops. He gave to the officers and soldiers what wealth could be heaped upon their respective shields, proportioning the value of the things to their rank and merit. All the riches of Europe and India, which had been there collected to a vast amount, were delivered over to plunder.

Soon after intelligence concerning the insurrection of Shere Khan, the Afghan,, reached the royal ear. Humaioon, having marched into the eastern provinces, invested Chunâr, and reduced

that strong fortress, after a siege of six months. Having then gained the passes, he entered Bengal. Shere, in the mean time, carried away the treasure of the princes of Gour and Bengal, whom he had reduced, and fled to the mountains of Jarcund. The king continued his march to Gour, then the capital of Bengal, and took it. Having resided in that city for the space of three months, he was obliged, on account of the moist air of the country, by which the greatest part of his army fell sick, as well as by the rebellion of his brother the prince Hindal at Agra, to return.

Hindal had been sent to suppress Mohammed Mirza, who had escaped to Canouge; but instead of performing that service, as soon as he saw himself at the head of an army, the prince began to aspire to the throne. He accordingly marched back to Agra, where he discovered his treasonable intentions, by putting some of the principal people, who rejected his authority, to death. He thus enforced obedience, and throwing away every disguise, ordered the chutba to be read in his own name, and, with all the ensigns of royalty, marched to Delhi, and besieged it. The king, having heard of these proceedings, left Jehangire and Ibrahim to command in Bengal, and hastened towards Agra. When he was about half way, Mohammed Zeman, of the race of Timur, who had formerly joined Bahadur, returned from Sind, and, being promised a pardon, joined the king with a considerable party. In the mean time Shere the Afghan, finding the king's army so much weakened by sickness and desertion, and his affairs further perplexed by the rebellion of Hindal, marched with his troops from Rotas, and came behind the king on the Jossa.* Both armies lay three months inactive, at a time when the king ought to have run all hazards, being every day insulted, and more and more distressed by the enemy, who prevented his crossing the river.

To add still to Humaioon's misfortunes, his other brother,

* Perhaps the Sone.

Camiran, instead of assisting him, ungenerously aspired to his throne, and marched with ten thousand horse from Lahore. When he arrived at Delhi, prince Hindal prevailed upon him to join his forces with his own, after which they both continued the siege. Ali, who commanded in the city, acquainted Camiran, that he could never think of betraying his trust, and rather than be so ungrateful to his prince, he was determined to shed the last drop of his blood; but that, if he would first possess himself of Agra, the capital, and entirely subdue his brother, he would then, and not till then, give up the city of Delhi. When Camiran and his brother found the governor so determined, and that the siege would cost them much blood and time, they set out together for Agra. When they had reached the environs of that city, the jealousy which the brothers naturally entertained of each other, the eyes of both being turned towards the throne, broke out into open war. Hindal, being deserted by many of his party, fled to Alwir with five thousand horse and three hundred elephants; and Camiran, entering Agra, assumed all the imperial ensigns.

Humaioon endeavoured, by every possible argument with his brothers, to bring about a coalition of interests against Shere, telling them, that their family quarrels would certainly, in the end, lose them that mighty empire, which had cost their father so much pains to conquer, and involve the family of Timur in one common ruin; that it was therefore adviseable to join against the common enemy, and afterwards divide the empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with his brothers, who were so blinded with ambition, that they were determined rather to lose all, than be contented with a part. They vainly hoped that after Shere had defeated Humaioon, they should be able to subdue Shere; and each had the folly to suppose, that he would be able to exclude the other, and thus reign alone.

At this juncture Shere sent the learned Chelili, a dervish of great

reputation, to Humaioon, to treat about a peace, which the king accepted with gladness, upon the following conditions: that Shere should content himself with Bengal and Behar, which he was to hold in the king's name, paying a small acknowledgment.

When the conditions were signed and ratified by mutual oaths, Humaioon, trusting too much to the faith of his enemy, permitted a free intercourse between both armies. This was what the perfidious Shere aimed at by the peace. He accordingly, next morning, surprised the emperor's camp before day-break, and totally defeated him. As the bridge of boats, which the king had been preparing, was not finished, there was no way of escape left, but by plunging into the river; all the boats being seized by a party of the enemy, who had turned the rear of the emperor's army. Humaioon, his nobles, and a great part of his army, were forced into the stream, where eight thousand Moguls, exclusive of Hindoos, were drowned, among whom was the prince Mohammed Zeman. This terrible overthrow happened to Humaioon in A. H. 946, or A. D. 1539.

The king, by the assistance of a waterman, having with great difficulty swam across the river, with a few who had survived the slaughter of this dreadful day, fled to Agra. Prince Camiran hearing of this defeat, hastened from Agra to Alwir, to consult with his brother Hindal. Finding that the Afghans were likely to prevail, they were ashamed of their behaviour to their brother, and, when it was too late, thought proper to support him. In the mean time, all the Mogul omrahs who were dispersed in the provinces, seeing that the power of their nation had sustained such a violent shock, found it also necessary to unite their strength. They accordingly hastened from all quarters to Agra; Jehangire and Ibrahim having left Bengal, and even Mohammed Mirza, who had rebelled in Canouge, joined now in the general cause against the Afghans.

Shere, in the mean time, advanced with an army to the banks of the Ganges, and detaching his son Cuttub over the river, possessed

himself of the adjacent provinces. Humaioon having received intelligence of these motions, ordered Hussein the Usbek against him with a great army. They met the enemy near Calpie, where an obstinate engagement took place, in which victory declaring for the Moguls, Cuttub, with a great part of his army, was cut off, and his head sent to Agra. The generals at the same time invited the king to come and have the honour of conquering Shere in person.

Humaioon accordingly marched with a hundred thousand horse, and crossing the Ganges near Canouge, sat down for the space of a month before the army of Shere, which consisted of little more than half his number. In the mean time Mohammed Mirza and his sons, who were remarkable for their treachery and ingratitude, fled to the enemy, with all their adherents, drawing many more after them, which again plunged the king into distress; for his army being dispirited, began to desert by thousands. To complete his misfortunes, the rainy season now commenced, and his camp was quite overflowed with water. The king therefore resolved to move his camp to higher ground.

On the tenth of Mohirrim, 947, Humaioon put his army in motion. He was attacked by Shere on his march, and defeated with great slaughter. Having unfortunately, as in the former action, the river then close to his rear, the flight turned that way, and thousands, to avoid the swords of the enemy, chose a more ignominious death in the water. A few only escaped with the king over the river, with whom he fled to Agra; the rest submitted themselves to the conquerors, or dispersed by various routes.

Shere, immediately after this victory, advanced towards Agra. The king was forced to retreat to Lahore, and there joined the greatest part of his Mogul omrahs, who had been dispersed since the action. Shere still continuing the pursuit, to make the best use of his victory, crossed the river of Jullanpoor, upon which the king was compelled to pass the river of Lahore, and retreat towards

Tatta and Bicker, upon the Indus. Camiran, now sensible of his ungenerous and impolitic behaviour, was himself obliged to fly towards Cabul, and saw an empire wrested from his family, by the effects of that base envy, which could not behold even a brother's greatness without pain.

Humaioon having crossed the Indus on his way to Bicker, halted at Lori, and sent an ambassador with a horse and dress to his cousin Hussein, governor of Tatta, to request his aid, that he might be able to possess himself of Guzzurat. Hussein seeming to listen to his request, detained the king, by various artifices and excuses, for five months, by which means his small army, distressed for want of pay, daily diminished in numbers. The prince Hindal, his brother, in the mean time, left him, and went to Kandahar, being invited thither by the governor of that province.

Humaioon with his little army laid siege to Sewan for seven months, without effect, when Hussein, desirous of getting the place into his own hands, advanced with a great force from Tatta, and surrounding both the garrison and the besiegers, prevented supplies from being carried to either. Humaioon's army was soon greatly distressed, as well as the garrison. The king, driven to extremities, requested Eadgar, to whom he had recently given the government of Bicker, to join him with what forces he could raise; but this ungrateful man chose rather to join Hussein, who promised to give him his daughter, and to secure him in his government. Thus basely deserted, at this dangerous crisis, Humaioon was obliged to retreat precipitately from before Sewan towards Bicker. He could not even obtain, in that place, a few boats from his own perfidious subjects, to waft his small army over the river. After a search of some days, and wandering along the banks, he discovered some boats that had been sunk, raised them, and transported his troops to the other side. But on neither side was there safety for Humaioon. A rebellion soon after broke out in his army, and a

treacherous Hindoo chief, Maldeo, to whose frontiers he had fled for succour, formed the black design to seize him, and deliver him up to the usurper Shere. Humaioon, informed of the intended treachery by an old domestic, mounted his horse at midnight, and attended by a few faithful troops, fled towards Amercot, which is about one hundred crores from Tatta. His horse, on the way, falling down dead with fatigue, and the soldiers of Maldeo urging close behind, he was compelled, for want of another, to pursue part of his journey on the back of a camel. The country through which they fled being an entire sandy desart, the troops soon began to be in the utmost distress for water. Some ran mad, others fell down dead; and nothing was heard on every side but dreadful screams and loud lamentations. A well at length was fortunately found, and their pangs alleviated; but marching forward, they were soon more distressed than before, there being no water found during two whole days journey. On the fourth day of their retreat they fell in with another well, which was so deep, that the only bucket they had took a great deal of time in being wound up, and therefore a drum was beat to give notice to the people when the bucket appeared, that they might repair by turns to drink. The unhappy men were so impatient for the water, that as soon as the first bucket appeared, ten or twelve of them threw themselves upon it, before it quite reached the verge of the well, by which means the rope broke, and the bucket was lost, and several fell headlong after it. When this fatal accident happened, the screams and lamentations of all again became loud and dreadful. Some lolling out their tongues, rolled themselves in agony on the hot sand; while others, precipitating themselves into the well, met with an immediate, and consequently an easier death. What did not the unhappy king feel, when he saw this terrible situation of his few faithful friends! The next day, though they reached a brook, was not less fatal than the former. The camels, that had not tasted water for several

days, now drank so much, that the greatest part of them died. The people also, after drinking, complained of an oppression of the heart, and in about half an hour a great part of them expired.

A few, with the king, after this unheard of distress, reached Amercot. The rajah being a humane man, took compassion on their misfortunes. He spared nothing that could alleviate their miseries, or express his fidelity to the king.

At Amercot, upon Sunday the fifth of Rigib, in A. H. 949, or A. D. 1541, the immortal Akber, was born. The king, after returning thanks to God, left his family under the protection of Rana, the prince of Amercot, and, by the aid of that rajah, marched against Bicker. But a mutiny arising among the troops, they dispersed, so that nothing could be effected. Some of the king's own omrahs deserted him, and the gallant Ali, one of his principal adherents, was killed in an action in which Humaioon was defeated. The king fled towards Candahar and was on his way, joined by that gallant Mogul chief Byram Khan, from Guzzurat. The prince Camiran had, at that time, taken the fortress of Candahar from his brother Hindal; and Ashkari governed there by his appointment. Hussein, who governed at Tatta, changing his mind with the increase of Humaioon's misfortunes, wrote to Ashkari, that the king was in the utmost distress, and that if he would now favor him, so meritorious an action could not be forgot. Ashkari, instead of listening to this request, attacked the king when he approached, obliging him to leave behind him his infant son Akber, and fly himself, with the Sultana Mariam, and only twenty-two horse, to Chorasan. Ashkari expressed great sorrow at the king's escape, and plundering all his effects, carried the young prince to Candahar.

The king, by repeated trials, found that he could place no faith in his brothers. When he arrived upon the frontiers of Seistan, he was met by Shamlu, who was there governor on the part of

Tahmasp, king of Persia. He brought Humaioon to the capital of Seistan, and treated him with the greatest respect, presenting him with all the money of which he was possessed, and furnishing the Sultana with slaves. The king received just what supplied his occasions, and returned the rest. He from thence set out for Herat, and was in that city met by the prince Mohammed, the king of Persia's eldest son. This prince forgot nothing of that generosity and politeness which so remarkably distinguished his character. He provided the unfortunate exile very effectually with all necessaries for his journey to the Persian court. In the progress of Humaioon towards the capital of Persia, all the governors of the provinces and great men paid him their compliments, and made magnificent entertainments for him. When he arrived at Kizvi, he dispatched Byram to the Persian king at Ispahan, and waited for his answer. Let us now leave Humaioon, to give an account of the transactions in Hindostan during his exile.

SHERE.

The original name of Shere was Ferid. His father was Hussein, of the Soor tribe of the Afghans of Roh, a mountainous country on the confines of India and Persia. When Beloli ascended the throne of the Indian empire, the grandfather of Shere, Ibrahim, came to Delhi in quest of military preferment, and, soon after, engaged himself in the service of an omrah of the court of Beloli. When the empire fell to Secunder, the son of Beloli, the noble Jemmal, a chief of high renown, was appointed subah of Jionpoor, and he took Hussein, the son of Ibrahim, in his retinue. He found him a youth of parts, and favored him so much, that, in a short time, he gave him the districts of Sassaram and Tanda in jaghire, for which he was to maintain five hundred horse. Hussein had eight sons; Ferid and Nizam of one mother, of a Patan family; the other sons were born of slaves.

Hussein had no great regard for his wife, and he therefore neglected her sons. Ferid, upon this, left his father's house, and enlisted himself a soldier in the service of Jemmal, the governor of Jionpoor. Hussein wrote to Jemmal upon this occasion, requesting him to send back his son, that he might be educated. But all that Jemmal could say had no effect upon Ferid. Jionpoor, he said, was a better place for instruction than Sassaram; and he affirmed that he would attend to letters of his own accord. This he did to so good an effect, that he soon could repeat the works of the celebrated poet Sadi, and was, besides, a proficient in all the learning of the country. He, however, employed most of his time in history and poetry, being supported by the liberality of Jemmal.

After three or four years had elapsed, Hussein came to Jionpoor, and, by the mediation of friends, the father and son were reconciled. Hussein gave Ferid the charge of his estate, and remained himself at Jionpoor. Ferid, when he took leave of his father, said, "That "the stability of government depended on justice, and that it would "be his greatest care not to violate it, either by oppressing the "weak, or permitting the strong to infringe the laws with impu-"nity." When he arrived at his jaghire, he actually put this resolution in practice, by rendering justice to the poor, and reducing to order such of his zemindars as opposed his authority. He by this means had his revenues punctually paid, and his country well cultivated. His reputation grew apace; for all his actions discovered uncommon genius and resolution.

We pass over as too unimportant for the page of GENERAL HISTORY, his disputes with his brothers relative to the family estate. His soul was formed for empire; he grasped at, and obtained it. Amidst the distractions that ensued on the invasion of Sultan Baber, he joined the standard of Pir Khan, the son of Dirio Lohani, who had subdued Behar, and assumed the royal dignity, under the name of Mahmud. As that monarch was one day on a hunting party, he

roused an enormous tiger, which Ferid immediately attacked and killed with one blow of his sabre. For this bold action, which was done in Mahmud's presence, he was honored with the title of Shere Khan.* We find this daring Afghan soon after in the service of the Emperor Baber, whom he attended in his expedition to Chinderi.

After Shere had staid some time in the Mogul camp, and observed their manners and policy, he, one day, told a friend, that he thought it would be an easy matter to drive those foreigners out of Hindostan. His friend asked him, what reason he had to think so? Shere replied, "That the king himself, though a man of great "parts, was but very little acquainted with the policy of Hindostan; "and that the minister, who held the reins of government, would be "too much biassed in favour of his own interest, to mind that of the "public. That therefore if the Patans, who were now at enmity "among themselves, could be brought to unite in mutual con-"cord, the work was completed; and should fortune ever favour "him, he imagined himself equal to the task, however difficult it "might at present appear." His friend burst out into a loud laugh, and began to ridicule this vain opinion. Shere, a few days after, had, at the king's table, some solid dishes set before him, with only a spoon to eat them. He called for a knife, but the servants had orders not to supply him with one. Shere, that he might not lose his dinner, drew his dagger without ceremony, and cutting up his meat, made a hearty meal, without minding those who diverted themselves at this odd behaviour. When he had done, the king, who had been remarking his manner, turned to Amir Chalifa, and said, "This Afghan is not to be disconcerted with trifles, and "is likely to be a great man." Shere perceiving, by these words, that the king had been informed of his private discourse to his friend, fled the camp that night, and went to his own estate of Sassaram in Behar.

* Shere signifies a lion.

Mahmud of Behar dying a short time after, was succeeded by his son Jellal, a minor. The young prince's mother, the Sultana Dudu, acted as regent, and conferred the principal offices in the government upon Shere. The Sultana dying soon after, the administration fell wholly into the hands of Shere. Allum, the governor of Hadgipoor, on the part of Mahmud, king of Bengal, being guilty of some misdemeanor, threw himself under Shere's protection. Mahmud, to revenge this insult, ordered Cuttub, governor of Mongier, with a great force, against Behar. As the forces of Behar were inconsiderable, in comparison of those of Bengal, Shere made many overtures for accommodating differences, but to no effect. Finding no arguments could prevail but the sword, he resolved to stand the unequal contest, in which his superior skill and bravery acquired him a complete victory. Cuttub was slain, and all his treasure, elephants, and camp equipage taken, which greatly advanced the political designs of Shere.

After this victory, the Patan tribe of Lohani the cousins of Jellal, the young king of Behar, envying the fortune of Shere, formed a conspiracy to take away his life. Shere discovering the plot, taxed Jellal with it, who was privy to the conspiracy, being very jealous of the great influence of his minister. He, on this occasion, told the young prince, that there was no necessity of taking such a base method of getting rid of his servant, for that if he should but once signify his inclination, Shere was ready to resign that government, which he lately so successfully protected. The prince, either suspecting his sincerity, or being equally suspicious of the other omrahs, would by no means consent to his resignation. This so much disgusted the conspirators, that they took every possible measure to make a breach between the prince and his minister. Shere, finding that he had no security, but in maintaining his power, by the unlimited use he made of it, justly excited the prince's jealousy to such a pitch, that, one night, accompanied by his

omrahs, he fled to Mahmud of Bengal, and implored his aid to expel Shere, who had usurped his throne.

Mahmud, joining his compassion for the young prince to his personal hatred of Shere, sent Ibrahim, the son of that Cuttub whom Shere had formerly defeated, with a considerable army against the usurper. The Bengalese besieged Shere in a mud fort, for a long time, without success; so that Ibrahim was obliged to send home for succours. Shere, informed of this circumstance, marched out, offered battle, and, by means of a common stratagem, ordering his troops to fly at the first onset, to draw the enemy into an ambush, defeated them, and took all their guns and elephants. Ibrahim himself was slain in the action, and the young prince Jellal fled in great distress to Bengal.

Mahmud of Bengal shut himself up in Gour, the capital, which Shere for a long time besieged. One of the zemindars of Behar having raised a disturbance, he left Chawass to carry on the siege, and returned himself to Behar. Provisions becoming at length very scarce in Gour, Mahmud fled in a boat to Hadgipoor; and Shere, having settled affairs in Behar, returned and pursued him. Mahmud being compelled to give battle, was defeated, and being wounded in the engagement, fled his kingdom, which immediately fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Humaioon, returning from his expedition to Guzzurat, thought it necessary to put a stop to the rising power of Shere. He for that purpose turned towards the reduction of Chunar. Jellal, a son of Shere, who commanded there, left the defence of the place to Ghazi, of the Soor tribe of Afghans, and retired to the hills of Bercundah, whence he very much annoyed the besiegers. The siege had been carried on six months, when Rumi Khan, who commanded the king's artillery, by some kind of a floating battery, which he sent down the river close to the wall, reduced the place. Humaioon left two hundred soldiers in garrison there,

and marched towards Bengal. Mahmud, who, as we have already observed, was wounded in the action with Shere, threw himself under the protection of Humaioon. When the king had advanced to the pass of Gurhi, which is the frontier of Bengal, he found that Shere had sent his son Jellal, Chawass, and a considerable detachment to guard that defile. He immediately ordered Kulli, and some other chiefs, to dislodge them; but they were repulsed in several attacks. Being however supported by more troops, and the whole army appearing in sight, a successful assault was made, and the Moguls became masters of the pass. Jellal fled to his father Shere at Gour, who, being in no condition to engage so superior a force, evacuated that capital, carried off all his wealth to the mountains of Jarcund, and begun to project a scheme for possessing himself of Rhotas, that he might there lodge his family and wealth in security,

To take Rhotas by open force was an impossible attempt. It was therefore necessary to devise some stratagem, that might ensure success. Shere, for this purpose, sent a message to Raja Berkis, who was in possession of this impregnable fortress, informing him, "That as he himself was going to attempt the recovery "of Bengal, he hoped, from their former friendship, that he would "permit him to send his family and treasure into the place, with a "few attendants." Berkis at first rejected this request, but Shere sent an artful ambassador to him, a second time, with some handsome presents, acquainting him, "That it was only for his women "and treasure he requested his princely protection: That should he "be fortunate enough to conquer Bengal, he would make proper "acknowledgements for the favour on his return; but if he should "lose his life in the contest, he rather chose that his family and "wealth should fall into the hands of Berkis, than into those of the "Moguls, his inveterate enemies." Berkis, suffering himself to be deluded by his avarice, determined, when once in possession of the treasure, to keep it, and therefore consented to Shere's request.

The Afghan having provided covered chairs, filled them all, except two or three, which were to go first, with armed men and arms. He, at the same time, filled five hundred money bags with leaden bullets, and appointed some of his best soldiers to carry them, in the disguise of slaves, with sticks in their hands, who were destined in appearance to assist in carrying the treasure up the mountain. The men, who carried the close chairs, were disguised in the same manner. This train accordingly set out, and the first and second chair being examined at the gate, and found to contain only old women, all further examination was neglected. The raja was in the mean time busy in counting the bags, which he now reckoned part of his own fortune. When the chairs had reached the house which the raja had appointed, the wolves rushed out among the sheep, and began to dye the fold with their blood. The disguised soldiers used their staves, till they supplied themselves with arms from the chairs. They easily subdued the garrison, who were off their guard, and admitted Shere, who was encamped at a small distance. Berkis himself, with a few followers, found means to escape into the woods, by a private passage behind the fort.

Thus fell one of the most impregnable fortresses in the world into the hands of Shere, together with a vast treasure, which had been accumulating there for ages.

Rhotas is built upon the summit of a lofty mountain; the only entrance to it is a very narrow road, through a steep ascent of two miles, from the foot of the hill to the gates, which are three in number, one above another, defended by guns and rolling-stones. The square contents of the fortified table land, on the top of the mountain, are more than ten miles. In this space are included towns, villages, and corn fields, and water is found a few feet from the surface. On one side runs the river Sone, under an immense precipice, and another river, in the same manner, passes close to the other side, and both meeting a little below, form the hill into

a triangular peninsula. There is a very deep valley on the third side, full of impervious woods, which spread all over the mountains, and render access that way next to an impossibility.

Shere had now a secure retreat for his family, and his friends began to acquire fresh spirits by this piece of success. Humaioon, in the mean time, spent three months in luxurious pleasures at Gour, the capital of Bengal. He there received advices that his brother, prince Hindal, had revolted in his governments of Agra and Mewat; that he had put to death Shech Phoul, the only man of consequence who would not break his allegiance to the emperor, and coined money in his own name. Humaioon therefore left Kulli with five thousand horse in Gour, and returned towards Agra.

By the excessive rains and bad roads, the king's cavalry and beasts of burthen perished in great numbers, on his march, through fatigue and want of forage. Shere, who had now raised a numerous army, entrenched himself on the banks of the Jossa, in a place by which the king must of necessity pass, and, by treachery, defeated him with great slaughter, in the manner which we have already related. Shere did not immediately push forward to the capital: anxious to leave no enemy behind him, he returned to Bengal, engaged Kulli in several battles, defeated him, and at length cut him and his army to pieces.

Shere, immediately after the reduction of Bengal, assumed the imperial title of Shah, struck the coin, and read the chutba, in his own name. He marched the next year with a great army towards Agra. The unfortunate Humaioon was by this time deserted by his brother the prince Camiran, and hated by his Mogul omrahs, on account of his attention to his Turkman mercenaries. He however crossed the river with one hundred thousand horse, and met Shere, who had but fifty thousand. Shere, as has been already mentioned, defeated Humaioon, and

pursued him to Agra, Lahore, and Choshab; from which place the king retreated towards the Indus.

After the flight of Humaioon to Persia, Shere, now acknowledged emperor, left the captain-general with a great army in the north-west, and returned towards Agra. He was in that city informed that Chizer, whom he had placed in the government of Bengal, had married the daughter of Mahmud, the former king of that province, and affected all the state of a sovereign prince. Having experienced, in his own fortune, the danger of permitting such conduct to go unpunished, he marched immediately to Bengal. Chizer being unexpectedly surprised, submitted without resistance, and was imprisoned. Shere very prudently divided the kingdom of Bengal among a number of chiefs, independent of one another, and appointed Kasi Fazilit, a native of Kurrah, famous for his learning and policy, to superintend the whole. He himself, after these transactions, retired to Agra.

In the year 949, Shere led his army towards Malava. Having advanced as far as Gualior, Suja the Afghan, who had before invested the place on the part of Shere, found means to settle matters with Abul Casim, governor of Gualior for Humaioon, and he delivered up that strong fortress into his hands. Shere having entered Malava, the Mogul governor of that province submitted without a blow. A few days after, being seized with sudden alarm, he fled from the king's camp, and Hadjee Khan was appointed to that government; Suja had also a jaghire conferred upon him in that country. Shere having marched from thence to Rantimpore, Mullu fell upon the governor of Malava and upon Suja, but he was defeated. Suja having acquired all the honour of the victory, Hadjee was superseded and recalled, and the government conferred upon Suja.

Shere arriving before Rantimpore, had the address to get possession of that important fortress from the governor, on the part of

the pretended emperor Mahmud, who had still kept it. The emperor, after taking Rantimpore, returned to Agra; he remained in that city a whole year, settling the internal police of the empire, and regulating his army. He in the mean time ordered Hybut to wrest Multan from the tribe of the Bellochies. This Hybut soon effected by defeating Fatti Bellochi, and entirely subduing that country. He had, on account of this exploit, the title of Azim Humaioon conferred upon him.

Shere after this returned to Agra. Having remained there a few months to refresh and recruit his army, he marched towards Marwâr; during his march he intrenched himself every night, as well for security as to exercise his troops, and to make them expert in this necessary service. When crossing the sandy deserts, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions. In this manner he entered the country of the rajah of Nagor and Todnoor, whose name was Maldeo, and esteemed the most powerful Hindoo prince in India. He opposed the king with fifty thousand rajahputs, and both armies lay thirty days in sight of one another. Shere would now have been glad to retreat quietly, but the danger was too great; at the same time the enemy was so advantageously posted as to render an attack too hazardous. In the midst of this alarming situation, a successful stratagem suggested itself to the king. Maldeo having conquered that country, to which he had no right by inheritance, Shere forged a letter in the Hindoo language and character, in the name of the rajah's generals, addressed to himself, setting forth, "that, being conquered by the rajah, they had, through "necessity, served him till then with fidelity; but that they were "in secret, very weary of his yoke. That if Shere would, therefore, "reinstate them in their former possessions, they were willing to "make him a due acknowledgment for the favour." On this letter Shere superscribed, as usual, in Persian, that they should fear nothing, desiring them to persevere in their intentions, and

that they might rest assured that he would comply with their demand.

This letter was purposely thrown into the way of Maldeo, who, being always in dread of his chiefs, was easily deceived. He therefore declined the battle, which he intended to give that day. He was even more and more confirmed in his unjust suspicion, by the eagerness which they expressed to engage. Upon the fourth day he ordered a retreat; but Cunia, one of his principal omrahs, having found out in what manner Maldeo had been deceived by these forgeries, endeavoured to persuade him of his mistake. Having found that the rajah's suspicions could not be removed, he told him, that the suspected treachery was unprecedented among true rajahputs, and that he was determined to wipe off the stain which Maldeo had thrown upon their reputation with his own blood, or the conquest of Shere with his own tribe.

Maldeo continued to retreat, but the gallant Cunia, with a few other chiefs, and ten or twelve thousand men separated themselves from their prince and turned back, with an intent to surprise Shere's camp. They, however, by some mistake, lost their way, and it was clear day-light before they saw the enemy. Shere immediately formed, and came out against them. Though the king's army, by the smallest computation, consisted of eighty thousand fighting men, this handful of brave rajahputs repulsed them repeatedly, and would have certainly defeated them, if Jellal Selwani had not at that instant arrived with a fresh reinforcement, to join the imperial army. Shere falling upon the rajahputs with renewed vigour, broke them; and the brave Cunia, with almost his whole army, was cut to pieces.

Shere, finding himself in possession of a victory of which he had at one time despaired, exclaimed, "that, for a handful of barley, he "had almost given the empire of India to the wind." This grain, it seems, was all the scanty produce of that sandy country, for

which the inhabitants fought with so much obstinacy. Maldeo having heard of this action, and the loss of so many brave men, fell into deep affliction; and being, for his pusillanimity, deserted by the greatest part of his army, he retreated among the mountains of Sodpoor.

Shere, after this bloody victory, turned his army towards the fort of Chitor, which was surrendered to him by capitulation. He then directed his march to Rantimpore, and gave that country in jaghire to his son Adil Khan, who fixed his residence there. The king, in person, moved towards Callinger, which is esteemed one of the strongest forts in Hindostan. The Indian prince of Callinger, on account of the king's treacherous behaviour to Paran Mull, would make no submission, but prepared himself for hostilities. Shere, having drawn a line of circumvallation, began to carry on his approaches to the place; he raised mounds of earth for his artillery, and sunk mines under the rock. The royal batteries were now advanced very near the walls, breaches were made, and a general assault ordered, when a live shell, which had been thrown against the fort by the imperialists, rebounded back into the battery in which the king stood. The shell burst in the midst of a quantity of powder, which had not been properly secured. Several gunners were blown up; and the king and many of his omrahs were burnt in so terrible a manner, that they were carried for dead to their tents.

In this dreadful condition the king began to breathe, in great agonies; he however encouraged the continuance of the attack, and gave orders, till in the evening news was brought him of the reduction of the place. He then cried out, "thanks to the Almighty "God!" and expired. The death of Shere happened on the twelfth of the first Ribbi, in A. H. 952, or A. D. 1545. He spent fifteen years in a military life before he mounted the throne; and he sat upon the musnud five years, as emperor of Hindostan.

The character of Shere is almost equally divided between distinguished virtue and the most degrading vice. In administering public justice he was inflexible; in private concerns, he was guilty often of the basest perfidy. His aspiring soul made him look up to the empire, and he cared not by what steps he was to ascend.

Shere left many monuments of his magnificence behind him. From Bengal to the Nilâb, which is fifteen hundred cose,* he built caravanserais at every stage, and dug a well at the end of every cose; he also raised many magnificent mosques for the worship of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Koran, and priests. He ordered that at every stage, all travellers, without distinction of country or religion should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expense. He at the same time planted rows of fruit trees along the roads, to preserve travellers from the scorching heat of the sun, as well as to gratify their taste. Couriers were placed at proper distances, as well for forwarding quick intelligence to government, as for the advantage of trade and correspondence. This establishment was new in India. Such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and merchants, throwing down their goods, went without fear to sleep on the highway. He was buried at Sassaram, his original estate, in a magnificent marble mausoleum, which he had built in the middle of a great reservoir of water.†

Tahmasp still sat on the throne of Persia, and reigned in peace, protecting Humaioon during the usurpation of Shere in Hindostan.

* About three thousand of our miles.

† This fine monument of the magnificence of Shere still remains entire. The artificial lake which surrounds it is not much less than a mile in length.

SELIM.

When Shere became numbered with the dead, his eldest son Adil, whom he had appointed his successor, was at Rantimpore, and his younger son Jellal, in the village of Rewin, near Pheta. The omrahs, who favoured Jellal more than his brother, then at so great a distance, urged the necessity of filling the throne as soon as possible. They for that purpose dispatched expresses to Jellal, who arrived in five days in the camp. Jellal, by the influence of Isah Khan and his party, in consequence mounted the throne, in the fortress of Callinger, and assumed the title of Islam Shah, which, by false pronunciation, was turned to that of Selim, by which name he is more generally known. The efforts of Adil, and the omrahs attached to his fortune, to wrest from the new emperor his usurped sceptre, occupy a considerable portion of the life of Selim in Ferishta. As they were utterly unsuccessful, we shall pass them over as irrelevant.

After being firmly seated on the throne, the king moved towards Rhotas, to bring the treasure, which his father had deposited in that place, to Agra. Seid, the brother of Humaioon, governor of Lahore, deserted him on the way, and fled to Lahore. The king, from this circumstance, concluded that a new rebellion was in agitation, which determined him to return immediately to Agra. He soon assembled his forces from all quarters, and marched to Delhi, where he ordered the new city which the emperor Humaioon had built, to be walled in with stone. At Delhi, Suja joined him with the army from Malva. The king remained only a few days in Delhi to regulate his army, and then took the rout of Lahore. Azim Humaioon, Chawass, and other disaffected chiefs, with double the king's forces, came out before him at Ambatta. Selim arriving within sight of the rebels, dismounted, and, with a few friends, ascended a rising ground for the purpose of reconnoitring; when he had for some

time viewed their disposition, he said: "It is not consistent with "my honour to hesitate one moment in attacking a rebellious army;" and at these words he ordered his line to be formed, and to advance against them. It happened very fortunately for the affairs of Selim, that, upon the preceding night, there had arisen a dispute among the rebel generals, about the succession to the throne. Chawass, still a friend to the family of his patron Shere, insisted that search should be made for prince Adil; and Azim Humaioon strenuously affirmed, "That the empire was no man's inheritance, but should always "follow the fortune of the sword." This plainly pointed out his own views; on this head, animosity and faction arose, so that as soon as the rebels had formed the line, Chawass retreated, with all his troops, without striking a blow. This circumstance so much discouraged the remaining part of the rebels, that their resistance was faint, and an unexpected victory fell to Selim.

But, in the midst of this tide of good fortune, the emperor narrowly escaped with his life, from a daring attempt of Seid, the brother of Azim Humaioon. This gallant chief, with ten of his friends in armour, mixed, without discovery, with the king's troops, and advanced towards him, as if they were about to congratulate him upon his victory. An elephant-driver, who stood near the king, observed and knew Seid, and struck him with his spear: yet, in spite of all the guards, and the army which stood round, Seid and his party cut their way through, sword in hand, and escaped. The rebels, who called themselves the Neazies, being mostly of that family, retreated, after this defeat, to the mountains, Selim pursuing them as far as the new fort of Rhotas, which his father had built. He thence detached Serwani, with a strong force after them, and returned himself to Agra, but soon after proceeded to Gualior. Suja, governor of Malva, going one day up to the fort before the king, one Osman, a person whom Suja had deprived of his right hand some time before, had concealed

himself by the side of the road, with a desperate intention to be revenged upon that omrah. The assassin rushed out upon Suja, and inflicted a wound with his dagger. Suja, without enquiring into the matter, imagined that the whole was done by the instigation of the king, and therefore fled with great precipitation, and made his way towards Malva with all his forces. The king pursued him as far as Mondu, but hearing that he had fled to Banswalla, he returned, leaving his own cousin, with twenty thousand horse, at Ugein, to observe his motions.

Serwani having been some time before left to carry on the war against the Neazi rebels, engaged them near Dincot, and was defeated by Azim Humaioon, who pursued him as far as Sirhind. Selim hearing of this defeat, assembled a great army, and dispatched it, under proper generals, against the rebels. Azim Humaioon was obliged to retreat in his turn to Dincot. The rebels turned upon the imperial army at Simbollo, but were overthrown with great slaughter. Azim Humaioon's mother, and all his family, were taken prisoners. The Neazi rebels, after this defeat, threw themselves under the protection of the Gickers among the mountains bordering on Cashmire. Selim, finding that he could never have real peace without effectually crushing this rebellion, marched in person towards the Indus, and, for the space of two years, carried on a war with the Gickers, who supported the Neazies.

In this expedition a person concealed himself in the narrow path, by which the emperor one day ascended the mountain of Mannicot, and rushed upon him with a drawn sword. Selim, having time to draw, saved himself, killed the assassin, and perceived that his sword was one that he himself had formerly presented to Eckbal Khan. The Gickers being driven from one place to another, without being in a condition to face the emperor, Azim Humaioon, with his followers, went into the kingdom of Cashmire; but the prince of that country, fearing Selim's resentment,

opposed the rebels, and, having defeated them, sent the heads of Azim Humaioon, his brother Seid, and Shabass, to the king. Selim being now secured against further disturbance from that quarter, returned to Delhi. The prince Camiran, much about this time, flying from his brother the emperor Humaioon, who was now on his way from Persia, took protection under Selim. But he was very ill received by that prince, and he therefore fled to the mountains of Sewalic, among the Gickers.

Selim, after returning from his expedition, had only remained a few days at Delhi, when he received advices, that the emperor Humaioon had reached that branch of the Indus which is distinguished by the name of Nilâb, or the blue river. The king was at that instant under the operation of drawing blood by cupping; he immediately started up, issued orders to march, and he himself encamped that evening six miles without the city. He there waited for his artillery, which was dragged by men, till the bullocks, which were grazing in the country, could be brought together. The artillery being very heavy, each gun was drawn by one or two thousand men; yet in this manner he marched with great expedition towards Lahore. But in the mean time Humaioon retreated, as we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel. Selim returned to Delhi, and from thence proceeded to Gualior, where he took up his residence.

Selim taking, one day, the diversion of the chase, near Atri, a body of banditti, who had been set on by some of the king's enemies, lay in ambush to take his life. But he perceived them time enough to avoid the snare. When they were seized and examined, they impeached many chiefs, who were immediately executed; after which the king became extremely suspicious, and put numbers to death upon the slightest presumptions.

Chawass, the captain-general of the armies of Shere, of whom frequent mention has already been made, a man justly renowned

for personal courage, strict honour, great abilities in war, and extensive generosity, being long driven about from place to place, came to Taji Kirrani, who had owed his preferment to him, and was now governed by Simbol. The ungrateful villain, in violation of his oath, and the laws of hospitality, to ingratiate himself with Selim, basely assassinated Chawass. His body being carried to Delhi, was there interred. His tomb is frequented by the devout to this day, who number him among the saints of India.

Not long after this base assassination, in which Selim was concerned, he was seized with a fistula in ano, by which, in the year A. H. 960, or A. D. 1532, he bled to death, having reigned nine years. In the same year, Mahmud the Patan king of Guzzurat, and the Nizam of the Decan, who was of the same nation, died. Selim possessed not the abilities of his father, and consequently carried neither his virtues nor his vices to such extremes. He possessed personal bravery, and was not unskilful in the field of war. Like Shere, he was magnificent, and studied the convenience of travellers. From Bengal to the Indus, he built an intermediate serai between each of those which his father had erected; all who passed along the great road being entertained at the public expense.

When Selim travelled the road of mortality, his son Ferose was, at twelve years of age, raised to the throne by the chiefs of the tribe of Soor at Gualior. He had not reigned three days, when Mubarick, the son of Nizam Soor, nephew to the late emperor Shere, brother of Selim's wife, and the uncle of Ferose, assassinated the young prince. Mubarick assumed the title of Mohammed Adil,* to which his infamous treason had no right, and usurped the empire. He perpetrated this barbarous deed with his own hand, in the Mahl. The villain's own sister, Bibi Bai, defended, for some time, her son in her arms, presenting her body to the dagger. In vain did she intreat and weep: his soul was hardened against pity. He tore

* Adil signifies the *Just*.

the young prince from her arms, and, in her presence, severed his head from his body. This was the return which he made to the unfortunate Bibi Bai, for saving his life repeatedly, when Selim, foreseeing his atrocities, would have put him to death.

The state of Persia suffered no change during the reign of Selim in India. Tahmasp continued upon the throne.

MOHAMMED.

The infamous Mohammed, having always given himself up to pleasure, neglected even the common accomplishment of reading and writing. He hated men of learning, and associated with illiterate fellows like himself, whom he raised to the highest dignities in the empire, among whom one Himu, an Indian of low birth, but gigantic in person, and of a desperate undaunted spirit, was now entrusted with all the weight of the administration.

The king in the mean time, heedless of what passed, spent his time in all the luxurious debaucheries of the haram. Having heard much in praise of some of the former emperors, particularly Ferose, for their great generosity, he mistook prodigality for that virtue, and to exceed them all, opened the treasury, and lavished its riches without distinction. When he rode out, he used to head arrows with gold, which he shot among the multitude. This foolish extravagance soon dissipated the great treasures of his predecessors; and all his reward from the people was the nickname of Adili, which in the Indian language signifies literally the blind, and metaphorically, the foolish.

When Himu found himself invested with the whole executive power of the empire, his pride and insolence, though he was otherwise a man of good parts, exceeded all bounds. This naturally made all the Patan chiefs his enemies. They began to conspire for his destruction, and to revolt from his authority. The king became more and more despicable every day in the eyes of the people,

while all order and government totally declined. Mohammed giving one day public audience, and distributing estates and governments among his omrahs, he ordered the province of Canouge to be taken from Firmalli, and given to Sermust Sirbunna. Secunder, the son of Firmalli, a brave young man, being present, said aloud to the emperor, "Is my fortune then to be conferred on a seller of "dogs?" for it appears that Sermust was descended of one of that low occupation. The elder Firmalli, who was also present, endeavoured to check the impetuosity of his son; but he only inflamed his passion the more: he charged the king, in plain terms, with a base design to extirpate his family. Sermust, who was a man of uncommon strength and stature, seeing this behaviour to the king, and being also personally affronted, seized Secunder by the breast; Secunder drew his dagger, and killed him on the spot. He then flew at all who endeavoured to oppose him, killed several chiefs, and wounded many more. He then made directly for the king, who leapt from the throne, and ran into the Mahl; Secunder pursuing him, had the door thrown in his face, which stopped his progress, till Mohammed drew the bolt, and secured himself. The desperate youth, finding himself disappointed in his design upon Mohammed, resolved to revenge himself upon his base minions, and rushing back into the audience chamber, dealt death to all who opposed him. In the mean time Ibrahim, of the tribe of Soor, the king's cousin and brother-in-law, attacked Secunder with some of his people, and cut him to pieces. Dowlat Lohani killed at the same time the good old man, Firmalli, who could not have been blamed for his son's rashness.

The king soon becoming jealous of the popularity of his avenger Ibrahim, gave private orders to seize him; but his wife, who was sister to the king, having heard of this design in the Mahl, informed her husband of it. He fled from Chunar to his father, Ghazi, governor of Biana, and was pursued by Isah Neazi, who coming up with

him at Calpie, an engagement ensued, in which Isah was defe atd, and driven back from further pursuit. Ibrahim soon after raised a great army, and possessed himself of the city of Delhi, where he mounted the throne, assumed the ensigns of royalty, marched to Agra, and reduced the circumjacent provinces.

Mohammed marched from Chunar to suppress this usurpation, and on the way received an embassy from Ibrahim, promising that if he would send Hussein and other chiefs, with assurances of forgiveness, he would submit. The king was weak enough to comply with his request. The omrahs went; and Ibrahim, by presents, promises, and courteous behaviour, soon drew them over to his own interest. Mohammed finding himself in no condition to oppose so strong a confederacy, fled towards Chunar, and contented himself with the eastern provinces. Ibrahim immediately erected the spear of empire in the west, by the title of Sultan Ibrahim. This event took place in A. H. 961, or A. D. 1552.

IBRAHIM III.

Ibrahim had no sooner mounted the throne, than another competitor started up in the province of Panjâb. This was Ahmed, a nephew of the emperor Shere, and also brother-in-law to Mohammed, the expelled emperor. Ahmed having attached Hybut, and other chiefs, raised to the dignity of omrahs by the late emperor Selim, to his interest, assumed the title of Secunder Shâh, and marching with ten or twelve thousand horse towards Agra, encamped at Firrah, within four miles of that city. Ibrahim, with seventy thousand horse, came out to meet him, having in this army two hundred omrahs who pitched velvet tents, and possessed the dignities of the spear, drum, and colours.

Secunder, seeing this formidable army, began to repent of his invasion, and made overtures of peace. The only condition he asked was the government of Panjâb. But Ibrahim, in the pride

of superiority, would grant him no terms, and therefore both armies drew up and engaged. Secunder committed all the ensigns of royalty to one of his omrahs, and with a choice body of horse took post in a wood, where he could not be discovered. Ibrahim, upon the first charge, broke through the army of Secunder; his troops quitted their ranks, and were intent upon nothing but plunder, when Secunder, rushing out upon them, struck a panic into the whole army; they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by those whom they had so easily discomfited before. The emperor Ibrahim, after this defeat, abandoned his capital, and retreated to Simbol. Secunder took possession both of Agra and Delhi; but he had not long enjoyed his good fortune, when he was obliged to march to Panjâb, to oppose the Mogul emperor Humaioon; who, having returned from a long exile, was now rapidly advancing to recover his dominions.

To that monarch and his affairs, passing over many incidents of less important consideration, amidst the struggles for empire of numerous inferior competitors, we now return.

THE RETURN OF HUMAIOON FROM PERSIA.

Humaioon at the court of Tahmasp, king of Persia, had been treated as his rank and his virtues merited. The particulars of his reception there, and his renewed contests in Afghanistan with his rebellious brother, prince Camiran, whose perfidy and rancour had so much contributed to his exile, occupy many pages in Ferishta. It is my wish only to exhibit him in his more striking character of a king and a conqueror; and therefore coming at once to the point most interesting to the studious in Indian history, it will be sufficient to remark that after an absence, according to Fraser, our best authority in respect to chronological dates,* of five years and

* See Fraser's short History of the Mogul Emperors, prefixed to his Shah, p. 9.

an half at that court, having received from Tahmasp an assistance of ten thousand horse, in A. D. 1545 he commenced his march back to Hindostan; that on the 1st of September of that year he took Candahar from Ashkari, who governed that fortress for prince Camiran; that on the 16th of November he conquered Cabul from Camiran himself; and in the spring of the following year conquered Badakshan from the Mirza Soliman, who is said by Fraser to have revolted, and to have usurped that government.* By the conquest of rebellious chieftains, and by the strong power of the ruling dynasty of the Afghan emperors, who had usurped his throne in India, he was detained in that region, and prevented from making any vigorous attempts to regain that throne, till the year A. D. 1554.

In that year Humaioon received an address from the inhabitants of Delhi and Agra, acquainting him that Selim, the Afghan emperor of India, was dead, and that all the tribes of the Patans were engaged in a civil war: that it was, therefore, a proper opportunity for the king to return and take possession of his empire. Humaioon discovered great joy upon this intelligence, and though he could only collect fifteen thousand horse, determined to undertake an expedition into India. He left to Monim the government of Cabul, and the tuition of his young son Hakim, and immediately began his march from that capital. The king was joined at Peshawir by Byram, with all his veterans from Candahar. When he had crossed the western branch of the Indus, he appointed Byram his captain-general, and ordered him to lead the van with Chizer, Tirdi Beg, Secunder, and Shubiani.

Upon the approach of the king, Tatar, the Patan governor of the province of the five branches of the Indus, who commanded the new fort of Rhotas, evacuated the place, and fled to Delhi. Humaioon

* See Fraser's short History of the Mogul emperors, prefixed to his Nadir Shah, p. 10.

pursued Tatar to Lahore, which place was also evacuated by the Patans, and the king peaceably entered the city. From Lahore he dispatched Byram to Sirhind, and that able general possessed himself of all the country as far as that place. The king having received intelligence, that a large body of Afghans were assembled at Debalpour, he ordered Abul Mali, whom he used to honour with the name of son, with a strong detachment against them. Abul Mali having overthrown them, returned with the plunder of their camp to Lahore. The emperor Secunder had, in the mean time, dispatched Tatar Khan, and Hybut Khan, with an army of forty thousand horse from Delhi against Humaioon; but Byram Khan, notwithstanding their vast superiority in number, boldly attacked, and completely defeated them; taking a vast spoil in elephants, baggage, and horses. Byram Khan sent the elephants to the king at Lahore, and encamped at Matchiwarrah. He dispersed detachments on all sides, and possessed himself, by means of his increased cavalry, of the whole country, almost to the walls of Delhi itself. The king exceedingly rejoiced when he heard of this victory, and conferred upon Byram the title of Khan Khanaun, or Lord of Lords, the grateful friend.

When the news arrived of the overthrow of Tatar, the emperor Secunder exacted an oath of fidelity from his omrahs, and marched with eighty thousand horse, a great train of artillery, and a number of elephants, towards the Indus. Byram thought proper to shut himself up in Sirhind, and to provide against a siege, by laying in provisions, and throwing up new works. Secunder encamped before Sirhind, and Byram sent continual letters to Lahore, to hasten the king to his relief. Humaioon accordingly marched, joined Byram, made repeated sallies from the city, and greatly distressed the enemy in their camp.

Upon the last day of Rigib, when the young prince Akber, then only thirteen years of age, was going the rounds of the camp, the

Patans suddenly drew up their forces and offered battle. This had the intended effect on the impetuous valour of that young prince, who could not bear to be insulted. He accordingly, having obtained his father's permission, also drew out the Mogul army. Humaioon gave the command of the right wing to Byram, and of the left to Secunder, which was composed of the troops of Abdulla the Uzbek, Abul Mali, Alla, and Tirdi Beg, who were to begin the action. He took his station in person in the center, and advanced slowly towards the enemy, who waited the attack. The left wing having charged, according to the orders which they had received, the enemy were broke, and they never after recovered from the confusion into which they were thrown. The action however continued warm for some time; Humaioon and his gallant general Byram displayed great conduct, while the young prince Akber distinguished himself by acts of heroic personal valour. The Moguls were so animated by the behaviour of that young prince, that they seemed even to forget that they were mortals. The enemy at last were driven off the field with very great slaughter, and the emperor Secunder fled with precipitation to the mountains of Sewalic.

This victory decided the fate of the empire, which now fell for ever from the Patans. Secunder the Uzbek, and some other omrahs, were detached to take possession of Delhi and Agra, which they effected without opposition. Humaioon conferred the government of the province of Panjab upon Abul Mali, and ordered him to pursue the fugitive emperor. In the month of Ramzan the king entered Delhi in triumph, and became, a second time, EMPEROR OF HINDOSTAN. Byram, to whose valour and conduct the king, in a great measure, owed his restoration, was now rewarded with the first offices in the state, and had princely estates assigned to him.

But the end of the glory of the reign of Humaioon was rapidly approaching, for in the evening of the seventh of the first Ribbi,

Humaioon walked out upon the terrace of the library of the palace, and sat down there for some time to enjoy the fresh air. When the emperor began to descend the steps of the staircase from the terrace, the crier, according to custom, proclaimed the time of prayers. The king, conformably to the practice of the Moslem religion, stood still upon this occasion, and repeated the Culma, or Mohammedan creed; he then sat down upon the second step of the stairs till the proclamation was ended. On rising he supported himself upon a staff, which unfortunately slipt upon the marble, and the king fell headlong from the top to the bottom of the staircase. He was taken up insensible, and laid upon his bed; he soon recovered his speech, and the physicians administered all the art and power of medicine; but in vain, for upon the eleventh of the same month, about sun-set, his soul took her flight to Paradise. He was buried in the new city, upon the banks of the river; and a noble tomb was erected over him some years after, by his son Akber. Humaioon died at the age of fifty-one, after an interrupted reign of twenty-five years in Cabul and India.—A. H. 963, or A. D. 1555.

The mildness and benevolence of Humaioon were excessive; if there can be any excess in virtues so noble and elevated as these. His affection to his brothers proved the source of all his misfortunes; but they rewarded him with ingratitude and contempt. He was both learned himself, and a lover of literature, and the generous patron of the men of genius who flourished in his time. In battle he was valiant and enterprizing; but the clemency of his disposition prevented him from using his victories in a manner which suited the vices of the times. Had he been less mild and religious, he would have been a more successful prince: had he been a worse *man* he would have been a greater *monarch*. *

* The two preceding chapters are the substance of Ferishta's account of the domestic events of Hindostan during this dark and troublesome æra. His book is the

only authentic record of them, and the author had the archives of the state to assist him in his researches. He often disgusts by the minute detail of facts neither important nor interesting. I have throughout, therefore, used the pruning-knife freely, and have sketched only the grand features and predominant incidents in each reign. A swarm of historians and travellers, Asiatic and European, many of them eye-witnesses of the facts related, about this period start into existence, and from them principally, compared with Ferishta, both as to events and date, will the following chapter be composed. The task of *mere abridgement* is not the most pleasant one; and I trust both in point of general arrangement and style, that chapter will be found more deserving of the reader's approbation.

CHAPTER IV.

The Author quitting FERISHTA, *proceeds from other Sources to detail the History of the restored Dynasty of Mogul Emperors.—Additional particulars concerning* HUMAIOON, *from a* MANUSCRIPT *History long ago composed by himself from contemporary Writers and Travellers.—Apology for delaying to give the History of the European settlers in India till the close of the reign of Jehanguire.—The Life of* AKBER *from the same* MANUSCRIPT *compared with Ferishta.—Uncommon Display of both military and political Talents in that young Prince at a very early Period.—Conquers, and with his own Hand kills* HIMU, *the Patan General, discards his Vizier, and assumes himself the Reins of Government.—Advances against and takes* CHITORE.—*Builds the superb Castle and Palace of* AGRA.—*Adorns Fettipore; reduces Guzzurat; reconquers Bengal from the Patan Chiefs; renews the War with the rebellious Rajahs, and takes their principal Fortresses.—Meditates the Conquest of Uzbek Tartary, and actually marches to Cashmere, but renounces that Intention, and devotes his remaining Life to his favourite Project of subjugating the Deccan.—The Life of* JEHANGUIRE *from the same Manuscript, compared with* FERISHTA.—*Selim, the Son of Akber, having ascended the Throne by that name, his son Sultan Khosro rebels.—Battle of Lahore, and extinction of that Rebellion.—The Emperor enslaved by his Passion for the fair Nourmahall.—Successful War with the Ranna and other rebellious Rajahs in Malva.—The Deccan reconquered.—Rebellion of Shah Jehan.—He is repulsed at Agra;—defeated by the Imperial Army, and submits.—Again rebels, and is victorious in Bengal; but is totally defeated by his Brother, Sultan* PARVEZ.—*Sir* THOMAS ROE

the English Ambassador, arrives at the Court of JEHANGUIRE. *—Rebellion of* MOHABIT.*—The Emperor seized and confined by that Omrah, but afterwards released.—Death and Character of* JEHANGUIRE.

WITH the preceding chapter terminated that regular, though concise, abridgement of Ferishta's domestic history of India, which was absolutely necessary to fill up a large chasm in its annals, for the closing of which there are few authentic materials to be collected from any other existing author. After all, it is little more than a rapid and dreadful detail of perfidy and massacres, and of the same sanguinary cast, it is deeply to be regretted, are nearly all the Asiatic histories. The MANUSCRIPT to which allusion has been made, in a preceding page,* and which was composed before I had seen Ferishta, on the authority of Herbelot, De Laet, Fraser, Du Barros, Texeira, De Faria, and other oriental writers and travellers, contains in considerable detail the life of Baber, which is necessarily superseded by the native original documents, inserted above. The life of Humaioon however, in that MANUSCRIPT, contains some particulars not to be found in Ferishta, and, as it exhibits a very concise and connected summary of the events of an interrupted reign, may not be displeasing to the reader; and is therefore submitted to his candid perusal. It is followed by the successive lives of the great Akber, and of Jehanguire, composed from the same sources; to which I shall add, from Ferishta, as in the life of Timur, above, those more striking circumstances in such reign that have novelty and interest to recommend them.

As during these three reigns the Portuguese had been gradually establishing themselves in India, and had finally consolidated a vast empire on its coasts, the reader may probably have been surprised by my silence hitherto on that interesting subject; but in

* See of this Second Volume p. 4.

this wide survey of Asiatic events it is convenient to keep the incidents that have befallen the great empires passing in review before us, as little mixed as possible; it is my intention to consider the progress of the Europeans in India in a separate book, that immediately following. The most important circumstance to us, the complete establishment of the English as factors in Hindostan, did not take place until the great and able negociator, Sir Thomas Roe, in the ensuing reign of Jehanguire, had firmly established their interest at the court of Delhi, and consequently any extended introduction of the subject, until the period of that reign, would be premature. After that æra it would be improper to delay a discussion at once so highly interesting and gratifying to my readers.

ADDITIONAL ACCOUNT OF HUMAIOON.

Humaioon, the son of Baber, in A. D. 1530, succeeded him in the empire of Hindostan, and soon proved that he inherited the military virtues, as well as the throne of his illustrious father. He entered with eagerness on the completion of all his designs; and, for the first ten years of his reign, in every plan was fortunate, and in every action glorious. He first carried his victorious arms into Malva and Guzzurat, where Sultan Bahadur then reigned, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, and drove the fugitive monarch to the most distant boundaries of his own maritime dominions. Previously to this invasion, Bahadur had been for some years engaged in disputes with the Portuguese, who, by the union of arms, and policy, had secured a firm footing on his frontier, and had become extremely formidable to the neighbouring potentates. The terror of this new and more dreaded enemy, now compelled him to make peace with *them*, and their assistance encouraged him to revolt after the departure of the Mogul army; but Humaioon returning the next year reduced him to entire obedience. The unfortunate

Bahadur had soon reason to repent of the new connection entered into with the Portuguese: for, having granted them permission to erect a fort at Diu, they fortified it in such a manner as ever after to render it impregnable to any force he could bring against it, and he himself perished in an attempt to regain it, not many years after. *

The rich, the powerful, the fertile kingdom of Bengal was the next object of the ambition of the new emperor. Full of innumerable castles and fortified towns, for the most part governed by the ancient independent rajahs of the country, whose inaccessible retreats their Afghan, or Patan tyrants could never effectually penetrate; the subjection of this extensive and populous region was an arduous and hazardous undertaking. But the ardent desire to become master of a kingdom, denominated by Oriental writers "the granary of Asia, and Paradise of the Indies," made danger vanish, and difficulty be forgotten amidst the more splendid hopes of conquest. He began his march from Agra at the head of an army fully adequate, by its magnitude and intrepidity, to the accomplishment of any project, however daring. Though every inch of ground was disputed, and defeat only produced new armies to be encountered, the undaunted conqueror rushed on from one fortress to another, and from field to field of still untarnished glory, till at length Gour, at that time the capital of Bengal, being taken, in a short time the whole country on the Ganges submitted to his arms, and thus another bright jewel was added to the imperial crown at Delhi. †

Such, for a few years, was the brilliant success of Humaioon, but shortly after, a dreadful reverse of fortune befell this prince, the commencement of whose reign was distinguished by such a series of illustrious events. The power of the Afghan chiefs, though severely shaken by Sultan Baber, was by no means entirely subverted.

* De Laet's India Vera, p. 172; and De Faria, Portuguese Asia. Vol. I. p. 375.
† De Laet's India Vera. p. 173.

Their awe of that conqueror indeed, after the signal defeat of their combined forces under the emperor Ibrahim Lodi in A. D. 1526, retained them in external obedience during the remainder of *his* reign, and the vigour displayed in the first actions of the present, contributed to repress any open enterprizes of sedition. The latent flame, however, soon grew too violent to be longer restrained, and now burst forth with redoubled violence.

Humaioon was at a distance, settling the affairs of the newly-conquered provinces in the west, when he received the intelligence of the general revolt of his Afghan subjects, who under Shere Khan, a determined soldier, were in full march to give him battle, and had already retaken the province of Bahar, with Rotas, Chunar, and many other strong castles in Bengal. He immediately hastened back to Agra, where, having collected his scattered forces, he returned in the firm intention to engage the enemy, and having repassed the Ganges, encamped on its banks. Too confident in that bravery which, under more disparaging circumstances, had so often procured them victory, and perhaps imagining the foe at a greater distance, the army of Humaioon there resigned themselves to intemperate festivity, and spent the night in carousals and revelling. Shere Khan, whose active spies observed, and diligently reported, every motion of the royal army, having obtained early intelligence of this inconsiderate conduct, instantly dispatched ten thousand Afghan cavalry, who, by forced marches, arrived by break of day in the camp of the Mogul; and while they lay buried in sleep * and

* A remark of Mr. Cambridge will perhaps elucidate this passage. "Notwithstanding the Eastern armies have so severely suffered by being surprised in the night, they can never be brought to establish either order or vigilance in their camp. At the close of the evening, every man eats an inconceivable quantity of rice, and many take after it some kind of soporific drugs, so that about mid-night the whole army is in a dead sleep. The consequence of these habits is obvious: and yet it would appear a strange proposition to an Eastern monarch, to endeavour to persuade him, that the security of his throne depended upon the regulation of

intoxication, rushed suddenly upon them, and made a great and undistinguished slaughter. The disorder that prevailed in every quarter was too great and general to admit of the troops being rallied; the royal tents, with very considerable treasures, fell into the hands of the rebels; a multitude of elephants and horses was captured; and the unfortunate emperor himself desponding, and almost deserted, was compelled to save his life by swimming across the stream! Mere accident having presented him a horse, he rode off towards Agra, but Shere Khan pursuing close in his rear, compelled him to continue his flight on to Lahore, where his brother, the Mirza Cameron governed; who, instead of giving him a welcome reception, loaded him with insult and reproaches. Humaioon, justly indignant at this treatment, hastened with his few attendants towards Cashmere, where a favourite omrah, appointed by himself, held the supreme command; but that omrah was dead, and the capital fortified against him. He now directed his course towards Cabul, the place of his nativity, trusting at least to find shelter in the city that gave him birth, and farther hallowed by the ashes of his father; but by this time Cameron, being driven by Shere Khan from Lahore, had arrived there, and ordered the gates of the fortress to be closed. At Candahar another brother, the Mirza Ashkeri, resided as governor, whom he now supplicated by every tender tie that binds relations, to receive a banished prince under his protection; to allow him to put that strong castle in a state of adequate defence; and to take himself an active part in the extermination of the enemies of his family. To this humble and interesting request Humaioon received only a haughty answer, amounting to a denial.

Thus deserted by his subjects, and insulted by his kindred, one only resource remained to the unhappy monarch; to throw himself

"the meals of a common soldier; much less would he be prevailed upon to restrain "him in the use of that *opium* which is to warm his blood for action, and animate "his soul with heroism." Introduction to the War in India.

on the generosity of Tahmasp, king of Persia, who was infinitely indebted to the house of Timur, even for the sceptre he swayed, and whose gratitude he hoped would prove stronger than fraternal love had proved. He therefore dispatched one of his attendants by a readier route than the imminent danger of his situation would allow himself to take, with letters to that prince, in which he conjured him by the revered memory of Timur, by the sacred name of king which they mutually bore, and by the inviolable friendship that united their ancestors, to lend him, in this emergency, that decisive support which, if immediately afforded, might restore him to the dignity from which he was thus ignominiously driven by his revolted vassals. Soon after he had taken this step, he was joined by Byram Khan, an aged and skilful officer, at the head of a select squadron of veteran soldiers, who had long sought their exiled master, and were now determined to share his fortunes. The resolution of soliciting the assistance of Tahmasp being approved of by this loyal chief, Humaioon sent to demand of Hussein, the Mogul viceroy of Tatta, permission to pass through that province into Persia; but that lord, who had likewise caught the general spirit of disaffection, excused himself by saying, that if his majesty's intentions were to visit Persia, the directer way lay through Candahar. Enraged at this reply, but unable with his slender train to exact vengeance on the rebellious omrah who sent it, he now resolved to go by that directer way, and at every hazard to force a passage into the Persian dominions. In a city of the province of Candahar he left his wife and infant child, Akber (who was born during this flight, and afterwards amply avenged the injuries of his father), and having disencumbered himself of his baggage, his domestics, and what treasures yet remained to him, by rapid movements soon arrived unmolested at the court of Persia. Shah Tahmasp received him, not only with the honour due to his distinguished rank, but with every possible token of liberal friendship; entertained him

with hospitality truly royal; and promised, in as short an interval as the vast preparations necessary for so important an expedition would allow, to furnish him with troops and money sufficient both for the reduction of his disobedient governors, and his own re-establishment on the throne of Hindostan.

The promise of the Persian monarch was punctually performed. It was not, however, till after a residence at his court of some years, that Humaioon was enabled to return with a force sufficient for the accomplishment of those designs. He was attended by the bravest and most skilful officers of the Persian army, who were anxious to enlist under his banners, and made his cause their own. The first exertions of his vengeance were pointed against Candahar and its governor, who now submitted with a pusillanimity only to be equalled by his former insolence. Cabul was next surrounded by the victorious army, and the perfidious governor punished for his unnatural baseness by loss of sight and banishment to Mecca. After these successes Humaioon did not immediately march into Hindostan, but staid to settle the affairs of the conquered provinces, and waited with impatience for some favourable opportunity to assert with effect his just, but invaded, rights. The death of the usurper Shere Khan, with that of his son Selim, and consequent distractions, afforded this opportunity, and he then set forward with the best founded and most sanguine hopes of re-possessing his lost dominions. The most distinguished success attended every effort of a cause supported by justice, and regulated by maxims of the soundest prudence. The army passed through Lahore in February 1555; in May it arrived at Sirhind, where an ineffectual effort to check its progress was made by the Afghan governor at the head of ten thousand horse; and in June following encountered and totally defeated the forces of Secunder II. son-in-law to the usurper. Ali Kuli Khan and Bahadur Khan, with some other experienced generals, were then dispatched southward, to reduce to obedience the

interamnian provinces, lying between the Ganges and Jumna, which they fortunately effected; while Humaioon, at the head of the remaining forces, triumphantly entered into Delhi.

Thus, after a long interval, was the sovereignty of this extensive kingdom restored to its rightful Mogul lord, (if right can indeed be given by conquest,) who did not however, for any extended term, enjoy that power, in the possession of which it had cost him so many years of anxious toil to re-establish himself. In the contemplation of many, and the execution of some, important projects for the advantage and aggrandizement of the empire, death suddenly overtook this great prince at the early period of his fiftieth year; and his decease is supposed to have been the effect of a too powerful dose of opium. He had retired to the terrace of the palace of Delhi, and is said to have fallen asleep while, in a sitting posture, he breathed the pure air of that elevated station. From the highest step of the marble staircase he fell headlong down *forty steps* to the bottom; after languishing three days, in great agony, he expired. This is De Laet's account, and as it is different from that of others, the original passage is added below. * This melancholy event took place according to Fraser, still our best judge in all chronological points, on the 24th of January, 1556, after a chequered reign of twenty-five years, ten months, and five days. †

AKBER, THIRD MOGUL EMPEROR.

On the death of Humaioon, Akber, who, as before related, was born at Amercot, A. D. 1542, during the flight of his father, though then at a great distance from the capital, was proclaimed emperor at Calanor, ‡ in Lahore, by the generals of the imperial army.

* Verum quum opium paulo ante largius usurpasset, somno obrepente, ruit in præceps, et circiter *quadraginta gradus* devolutus, ita se afflixit, ut post triduum moreretur. De Laet INDIA VERA, p. 180. Lugd. Bat. Elzevir, 1631.

† Fraser's Mogul Emperors, p. 10. ‡ Fraser, p. 11.

Notwithstanding he had hardly yet reached his fourteenth year, the young prince had already distinguished himself in several engagements by many acts of dauntless fortitude, and was at that moment in the active pursuit of his father's enemies, the Patan chiefs. Byram Khan, his guardian, now, at Akber's urgent request, undertook the management of public affairs, and was invested with the whole civil and military power of the empire.

In the mean time a formidable rival in the person of Mohammed Adel Shah, nephew of the usurper Shere Khan, and who had himself usurped the throne, and been driven from it, had started up in Bengal, and sent his vizier and general, Himu, an Indian, brave and resolute, but of low extraction, with an army of thirty thousand horse and two thousand elephants, to sieze on the imperial cities of Agra and Delhi. Agra was not prepared to resist so numerous a force, and its viceroy fled before it; but Tirdi Khan, the governor of Delhi, being better prepared and reinforced by some neighbouring omrahs, with their troops, issued forth to give the invader battle. Himu, eager to engage, posted himself in the centre of his army with three thousand chosen horse, and some of his best elephants: with these he rushed furiously upon his adversary and drove him from the field. He then returned to the contest, attacked the right wing with equal impetuosity, and at length the rout becoming universal, entered Delhi in triumph. The vanquished viceroy took the route to Sirhind, where he met the new emperor advancing towards Delhi to assert his title to the throne. The news of his defeat rather rouzed than depressed the soul of Akber, who now resolved to conquer this daring rival or perish in the effort.

The generals Khan Ziman and Bahadur Khan, who had been dispatched to compel the southern provinces to obedience, were now summoned with all their forces to the relief of the capital. Those officers, with speed proportioned to the emergency, hastened back to the imperial army, which by this addition, when arrived at

the plains of Paniput amounted to twenty thousand strong. The rebels however had by this time increased their army to five times that amount, with a proportionate train of elephants and artillery, and headed by their undaunted leader, had marched out of Delhi, and approached their antagonists in the vain confidence that numbers would ensure victory. Himu began the attack with his elephants, on whose multitude and strength he placed his chief dependance; but Ziman Khan and the other omrahs of the royal army, observing this, assaulted those monstrous animals with such fury, galling them with their lances, and raining such showers of arrows upon them, that they became outrageous with pain, and falling back on the Afghan ranks spread havock and disorder through their whole army. The greater part of that immense army likewise, consisting of new raised troops, now began to give way, and left a few determined legions to contend with the whole force of the enemy. Akber, whose life was so important at this juncture, and therefore detained by Byram in the rear, was, during the conflict, with the utmost difficulty restrained from plunging amidst the thickest ranks of the foe, and joining his friends, whom he saw so nobly fighting in his cause. On the other hand, Himu himself, riding on a prodigious elephant, at the head of four thousand horse advanced into the very heart of the Mogul army, and there waded through a stream of blood, made to flow by his own valour; nor did he give over the dreadful conflict when an arrow, piercing his eye, lodged in that tender organ; for regardless of the excruciating pain, he tore out the barbed shaft, and with it the eye from its socket, and continued fighting in that terrible condition till all his party were cut off, and himself taken prisoner. Fainting with loss of blood, yet still breathing defiance, Himu was then led into the presence of Akber, who, mindful of his father's wrongs, and fired with the ardour of a youthful warrior, with his own hand smote off the traitor's head, and ordered it to be fixed on the gate of

Delhi.* An immense booty was taken on this occasion, with fifteen hundred elephants and a fine train of artillery. Akber immediately after the victory took possession of Delhi, and was a second time crowned emperor in that accustomed place of the inauguration of the monarchs of Hindostan.

During the long absence of Humaioon from his hereditary dominions, that many-headed monster, ever springing up anew after defeat, the tyranny of the Afghan tribes, had again reared its crest in most of the provinces of the empire, and notwithstanding that prince's endeavours on his return to place matters on the same footing in which Sultan Baber left them, it seemed necessary that the whole ground on which his victorious standards had been displayed, should be again marched over by the armies of Akber. The generals Ziman and Bahadur were therefore ordered to repair to their former stations to exterminate, if possible, in those parts the power of the Patans, whom they afterwards overthrew in three general engagements; the first at Sambal; the second at Lucknow; the third at Jionpore. † Akber, in the mean time, resided at Agra, which he preferred to Delhi, and spent his time in hunting and

* De Laet, India Vera, p. 182. Ferishta gives a different account of this matter. It is as follows. When the unfortunate Himu was brought into the presence, almost expiring with his wounds, Byram told the king, that it would be a meritorious action in him, to kill that brave infidel with his own hand. Akber, in compliance with the advice of his governor, drew his sword, but only gently touched the head of the captive, bursting into tears of compassion. Byram, looking sternly upon the king, insinuated, that the ill-timed clemency of his family, was the source of all their misfortunes, and with one stroke of the sabre, severed Himu's head from his body. Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 222.

† The reader who is desirous of more particular details of the life of Akber, will find them in Ferishta, though not arranged in the same chronological order as in De Laet's short history of the Mogul emperors. The increasing mass of historical matter compels me, as I proceed, to draw still closer the line to which I have restricted myself. In fact, the prescribed bounds of this entire work would scarcely suffice for a minute account of the illustrious exploits of Akber.

other amusements suited to his age, and, confiding in the wisdom and integrity of the regent he had appointed, did dot minutely examine into the conduct of the public business; but that accumulation of wealth and power which, in gratitude for his eminent services, he had bestowed upon Byram Khan, is said to have filled him with insolence and vanity, which broke out in many acts of despotism towards the omrahs, and of disrespect towards the king himself. Resolved, therefore, no longer to be holden in disgraceful shackles, he summoned his omrahs from all quarters to meet him at Delhi, whither, unknown to Byram, he repaired, and receiving from them all the strongest assurances of affectionate attachment, issued a proclamation, that the regency was dissolved, and that, from that moment, he should take upon himself the sole administration of affairs. The degraded minister was ordered into banishment as far distant as Mecca, who at first proved refractory, and armed his followers for resistance; but, being defeated, at length reluctantly prepared to undertake the expedition, when in passing through Guzzurat towards the ocean, he was set upon by some Afghan cavalry, and murdered in revenge by a chief of that nation whose father he had slain.

Scarce was the new emperor firmly seated on the throne, when the utmost efforts of his power were called into action for the reduction of the almost impregnable fortress of Chitore, situated in the heart of the province of Malva, on the summit of a mountain twelve miles in compass, and only accessible by one ascent by means of a path cut out of the solid rock. This castle had occasionally resisted for ages, all the force that the kings of Delhi could send against it; and had never known a conqueror, except in the renowned ALLA-UL-DIEN.* It was at this time governed by Jamel, another

* Chitore was the ancient hereditary castle of Rajah Rana, by far the most powerful of the native princes at that time flourishing in Western India. Chitore in the earlier annals of Hindostan, ranked as a province itself, or rather was a kingdom,

dauntless rajah, who had made repeated incursions into the Mogul provinces, and thus drawn down upon himself the vengeance of the new emperor. Independent of the importance of the post, and the glory to be acquired by the reduction of so celebrated a place, Akber, with justice, thought that the capture of it would strike terror into all the neighbouring rajahs whose principal dependance, in any rebellion, lay in the impenetrable fastnesses in which they intrenched themselves, and bade defiance to assault. As the conquest of this castle was therefore of so great consequence to the expanding fame of Akber, he surrounded the hill with a vast army, and laid close siege to the fortress itself, battering its walls incessantly with his cannon for several months. Little success, however, seemed to crown his perseverance. His troops were wearied by the tediousness of the siege, and diminished by the frequent and vigorous sallies of the besieged. A mine at length being successfully sprung under the principal bulwark of the castle, that part of the fortress was with a dreadful explosion blown into the air, and the besiegers violently rushing in at the breach made a great slaughter of the garrison. Jamel, determined neither to be subdued or taken, threw himself, sabre in hand, amidst the thickest of the enemy, and there gloriously perished. * The victor, in remembrance of this illustrious exploit, as well as in veneration of that valour which he could respect, even in an enemy, caused the statues of Jamel, and Polta, his brother and principal commander, mounted on elephants, to be placed on each side of the gate of his palace at Delhi. †

large, wealthy, and populous, governed by sovereigns of its own, who boasted their descent from Porus, whom Herbert (incorrectly) supposes to have issued hence against Alexander the Great. See Thevenot's Indian Travels, p. 70, and Herbert's Travels, apud Harris.

* The account of this attack upon Chitore will be found with further particulars in De Laet, p. 185; and in Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 257.

† "I find nothing," says Bernier, "remarkable at the entrance of this palace, but "two great elephants of stone, which are on the two sides of one of the gates. Upon

This arduous enterprize was no sooner accomplished, than Akber received intelligence that his brother Mohammed Hakim, who had erected his government of Cabul into an independent kingdom, was ravaging Lahore at the head of a body of thirty thousand horse. He immediately set forward to oppose his progress, and with incredible speed arrived at Sirhind, whence the invading enemy, astonished at the rapidity of his march, fled back with precipitation, leaving him sole master of his camp, baggage, and spoils. Fearing lest he might be frequently called from the important conquests he meditated to repel these incursions, he now resolved to put every fortress on those frontiers of his kingdom, in the strongest posture of defence, and give the command of them to officers of the most tried courage and loyalty. While he was thus employed the most afflicting news reached his ears: the generals Ziman Khan and Bahadur Khan, grown insolent with their victories over the Patans, had reared the standard of rebellion at Lucknow, in Bengal, and had extended their depredations even to the neighbourhood of Agra itself. With his accustomed celerity, Akber soon arrived on the banks of the Jumna, and falling suddenly on the revolters, drove them from their encampment, pursued their flying battalions with vast slaughter, and the rebellious chieftains themselves being overtaken in their flight, suffered the punishment due to their perfidy; the former being trampled to death by the horses of the pursuers, and the latter strangled on the spot.

A short interval of peace succeeding, Akber returned to Agra, which he determined for the future to make his principal residence, and accordingly commanded his whole court to be removed thither from Delhi. The old town being much decayed, and the palace

" one of them is the statue of Jamel, that famous rajah of Chitor; and upon the " other that of Polta his brother. These two great elephants, together with the two " resolute men sitting on them, do, at the first entry into this fortress, make an " impression of I know not what greatness and terror." Bernier's Account of Delhi.

where the Patan kings had resided, very incommodious, he resolved to rebuild them both, and that in a manner becoming its founder, the august monarch of so mighty an empire.

As the construction of the stupendous castle and city of Agra ranks among the noblest efforts of Akber's reign, the following account of them from the Indian Antiquities will probably not displease the reader.

Agra, the Agara of Ptolemy; though that city is by no means placed on his map in a degree of latitude corresponding with Agra on the modern map, which is marked in 27° 15′, owed its importance, and indeed its existence as a capital, to the munificence of Akber. That emperor, pleased with its situation on the bank of the Jumna, and probably incited by its proximity to the kingdoms of the Deccan, from an inconsiderable fortified town, raised Agra to an eminence in splendour, beauty, and renown, which no city in India, not even Delhi itself, had ever before enjoyed. This monarch had far advanced towards the completion of the proud structures of Fettipore, of which the remaining ruins prove the original grandeur, when on a sudden he relinquished them to execute his more extensive projects at Agra. Indeed the projects of Akber were all vast and comprehensive like the mind that formed them. In the important plans for which peace gave leisure, as well as in the more dazzling scenes of martial glory, his genius and his abilities seemed to soar alike superior to the rest of mankind.

Akber, having determined to make Agra an imperial residence, ordered the old wall of earth, with which the city had been inclosed by the Patan monarchs, to be destroyed, and rebuilt with hewn stone, brought from the quarries of Fettipore. This undertaking, however considerable, was finished with no great difficulty, and within no very protracted period. But to re-build Agra and its castle in a manner worthy of the designer, and calculated to render it the metropolis of the greatest empire in Asia, required the

unwearied exertions of one of the greatest monarchs whom Asia had ever beheld. For the full completion of his magnificent plan, Akber, by the promise of ample rewards, collected together, from every quarter of his dominions, the most skilful architects, the most celebrated artists in every branch both of external ornament and domestic decoration; and some judgment may be formed of the prodigious labour and expense required to perfect the whole undertaking, when the reader is acquainted, that the palace alone took up twelve years in finishing, kept constantly employed during that period above a thousand labourers, and cost nearly three millions of rupees. The castle itself, the largest ever erected in India, was built in the form of a crescent, along the banks of the Jumna, which becomes at this place, in its progress to the Ganges, a very considerable river; its lofty walls were composed of stones of an enormous size, hard as marble, and of a reddish colour, resembling jasper, which at a distance, in the rays of the sun, gave it a shining and beautiful appearance. It was four miles in extent, and it consisted of three courts, adorned with many stately porticoes, galleries, and turrets, all richly painted and gilded, and some even overlaid with plates of gold. The first court, built round with arches, that gave a perpetual shade, so desirable amidst the heats of a burning climate, was intended for the imperial guard; the second, for the great omrahs and ministers of state, who had their several apartments for the transaction of the public business; and the third court, within which was contained the seraglio, consisted entirely of the stately apartments of the emperor himself, hung round with the richest silks of Persia, and glittering with a profusion of Indian wealth. Behind these were the royal gardens, laid out in the most exquisite taste, and decorated with all that could gratify the eye, regale the ear, or satiate the most luxurious palate; the loveliest shade, the deepest verdure; grottos of the most refreshing coolness; fruits of the most delicious flavour; cascades that

never ceased to murmur; and music that never failed to delight. In the front of the castle, towards the river, a large area was left for the exercise of the royal elephants, and the battles of wild beasts, in which the Indian emperors used to take great delight; and, in a square of vast extent, that separated the palace from the city, a numerous army constantly encamped, whose shining armour and gorgeous ensigns diffused a glory round them, and added greatly to the splendour of the scene.

But if this palace was thus externally grand, what a splendid scene must its interior parts have displayed? Mandeslo, who visited Agra in 1638, and saw that city in the meridian of its glory, after informing us that the palace was altogether the grandest object he had ever beheld, that it was surrounded with a wall of free-stone, and a broad ditch, with a draw-bridge at each of its gates, adds,* that, at the farther end of the third court, you saw a row of silver pillars under a piazza, and beyond this court was the presence chamber; that this more spacious apartment was adorned with a row of golden pillars of a smaller size, and within the balustrade was the royal throne of massy gold, almost incrusted over with diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones; that above this throne was a gallery, where the Mogul appeared every day, at a certain time, to hear and redress the complaints of his subjects; and that no persons whatsoever, besides the king's sons, were admitted behind those golden pillars. He mentions likewise an apartment in the castle very remarkable for its tower, which was covered with massy gold, and, for the treasure which it contained, having eight large vaults filled with gold, silver, and precious stones, the value of which was inestimable.

Tavernier, who visited Agra in the decline of its glory near the end of the 17th century, in the absence of the court at Jehaunabad, obtained permission from the commanding omrah to visit, in

* See Mandeslo's Travels, in Harris's Collection, Vol. II. p. 118.

company with a Dutch merchant, the inside of that splendid palace; and, among other proofs of its magnificence, makes particular mention of a gallery, the arch of which it was Shah Jehaun's intention to have overlaid with silver, and he had engaged an ingenious Frenchman to undertake the work, but the artist being soon after poisoned, the design was dropt. He describes the cieling of that gallery as adorned with branched work of gold and azure, and hung below with rich tapestry. But there was also another most sumptuous gallery seen by Tavernier, which fronted the river; and which the same monarch had purposed to cover entirely over with a kind of lattice-work of emeralds and rubies, that should have represented to the life "grapes when they are green, and when "they begin to grow red. But this design, which made such a "noise in the world, and required more riches than all the world "could afford to perfect, still remains unfinished, there being only "three stocks of a vine in gold, with their leaves, as the rest ought "to have been, enamelled according to their natural colours, with "emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones, wrought into the "fashion of grapes." * This splendid idea of Jehaun, was not without parallel amidst the magnificence of Eastern courts; for we are told by Herodotus, that Pithius, the wealthy Bythinian, made Darius a present of a plane-tree and a vine of gold. This vine, according to Athenæus, † was adorned with jewels hanging in clusters, in form and colour resembling grapes, and spread like a rich canopy over the golden bed of that monarch. But, without going to Persia, we find in Curtius, ‡ amidst that luxuriant description, in his eighth book, of the state and pageantry of an Indian monarch, particular mention made of the golden vines that twined

* Tavernier's Indian Travels, Book I. chap. vii.

† See Herodot. Lib. VII. and also Athenæus, Lib. XII.

‡ Quintus Curtius, Lib. VIII. cap. ix.

round those ornamented columns of the same metal which supported his palace, amidst whose branches artificial birds of silver, in imitation of those most esteemed in India, were disposed with the nicest art by the curious designer. But to return from the *palace* to the *city* of Agra.

In a line with the palace, along the banks of the same river, were ranged the magnificent palaces of the princes and great rajahs, who vied with each other in adorning the new metropolis; the majestic edifices of which met the delighted eye, intersected with lofty trees, wide canals, and beautiful gardens. Determined to make it the wonder and envy of the East, and to bury both its former name and obscurity in equal oblivion, the sultan gave his own name to the rising capital, and called it Akber-Abad, while he enriched it with the noblest monuments of regal munificence that human ingenuity could plan or human industry could execute. That nothing might be wanting to render it useful for every purpose both of religion and commerce, Akber erected in it many spacious caravanseras, sumptuous bazars, and innumerable mosques, some remarkable for the elegance and others for the grandeur of their structure: he likewise invited foreigners from all nations to come and settle there, built them factories, permitted them the free use of their several religions, and indulged them in many immunities. In particular, knowing the great consequence of the Portugueze at that period in the commercial world, he endeavoured to establish a connection with that enterprizing nation, solicited the court of Portugal that missioners might be sent to instruct his subjects in the principles of Christianity, and permitted the Jesuits to erect a church and found a college in his new city, which he endowed with a pension from the royal treasury. By these liberal and politic exertions, Agra, or Akber-Abad, from being a country town of no great note, soon became the most flourishing city in his dominions,

and the thronged resort of Persian, Arabian, and Chinese merchants, besides those from the European settlements, who flocked in multitudes to its mart.

In addition to this vast undertaking, other princely designs occasionally engaged his attention, and have rendered his name celebrated in Asia for architectural science. His mausolea, intended to be the sepulchres of his family, at Secundri near Agra, but which he did not live to complete, have no rivals of their kind in Asia, and the quarries of red marble at Fettipore contributed, by his order, to its own beauty and grandeur. Fettipore is situated about eighteen miles distant from that city, which he once designed to have made his capital, but was discouraged from that attempt by the unwholesomeness of the water. The reason of his beautifying that place is related as follows: Akber, desirous of having an heir to his empire, with a conformity very unusual in him to the predominant superstition of that age, had undertaken a distant pilgrimage on foot to the tomb of a celebrated saint at Ajmere, hoping by this act of piety to obtain the accomplishment of his desire. On his return from that pilgrimage he visited Selim, the aged Sheik of Sicari, the former name of that town, who, endowed with a happy spirit of prophecy, told him that his anxious wishes were granted by heaven, that one of his wives was then pregnant, and that he should soon be blest with three male children. This prediction proving true, he was so overjoyed that he gave his first-born the name of Selim, and evinced his gratitude to heaven and the Sheik, by building on the spot where he received the agreeable intelligence a palace of great beauty, a mosque of the utmost splendour, a noble reservoir for water, and a most stately bazar. The immense fortified castle at Allahabad, the point of confluence of the great rivers Ganges and Jumna, deserves also in this place particular notice, being entirely constructed of vast masses of hewn stone, brought from quarries at a great distance. It contained too a

magnificent palace, whither that emperor frequently retired, during the scorching heats of summer, to breathe the pure air of the Ganges, and make excursions on its surface. Nor was pleasure alone consulted in its erection, since it was intended as a grand *dépôt* of arms, and to overawe the adjoining country; being one of a vast chain of fortresses that extended nearly in a line from Lahore to Chunar Gur, on the Ganges, all of which were raised by Akber, and must have secured the empire from the confines of Persia to the borders of Bengal. *

But the occupations of peace were again to be exchanged for the laborious enterprizes of war. In A. D. 1572 the flames of rebellion broke out in Guzzurat, which, as before observed, was subdued in the last reign by Humaioon, but during his absence had, with extreme difficulty, been holden in subjection by the Mohammedan viceroy Khan Azim, and now, under the incitation of Ibrahim and Mohammed Husseyn, and other adventurous chieftains, made a desperate effort intirely to shake off the Mogul yoke. As the coasts of that province abounded with robbers and pirates, who had long bid defiance to regular armies, Akber resolved to penetrate deeply into the country, and after chastising the rebels, to carry his arms to the very gates of Surat. To this end having procured dromedaries of great swiftness, he took with him his most resolute commanders and a few select squadrons of veteran soldiers, and travelling four hundred cosses in seven days, fixed his tents under the walls of Ahmedabad. † The enemy were already in possession of the whole coast, had siezed on the cities of Baroach and Surat, and were in full march to besiege that capital. But the unexpected arrival of Akber, who was now

* See this vast but now ruinous pile, as well as Agra itself, represented and described in "Hodges's Designs in India." Vol. I. tab. 20.

† Thevenot's account of the conquest of Guzzurat by Akber, is different from this of Herbert and De Laet; or may allude to a second rebellion in this province. He says that a great lord of the native court of Guzzurat, appointed regent of the

joined by Azim Khan, and the other Mohammedan generals with all their forces, struck them with such consternation that they relinquished the design, and retreated before his army in great disorder. The emperor, pressing closely upon them, at length brought them to an engagement, and found a stubborn and determined enemy, very different from any he had recently contended with. At one moment, his principal general Coja Khan being slain, the event itself was doubtful, when Akber, at the head of his chosen reserved band, pouring like lightning upon their foremost ranks put them to flight, and thus secured the victory to the imperial army. The rebel commander Ibrahim was likewise slain in the engagement, and the rout was as universal as the carnage was terrible. The city and fortress of Baroach, at that time one of the strongest in India, and a place of the greatest trade, though now far eclipsed by and dependant on Surat, was next besieged and taken, and Surat itself having surrendered, received a Mogul governor with a body of troops to overawe those hordes of lawless free-booters that infested its neighbourhood. The better to secure his new conquest, Akber fortified Ahmedabad in the strongest manner against any future assaults, rebuilt the castle upon an extensive scale, and surrounded both that and the city with a wall of great thickness and extent. In this expedition he was attended by Shah Selim, his eldest son, who greatly signalized himself in the engagement above mentioned, and to whom some historians attribute the glory of the conquest of Guzzurat. *

kingdom during Sultan Modaffer's minority, (in Ferishta written Muziffer, Vol. I. p. 280.) called in Akber under pretence of protecting the young king against his rebellious subjects: that Akber on his arrival made both the Sultan and his governor prisoners, seized the kingdom, and reduced it to a province: that Modaffer made his escape, raised an army, and being defeated, slew himself. Theven. Ind. Tra. Part. III. p. 6.

* De Laet, India Vera, p. 187. This and every preceding account of De Laet, *in all the material points*, agrees with Ferishta; they both, doubtless, drew their information from the same source, the Akber Nama.

Bengal likewise, where the power both of the Patans and rajahs long flourished in its vigour, though conquered by Humaioon, in A. D. 1576, again struggled for independence. At the head of fifty thousand horse and six hundred elephants Akber passed the Ganges, and exulting in an opportunity to attack the ancient enemies of his family in their own capital, laid siege to Patna, within whose walls Shah Daood, an indolent and sensual prince, had shut himself up, nor could the emperor, though for six months his army lay encamped before the city, by any efforts bring him to an engagement. On the seventh it was taken by storm, when a dreadful slaughter, unlimited as the rage of the incensed monarch, commenced. An infinite number of Patan officers, with their wives and children, were taken prisoners, and a treasure proportioned to the wealth of so flourishing a kingdom became the property of the victors.

After taking Patna and many other considerable places, Akber marched to Priag, now Allahabad, * a city situated at the conflux of the Jumna and the Ganges, which was a principal bulwark of the kingdom of the Patans. Having invested and taken it, he was so struck with the importance, and so delighted with the beauty of the situation, that he determined to make it that desirable residence and that impregnable fortress which have been just described; to which we shall in this place add, that it was surrounded with three walls of vast height and thickness, on whose erection twenty thousand men were constantly employed for several years, and above a million of rupees expended.

Elated with his success against the Patans, Akber now turned his arms against the declining power of the rajahs, and successively took from them three of their most vaunted fortresses, Rantimpore,

* Allahabad is supposed by D'Anville to have been the ancient PALIBOTHRA, the metropolis of the Gangarides, but that conjecture has been fully subverted by more recent investigation.

in the province of Malva; Rhotas * in Behar; Jalour, in the sandy desarts of Bando in Ajmere; the first by assault, the two last by

* Rhotas has been before-mentioned as one of the strongest castles, not only in India, but in all Asia. Both nature and art combined to make it impregnable, being situated, like Chitore, on the top of a lofty hill, and, like that fortress, having only one ascent by a path cut obliquely in the firm rock for two coss, or four miles together. On the summit a spacious plain eighteen cosses in circumference, sowed with rice and corn, and watered by above twenty springs, abundantly supplied no less than fourteen villages, besides the very numerous garrison, with necessaries: the rest of the mountain is a steep precipice, covered with impenetrable woods. The stratagem by which it was taken, for it defied all the regular forces of Akber, was as follows: That prince having tried every method to reduce it without effect, one of his officers, Ali Khan, a man of an ingenious enterprizing disposition, undertook that task, and having cultivated a friendship with the native governing rajah, marched that way, as if for Bengal, and obtaining leave, for better security, to lodge his women (who in that country are generally carried in covered litters,) within the fortress until his return, filled the litters with armed young men in female habits, who, as soon as admitted, rushed out upon the unsuspecting guards whom they slew, and opened the gates to their comrades incamped without. These headed by their dauntless leader soon overpowered the garrison, and cutting off the rajah's head sent it with the keys of the castle to Akber. This capture exhibits a species of military fraud of very ancient date and practice in India; Shere is recorded to have used it at this very fortress at a former period. However, by my author, AKBER is positively said to have employed it *on this occasion*; and in vindication of myself I shall add the *original*, together with his description of RHOTAS. Ea nullam sibi non modo in India sed nec in Turcia, Persiave aut Tartaria parem habebat, sive loci situm spectes, sive munitionum amplitudinem et robur; sita in vertice editi montis qui II. cos. itinere ascenditur, undique planicie ad XVIII. cosas cinctus, ambitus ipsius arcis XIV pagos complectitur, cum arvis suis frugum omnis generis fœcundissimis; mediam secat torrens è fastigio montis descendens in tria amplissima stagna, quæ nunquam exarescunt: ad radicem denique montis Tzeon restagnat in paludem III cosas latam, commerciis vicinorum aptam et frequentem. Nihilo secius ACHABAR Moheb-Alighano, viro singularis prudentiæ et fortitudinis, mandat, ut arcem Radziæ gentili principi, qui illi secure dominabatur, præripere conaretur. Is ex aula profectus cum delectis militibus in viciniam arcis divertit, et postquam, muneribus ultro citroque missis, sibi Radziæ amicitiam conciliasset, ejuscemodi stratagema comminiscitur. Simulans se expedito itinere à Rege in Bengalam amandatum, petit obnixe à Radzia ut sibi gynæcium (*seraglio*) suum in arce illius concludere

stratagem. Alarmed at this apparent attempt to exterminate their race, some rajahs, instead of waiting for the attack, gallantly led their armies to the field, among whom should be mentioned a beautiful princess at Sarangpur, who assuming the name of Bahadur, or valiant, made many inroads into the Mogul territories; but being at length defeated, like the others, the resolute heroine, disdaining the chains of a victor, put an end to her existence by swallowing poison. The greater part, however, finding that all opposition to so invincible a warrior was ineffectual, made the best terms they were able with him, and were both won with his clemency, and pleased with his generosity; for he left them in possession of their hereditary domains; requiring only an annual tribute, moderately proportioned to their own revenues, to be remitted to his court, and a stipulated body of forces to be maintained by each for the protection of the empire.

From tenderness to his brother Mirza Mohammed Hakim, Akber had not molested him, since his irruption into Lahore, in his newly erected kingdom of Cabul; but intelligence of his death at this time arriving, he dispatched raja Mansing, with a body of horse, to reduce it into its pristine state of a province of the empire. This was effected with great delicacy to the family which he left behind, and with much respect to his ministers and dependants; the former being allowed pensions, and the latter provided for by having regiments, or governments, conferred on them.

Crowned with conquest, and fortunate in the completion of all

liceat: Radzia dolorum ignarus, facilius quam par erat consensit, suis imperans ne gynæcio quicquam molestiæ afferrent; nec mora Mohebalieghanus, ducentas doulias quibus fœminæ gestantur, singulas binis fortissimis adolescentibus implet, atque in arcem submittit, qui intromissi et è douliis progressi excubitores principalis portæ inopinantes oppresserunt. Alighanus autem cum reliquis copiis vestigiis illorum insistens, Radziam cecidit, et arcis compos factus, ingenti gaza potitur, quam nobili stratagemate æternum nomen apud posteros promeritus, Regi submisit. De Laet, India Vera, p. 193.

his schemes, the genius of Akber expanded with the limits of his dominions, and the empire being in profound peace, he now turned his eye towards that country which gave birth to Timur, and had beheld the glory and disgrace of his ancestors. While he reflected on that sublime pitch of unrivalled grandeur to which the Tartarian empire had at one period arisen—the bright series of victories that distinguished its early sovereigns—and the almost unbounded extent of their domain, and when the ignominious expulsion of Sultan Baber, his immediate progenitor, rushed upon his mind, he was alternately fired with the noblest ardours of ambition, and depressed with a sense of generous shame. The fame of his own conquests had already filled Asia with astonishment, and among other august visitors had brought Abdollah, son of Escander Shah, the reigning monarch of the Uzbek nation to the frontiers of Hindostan, to behold and admire so renowned a warrior. Akber hastened to Lahore to meet the young prince, and received him with great affability, though he secretly meditated the ruin of his father and the subversion of his kingdom. The surrender into his hands of the strong fortress of Candahar, which had been for some time annexed to the crown of Persia, and had been only of recent years delivered up to him by the rebel governor of Shah Abbas, contributed not a little to inflame his avarice of new conquests, and goad him on to the attempt of regaining a territory immortalized by the daring feats, and drenched with the illustrious blood of his forefathers. With a view to this conquest during his residence at Lahore, which was of long continuance, he actually sent ambassadors into Tartary under pretence of condoling with Abdollah, whose father Secunder died a short time after his return, but in reality to investigate the state of that country, and report the strength and resources of the Uzbeks. The account which the ambassadors brought back were ample and satisfactory, but preparatory to this distant expedition he judged it of great importance

to be master of the kingdom of Cashmere, which bordered on the confines of both empires.

The kingdom of Cashmere, of which Bernier, a diligent and accurate reporter, who travelled thither in the retinue of the emperor Aurengzeb, has given so particular and entertaining an account, is for the most part a valley, enclosed on all sides with mountains rising one above another to a vast height, whose summits are covered with eternal snow, but whose lower regions are fertile and luxuriant in the highest degree, while the fine champaign itself exhibits the appearance of a terrestrial paradise, abounding with stately trees and beautiful gardens, full of rich pastures, and watered with a thousand streams that descend from those mountains, and diffuse plenty and verdure through the whole district. The only entrance into this country is by the straits of the mountain Bember, which rising black, bold, and steep, seem intended by nature as an everlasting barrier against invasion. Well acquainted with the difficulties that would attend the forcing of those straits, Akber endeavoured by the most alluring promises to gain over the prince of that country to a voluntary surrender of his rights, but took care, withal, to have an army at hand adequate to the accomplishment of whatever could be effected by force of arms. Yusof Khan, its monarch, not to be behind hand in policy, in order to divert the enemy from entering and desolating his dominions, immediately repaired to Lahore with proffers of submission, while his son Yakub and his brave Cashmerians unanimously determined not tamely to yield to the invader, prepared in case of necessity to make a vigorous defence, doubly fortified every strong post, and barricaded every known passage into their little kingdom. There were, however, some omrahs of Cashmere, who, not possessing such patriotic firmness, had been prevailed on by the enormous bribes of Akber to attend the Mogul army, and being well acquainted with all the avenues of those straits, made use of that

knowledge to betray their country. The officers on duty, likewise seduced by their example, and corrupted by the same influence, deserted their posts, and thus every obstacle being removed, the imperial army without bloodshed penetrated into the heart of the country, seized the capital, and made the gallant Yakub their prisoner, to whom and his father the victor, according to his usual liberality, allowed a princely stipend. *

Whether the distractions that shortly after took place in the Mogul's family, in consequence of the rebellion of one son, and the death of another, or whether some latent apprehension concerning the success of the enterprise were the means of preventing the meditated conquest of Uzbek Tartary, it is not easy to discover; but soon after Akber turned his arms against the neighbouring kingdom of Sindi, † so called from the river Sind or Indus, which taking its rise in mount Caucasus, runs a southwest course for many hundred leagues, and after watering by its various branches several extensive kingdoms, falls into the ocean near Diu in this province. Akber, with more ease to accomplish this undertaking, embarked a numerous army on the Ravi, one of those five branches of the Indus, from which the province of Lahore is often denominated Panjab, a word signifying The five rivers. The command of this force he gave to Khan Khanna, who had greatly distinguished himself in the conquest of Guzzurat, and that general, sailing down the main stream of the Indus, soon arrived before Tatta, its capital, a place ‡ of great

* De Laet, p. 199. Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 284; and Bernier's Indian Travels, Vol. IV. letter 9, entirely descriptive of this Indian Paradise, edit. London, 1698.

† Sindi, the most western province of Hindostan, is almost divided by the Indus; and we may here observe that it is "usual with the Asiatics to give the same name to the countries, which lie on both sides of any considerable river. Thus Kharazm is divided by the Oxus; Palestine by the Arden or Jordan; Egypt by the Nile; and the Eastern provinces of India by the Ganges." See Jones's Description of Asia.

‡ Captain Hamilton says it has a large citadel at the west end, capable of lodging fifty thousand men and horse, with barracks and stables convenient for them.

strength as well as commerce, situated on an island formed by that river, which, after a long siege, surrendered, and its native prince being taken prisoner, was sent to Lahore, while his kingdom was reduced into a province of the empire.

The latter part of Akber's reign was almost totally employed upon the completion of a darling project which he seems to have formed immediately on relinquishing the meditated conquest of Mawaranahar; a project which under every difficulty and repeated repulses, he persevered in with unabated ardour, but which he lived only to accomplish in part. This grand project was the subjugation of the whole peninsula of India within the Ganges to his authority; comprising many great and populous kingdoms, principal and subordinate, of which those since subjected to the Mogul arms are, from their situation, comprehended under one general denomination—Deccan, or the *South*. The kingdom of Deccan, properly so called, and known to the ancient Greeks by the name of DACHANABADES, formed but a small part of this extensive territory which includes, when understood in its large sense, and in the Mogul acceptation of the word, the kingdoms of Balagate, Visiapore, Golconda, the Carnatic, anciently Bisnagar, with all their other conquests in this southern extremity of India, amounting to nearly a third part of the empire. *

* Of these kingdoms, that is, since their reduction by the Moslem arms, and their sovereigns, the regular history has been recently presented to the public, in a faithful version from Ferishta, who wrote it, by Captain Jonathan Scott, a gentleman to whose labours oriental literature is deeply indebted, and to his book I refer the reader for minute particulars; meaning by no means to intrude upon the path of a fellow labourer in this vast field of historical research. I shall occasionally, indeed, cite his publication as collateral authority, but in so doing I hope to be of no disservice to the work. His division of Deccan, at the period in question, is as follows, 1. Beejapore; 2. Golconda; 3. Berar; 4. Ahmednagur; 5. Ahmedabad; but as both the boundaries and the names of the Deccan sovereignties have been perpetually varying, I adhere to my own more general division.

The king, in contemplation of this projected conquest, had, with his usual policy, in the year 1590, dispatched four heralds to the courts of the four kings reigning in Deccan, proposing terms of alliance with them, but principally with a view of obtaining accurate and decisive intelligence concerning the state of those countries, previously to the intended attack. He had also given orders to the viceroys of all the provinces bordering on Deccan, to keep a vigilant eye on the transactions of its princes, and to seize every opportunity of extending the limits of his dominion on that side. Many of the neighbouring forts in Deccan were, in consequence, assaulted and taken, and the divisions ever existing among the rival rajahs were fomented by their emissaries to secure an opening for the stronger Mogul. The Deccan sovereigns were by no means inattentive either to the covert or the open attacks of Akber, and rejecting his insidious proffers of alliance, dismissed his heralds with indignation and contempt. Akber therefore resolved upon direct hostilities; and the death of Nizam Shah, king of Deccan proper, happening about this period, afforded an inviting opportunity of immediately commencing them. Intending in a short time to follow himself, with the whole force of the empire, the king dispatched on this expedition the brave and fortunate Khan Khanna, at the head of an army more formidable for its skill than its numbers, and attended by the most celebrated generals of his kingdom; heroes that had fought from their youth under his banners, and reaped unfading laurels in the service of their beloved master. On their arrival at Brampour, the capital of Candeish, the most southern province of his dominions, they were joined by the forces of Ali Khan the governor; yet though thus considerably reinforced, the prudent general did not immediately precipitate his troops into action, but advanced on the frontiers with that deliberation necessary in an undertaking, whose success or failure would be equally attended with the most important consequences to the empire. The

death of Nizam had not involved his kingdom in confusion, for his daughter BIBI,* assisted by able and faithful ministers, held the reigns of government with a steady hand, while Soheil Khan, a eunuch, but a general of great skill and intrepidity, had the command of her armies. The kings of Visiapore and Golconda, considering hers as a common cause, had likewise each contributed a proportion of troops towards the defence of her kingdom; and at the head of their united forces, amounting to forty thousand horse, the valiant Soheil advanced to give battle to the invading army, which hardly amounted to half that number. This great disparity by no means dismayed Khan Khanna, and the other Mogul commanders, who knowing the high and sanguine expectations entertained by Akber, from the exertions of their bravery, charged the enemy with inconceivable fury; for four-and-twenty hours (such was the duration of this obstinate contest) struggled against a warlike and exasperated enemy, double their numbers, and at length, after the slaughter of their general, and half his army, drove them from the field. †

This signal success did not however secure the conquest of the southern provinces. Armies after armies were sent into the field on both sides, and were alternately triumphant and defeated. In one

* In Scott's History of Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 399, she is called CHAUND BEBEE, great aunt to Sultan Bahadur; and her heroic acts are detailed with a trifling variety in respect to the incidents.

† De Laet, India Vera, p. 202. In a former attack the Mogul army, under Sultan Morad, were far from being thus decisively successful. For thus we read in the History of Dekkan. "Disputes rising to a great height in the government of "Ahmednagur, Sultan Morad, son of the emperor Akber, was invited into Deccan "by one of the parties, and that prince eager to take advantage of dissention, to "spread the authority of the Moguls in that country, marched from Guzzurat to "Ahmednagur with an army of thirty thousand men, and laid siege to that city, "which he was after many months obliged to raise, as Ibrahim Adil Shah, (of "Beejapore) dispatched Soheil Khan with a great army to the relief of the besieged, "and before his arrival the Moguls retired." Scott's Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 338.

of those expeditions Sultan Morad, the second son of Akber, indulging in great licentiousness, brought much disgrace upon the army, and destruction upon himself at Brampour, where a violent fit of intoxication carried him off, to the great grief of his father, who had dispatched his principal secretary, the valiant and learned Abul Fazil, author of the Akber Nama, that prince's former tutor, to reclaim the youthful sultan, and regulate the disorders in his army. On his decease Abul Fazil succeeded to the supreme command, and acted with vigour against the enemy. To pave the way to the complete subjection of the peninsula, he reduced beneath the emperor's authority those portions, which were very considerable, of the provinces of Berar and Candeish, which before had only partially submitted to the Mogul power, and firmly united them to the empire.

At length Akber himself, in the year 1598, having removed his court from Lahore to Agra again, departed from that capital with a vast army for the south. A few miles north of Brampour lay Hassera, a fortress by far the strongest in that part of India. It consisted of three castles situated one above the other, the highest visible at twelve miles distant, on the summit of a mountain, exceedingly lofty, steep, and craggy. It was likewise surrounded with three walls, so contrived that the superior formed a complete protection and defence for the inferior, and it was furnished with ordnance, troops, and provision, proportionate to its importance, and sufficient to resist the most violent and prolonged attack. * The emperor, who was there joined by Abul Fazil with the troops under his command, in vain invested that fortress with an army of two hundred thousand men, and pointed against it the whole force of his numerous artillery. Bahadur, the resolute rajah who governed it, defied their utmost efforts; but what he denied to the arms he yielded to the consummate policy of Akber, who, by presents to an

* See a more full account of Hassera by Finch, apud Harris. Vol. I. p. 85.

immense amount, and the most flattering offers of preferment at his court, prevailed with him, at last, not only to surrender the fortress, but to enter with all his relations and dependents into his immediate service. Having obtained possession of this most important post, without which no conquest in that region could be durable, the way seemed open to the completion of the magnificent project, the entire subjection of Deccan, which he ever contemplated with new delight. But a dark cloud soon overshadowed the prospect that appeared so splendid, and involved the declining life of this great man in the deepest gloom of misery and domestic affliction.

Previous to his departure from Agra, his son Selim had been sent into the province of Ajmere with a considerable force to curb the insolence of Rajah Ranna, by far the most powerful of all the Indian rajahs; but that prince finding himself at the head of a potent army, had taken advantage of the absence of his father, marched back to Agra, and having by the plunder of the royal treasuries amassed an enormous sum, openly avowed his intention of dethroning him. The castle of Agra was too strong, and the governor too faithful, to submit; but in a short space many castles and cities less strongly fortified, and many governors less faithful, had yielded to his authority. Among those was Allahabad, which he now made his head quarters, and thus that very spot which Akber expended such immense sums in fortifying against the Patan power, now became an impregnable barrier against himself. The news of his revolt overwhelmed the unhappy monarch with the most oppressive anguish, but he saw that not a moment was to be lost, and therefore leaving his third son Shah Daniel, to prosecute the Deccan war under the direction of Abul Fazil, and Khan Khanna, his most experienced generals, he set off without delay, attended by some chosen troops, for the capital. Willing, if possible, to reclaim his rebellious son by gentle methods, on his arrival at Agra he sent to him expostulatory letters, full of kindness, and fraught with

many promises of future aggrandizement, if he would lay down his arms and submit; but the prince, flushed with recent success, returned an answer that breathed sentiments of insolence and defiance, and on a repetition of the former affectionate message, sent to his father, in token of his obstinate perseverance in his former seditious measures, some of the coin which he had caused to be struck in his own name at Allahabad. Incensed by this additional insult to the last degree of indignant fury, Akber determined by force of arms to reduce to obedience the refractory prince, and to this end applied once more to the venerable and brave Abul Fazil to come and assist him in bringing to reason and submission his rebellious progeny. That faithful minister immediately left the army, but on his way to Agra was set upon and slain by a detachment sent by the inveterate Selim, who by his emissaries was well acquainted with whatever passed at the court of his father, and besides bore that minister a deep and ancient grudge. The intelligence of his death filled Akber with extreme affliction, as he had long experienced the wisdom and fidelity of Abul Fazil in the administration of government; and the grateful courtier had been for some time engaged in an attempt to return the kindness of his sovereign, by recording the principal events of his reign. * Fraser says his name signifies *the father of excellence,* and that he was the most learned and elegant writer at that time flourishing in Asia. In the mean time Akber relaxed not in the vigour of his preparations to punish his degenerate son, to which he was not a little incited by the flattering accounts he about this time received of the success of his army in the Deccan.

In pursuance of the plan pointed out by his father, Shah Daniel, with Khan Khanna his head general, had soon after his departure advanced to Ahmednagur, the capital of Deccan Proper, in the lofty and strong castle of which city the heroic queen, Bibi, had

* See Fraser's Mogul Emperors, p. 11.

shut herself up with her chief commanders, in the firm resolution of defending the place to the last extremity. The siege was long, and the assault violent; the defence was equally resolute; nor was the fortress at last taken but by the united efforts of an army * whose numbers far exceeded any that had ever appeared before in that part of India. Considerable treasures were the reward of the victors; but the indignant Bibi herself, resolved not to survive the freedom of her country, had previously rushed upon voluntary destruction. The triumphant generals, after completely subjugating the kingdom of Deccan, returned to Brampour, where ambassadors from the kings of Visiapore and Golconda soon after arrived, with presents of great magnificence, and letters couched in the most humble and submissive terms. †

Thus was the grand scheme of Akber for the reduction of the peninsula in part completed; and however suspicious might be the advances of the kings of Visiapore and Golconda, a most extensive territory was added to his empire, and a vast annual tribute to its revenue; a tribute fully adequate to the support of that formidable army which was necessary to be maintained for the future security of the new conquests. Happy in the contemplation of this and other events equally successful and splendid, that had attended his efforts in war, and his deliberations in peace, during a long and illustrious reign, nothing seemed wanting to substantiate his felicity but the return of his eldest son to duty and loyalty. Convinced that nothing but force could reclaim him, and determined to exert that force, he was on the point of setting out on an expedition for that purpose, when he received the melancholy tidings of his third son

* According to Mr. Finch's authorities, Ahmednagur was taken by the Moguls when they had an army of five hundred thousand men in the field.

† De Laet, p. 205; and Scott's Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 400. According to this latter authentic history, Chaund Bebee, or Bibi, was put to death by the Dekkanees; and Sultan Bahadur eventually imprisoned for life in the fort of Gualior.

Shah Daniel's death at Brampour, who, involved in the same delusive pleasures that had proved fatal to his brother, fell the victim of the grossest intemperance. By this afflicting stroke, which left a lasting wound in the breast of Akber, the resentment of the father and the monarch was at once disarmed, and he again sent letters which, though not destitute of severe rebukes for his accumulated offences, held forth the peaceful olive to an only surviving son, the prop of his hopes, and the heir of his empire. Those letters, and the warm remonstrances of a wise and aged omrah who accompanied the embassy, at length so wrought upon the mind of Selim, that he hastened to Agra, and threw himself at the feet of his injured father. Akber at first, transported with rage at the recollection of his baseness, not only loaded him with the bitterest invectives, but struck him several times with great violence, till the astonished and repentant prince, drawing his sword, offered himself to plunge it in the bosom contaminated by filial ingratitude. This apparent contrition melted into tenderness the relenting king; he forgave him the multiplied offences he had committed against his paternal and sovereign authority, and completely restored him to favour; but at the same time took the wisest precautions to prevent the possibility of his engaging in any similar designs during the remainder of his reign.

That reign now hastened swiftly to its close, for not long after, according to my author, in compliance with the detestable policy often adopted in arbitrary governments to remove by poison, and often under the roof of apparent hospitality, those whom it would be dangerous to attack with open force; having invited a very distinguished and powerful lord of his court who had given him just cause of offence, to a regale of opium after an entertainment, he contrived that a part, which he intended for his guest, should be poisoned. It is generally taken throughout the East in form of pills, whose size is proportioned to the habits and option of the consumer;

and two pills being accordingly prepared, he gave the sound one by mistake to the omrah, and swallowed the infectious one himself. The violence with which it was meant to act upon another soon operated with too fatal certainty upon himself, and resisting all the force of medicine, in a few days carried him out of "that world through which he had moved with so much lustre," on the 13th of October, 1605, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign. * Before his senses entirely failed him he sent for his son Selim, and finding his dissolution not far distant, put his own rich turban on the prince's head, and girded him with the victorious sword of his grandfather Humaioon.

Akber may be justly ranked in fame with the greatest legislators and heroes of antiquity. His personal valour and presence of mind, upon all occasions, were astonishing. † With one vigorous arm he repelled the barbarians of the north, and with the other, conquered the war-trained mountaineers of the south. The Khan of Uzbek Tartary trembled on his throne at the name of Akber; the determined race of Rajapouts bowed before him; and the sovereigns of Visiapore and Golconda exhausted their treasures to appease his resentment. His generosity and clemency were alike unbounded. To him may be attributed the glory of establishing on the firm basis of united wisdom and equity, that mighty empire, of which Baber

* De Laet, p. 213. This is the account of my author, but it is a mode of death so unworthy of the great Akber, that I am much more inclined to adopt, as true, that of Mr. Gladwin, prefixed to his History of Jehanguire, that he died a *natural death*, being seized on the 13th of August with a violent fever, under which he languished till the 13th of October, 1605, when he expired.

† As Akber was hunting once near Narvar, a great royal tygress, with five young ones, took the road before him. Akber advanced to the animal, while his retinue stood trembling with fear and astonishment to behold the event. The king, having meditated his blow, spurred on his horse towards the fierce tygress, whose eyes flamed with rage, and with one stroke of his sabre cut her across the loins, and stretched her dead at his feet. Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 221.

laid the foundation in Hindostan; which Humaioon extended, but which it was left to himself to perfect.

In civil and domestic concerns he was a bright exemplar to all the potentates of the earth. The Ayeen Akbery contains the noblest institutes ever promulged for the government of an Asiatic empire, and at the same time abounds with the most enlarged and liberal sentiments in religion and morals, at a period, and in a country, in which the former was polluted by the basest superstition, and the latter had become almost an empty name. The professor of Mohammedism, while he shuddered at the consequence of an omitted ablution, scrupled not to commit acts of the most sanguinary atrocity; and wallowed in all the turpitude of incestuous and unnatural lust. Instead of exterminating, with the remorseless fury of his bigotted predecessors, the race of patient and timid Hindoos, trampling to the earth their beloved idols, the symbols of the attributes of God, and plundering and burning their august and venerable shrines, Akber nobly and wisely extended to them the tolerating system of their own benevolent creed; gave inviolable security to their persons, and unshaken stability to their property. He was also, in a high degree, the friend and patron of letters and genius, of which Abul Fazil and many other learned men, caressed and pensioned at his court, are illustrious proofs. He ardently encouraged commerce both domestic and foreign; and, if we may believe the Portugueze historians, he not only allowed the merchants of their nation, settled at Agra, most extensive immunities, but built them a church in that city. In Fraser's more authentic publication may be seen the translation of a very curious letter from this monarch to the king of Portugal, dated A. H. 990, or A. D. 1582, in which he requests of him to send him an Arabic or Persian translation of the scriptures, and with it proper persons to explain its genuine principles. That this letter, as Fraser hints, never went farther than Goa, is a circumstance, on many accounts, greatly to

be lamented. * In short, the history of Asia scarcely exhibits a parallel to Akber, either in the extent and grandeur of his designs, the vigour and wisdom of his counsels, his moderation in peace, or his success and glory in war. The verdure of the double laurel which he obtained in the field of science and arms still blooms with unfading lustre; a lustre that illumines, though it can no longer animate, the fallen descendants of the great Timur.

JEHANGUIRE, FOURTH MOGUL EMPEROR.

Selim Shah who now, according to the practice usual with the Mogul monarchs of assuming some distinguished title when they ascend the throne, took the name of Jehanguire, or Conqueror of the World, was born at Fettipore on the 29th of August, 1569, and was crowned emperor of Hindostan on the 21st of October, 1605, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. † Though so decidedly pointed out by the last act of his father's life as his immediate successor, there were at that time about the court, certain factious omrahs, who, dreading his vengeance for their former opposition, used every effort to exalt to the imperial dignity Sultan Khosro, his son, to the exclusion of the father. The prince himself, young, inconsiderate, and intoxicated with ambition, eagerly grasped at the flattering offer; and when, at length, after considerable delays, the ceremony of inauguration had taken place, and through the fidelity of Akber's chief ministers, Jehanguire seemed firmly seated on the throne, Khosro, with a chosen train of young nobles warmly attached to his cause, made his escape by night from Agra, and retired towards Lahore.

* See Fraser's Mogul Emperors, p. 11.

† See Fraser's Mogul Emperors, p. 24; and the History of Jehanguir, translated from a Persian manuscript, (the TOOZEK JEHANGERY,) by Francis Gladwin, Esq. quarto, Calcutta printed, 1788.

In the mean time the most splendid embassies daily arrived from all the neighbouring kingdoms to congratulate the new emperor on his accession to a throne, which, by Akber's vast conquests, surpassed all the thrones of Asia in its unlimited extent, in the power annexed to it, and in the almost exhaustless treasures that formed its revenue. The former was acknowledged without a murmur through fifteen large provinces, formerly as many flourishing kingdoms, able to send into the field for the defence of the empire three hundred thousand horse, and an equal number of foot; while the latter amounted to above fifty millions of pounds sterling. The presents brought on this occasion were of an enormous amount, equal to the high rank of the donors, and worthy of the potent sovereign for whom they were intended. Those from the tributary kingdoms of Visiapore and Golconda, were distinguished by their transcendant value. *

Jehanguire had reigned only six months, when this rebellion of his eldest son broke out. During Akber's last illness, Rajah Mansing, Khosro's maternal uncle, and Azem Khan his father-in-law, in conjunction with others of the omrahs, who, from having always opposed the interest of Sultan Selim, dreaded that when he came to the throne, they should become the victims of his resentment, had instilled ambitious notions into the mind of young Khosro, which led him to form the resolution of disputing the crown with his father, when a favourable opportunity should offer; and which they persuaded him was not then far distant, as the nobility in general were caballing, in order to be ready to take advantage of the confusion that might naturally be looked for at the death of Akber. But the unexpected reconciliation which fortunately took place between the Emperor and Sultan Selim, dissolved the conspiracy, and put him in quiet possession of the empire. The rebellious designs of Khosro, and his party, being thereby frustrated, he was

* De Laet, p. 215.

observed to be uncommonly melancholy, and thoughtful, as if meditating some desperate enterprize; and all his father's endeavours to gain his confidence and affection, by every act of royal favour and paternal indulgence, had no effect upon him. He continued in this state till April 8th, 1606; when, at night, under pretence of visiting the tomb of his grandfather, Akber, he departed as before stated, from the fort of Agra, with about an hundred and fifty horsemen.

Equal to the daring spirit that prompted them to rebel, were the outrages which he and his followers committed, and the devastations they spread in their progress from the capital to the walls of Lahore. The country houses of the merchants were plundered, and themselves compelled to bear arms; the peaceful peasants were likewise forced to exchange the implements of agriculture for the target and the sabre; the royal stables were every where broken open, and the finest horses made subservient to the uses of the army; while the public magazines were rifled for its support, and the whole country bore the aspect of desolation. Providence seemed to exert itself on this occasion, that he, whose unprovoked rebellion embittered the last days of an affectionate father, should now feel in the early revolt of his own posterity, the pangs he had occasioned. Indeed the curse denounced against disobedience seemed entailed on himself and his posterity; for till the death of Aurengzeb, who waded through the blood of his murdered family to the throne of Hindostan, nothing but jealousy and distraction prevailed among the several branches of the royal line. The future pages of this history will prove the justice of this assertion. But he who could justify rebellion to his own mind, wanted not either will or resolution to punish it in others with implacable severity. Ibrahim Khan, the newly appointed governor, having previously arrived at Lahore, closed the gates of the fortress against the prince, whose army by this time increased to twenty thousand

men, encamped without, and vigorously besieged it. Successive bodies of horse and foot were sent from Agra to reduce the rebels, and some amicable proposals were made by the emperor, rather to gain time than to effect a reconciliation, for as he knew the fomenters of this mischief, he was determined to make a severe example of them in the beginning of his reign, that the terror of their punishment might deter others from similar attempts. These being rejected by the high-minded Khosro, Jehanguire began his march at the head of an army too powerful to be contended with by troops so hastily collected and so inexpert in war. The very dread of their approach unnerved the sinews of those rash insurgents, who being attacked by Mortiza Khan, with only about three hundred of the advanced guard of the imperial army, began to give way on every side, and on the near approach of the king the very standard-bearer threw down the prince's standard to the ground, and the rout became universal. The prince himself, in his flight towards Lahore, was taken prisoner by his pursuers, and being placed on an elephant with Mohabet Khan, was conducted safely to the royal camp.

The next morning Khosro was brought before his father, with a chain of gold fastened from his left hand to his left foot, according to the laws of Jengis. On the right hand of the Prince stood Hassan Beg, and on his left Abdulrahim. Khosro trembled and wept. He was ordered into confinement; but the companions of his rebellion were put to death with cruel torments. Hassan Beg was sewed up in the raw hide of an ox, and Abdulrahim in that of an ass, and both were led about the town on asses, with their faces towards the tail. The ox's hide became so dry and contracted, under the scorching sun, that before the evening Hassan Beg was suffocated: but the ass's hide being continually moistened with water, by the friends of Abdulrahim, he survived the punishment, and afterwards obtained the Emperor's pardon. From the garden of Kamran to the city of Lahore two rows of stakes were fixed in

the ground, upon which the other rebels were impaled alive; and the unhappy Khosro, mounted on an elephant, was conducted between the ranks of these miserable sufferers. At the dreadful sight of three hundred of his faithful friends, and principal adherents, thus writhing on stakes, or suspended on gibbets, the generous, but ill-fated prince was filled with horror, and declared to his father that he alone deserved death, and that life would become an intolerable burthen to him after being the cause of the execution of so many brave men. In compassion to his age, that life indeed was spared, but he was doomed to perpetual confinement; and the omrahs in constant attendance at court, were alternately appointed to guard him. *

This determination in Jehanguire to act in the spirit of severe justice to offending criminals, was rendered evidently conspicuous at an early period of his reign, for according to the native historian † the first public order which he issued, on his accession to the throne, was for the construction of the golden chain of justice. It was made of pure gold, and measured thirty yards, consisting of sixty links, weighing four maunds of Hindostan. One end of the chain was suspended from the royal bastion of the fortress of Agra, and the other fastened in the ground near the side of the river. The intention of this extraoodinary invention was, that if the officers of the courts of law were partial in their decisions, or dilatory in the administration of justice, the injured parties might come themselves to this chain, and making a noise, by shaking the links of it, give notice that they were waiting to represent their grievances to his majesty.

In order to protect Agra, and prevent further insurrections, the Emperor, at the time he marched against Sultan Khosro, had sent orders for Sultan Parvez, his second son, and Asoph Khan, to repair

* De Laet, India Vera, p. 217 ; and Gladwin's Hist. of Jehanguir, p. 9.

† Gladwin's Jehangery, p. 96.

to that quarter with part of the army; leaving the rest employed against the Ranna. Fortunately, before Parvez received these orders, he had concluded a peace with the Ranna; who had sent to the Prince one of his relations, named Nagh, to tender his submission to the Emperor. Khosro's rebellion was so suddenly quashed, that Parvez had not time to reach Agra, before he received fresh orders from his father to repair to Lahore.

The Emperor, in 1607, marched with his army to Cabul, in order to reduce to obedience the refractory Afghans in that neighbourhood; and about this time Asoph Khan was promoted to the high office of Vizier, on which occasion he presented to his Majesty a ruby, valued at forty thousand rupees. A few days after the Emperor's arrival at Cabul, he visited the tomb of Baber, and gave directions for laying out an extensive garden adjoining to that of Shere Ara, to which he gave the name of Jehan Ara, or, the ornament of the world, and ordered that the river of Cabul should be brought, by a canal, through this new garden.

The Emperor, whilst he was at Cabul, sent for Sultan Khosro, and ordering his fetters to be taken off, permitted him to walk in the garden of Shere Ara, and seemed every way disposed to receive him again into favour; but on his return to Lahore, when he arrived at Soorkhab, it was discovered that Khosro had kept up a correspondence with some conspirators, who had resolved to assassinate the Emperor when he was hunting. In this conspiracy were concerned the *Etemadawlet*, or high treasurer of the empire, and many other grandees in great esteem at court, whose business being occasionally to guard the captive prince, were so won upon by his affability, and affected by his change of fortune, that they combined to make this daring effort for his release; but they were discovered and all beheaded except the former, who purchased his pardon at the price of eleven lacs of rupees. To put a final end to these cabals, Jehanguire ordered the prince to be deprived of sight; a barbarous

practice in Eastern countries, by which the miserable victim of despotic jealousy is for ever rendered incapable of reigning. Terry and Sir Thomas Roe, however, who were at the court of this king, and often saw Khosro, unite in saying, that he was not entirely blinded by the cruel operation, and add that his person and manners were very engaging.

Satiated with the toils of the chase at Cabul, and wearied with seditious contests, the king returned to Agra to solace himself in the softer toils of love. Inflamed with the irresistible charms of the fair Nourmahal, wife of Shere Afkun, a brave and gallant officer, who had fled from Persia into Hindostan, and whom he basely sacrificed to obtain possession of her, this infatuated monarch resigned into her hands, during the greatest part of his remaining reign, both the sceptre of government, and the dominion over his faculties. This celebrated lady, the fame of whose beauty has resounded through Europe as well as Asia, was the daughter of the pardoned traitor above mentioned, whom he afterwards raised to the highest pitch of grandeur and affluence a subject could enjoy. He likewise, to gratify this fair sultana, whose ambition was at least as great as her beauty, promoted all her kindred to posts of the highest trust and honour, to the great disgust of the ancient omrahs, who beheld with rage and envy the aggrandizement of this new family of foreign original and mean descent. The ardent passion which Jehanguire early entertained for her, had led him to solicit her of her father in the life time of Akber, but she was already betrothed to Shere Afkun, and Akber could not be induced by any considerations, however flattering, to violate the faith mutually and solemnly plighted. With his power the passion of the emperor increased, and at last so far got the ascendant over him, as to make him determined on its gratification at whatever hazard and whatever price.

After the violent act above related, he persevered in the most extravagant measures to secure her affection, and leaving his palace

with unprecedented condescension for an emperor of Hindostan, would loiter whole nights in her company at the house of the *Etemadawlet*, or high-treasurer, her father. Nourmahal herself, after her marriage with the emperor, convinced of her influence over the enslaved prince, as well as of their dislike, by no means endeavoured to conciliate her numerous and powerful enemies by manners engaging and condescending; but carried herself with a haughty air towards the courtiers, and made the authority she had usurped solely subservient to her selfish and arbitrary purposes. Her father possessed the most distinguished post for honour and profit in the empire; her brother, Asoph Khan, being vizier, was absolute at court, no step however trifling or important being taken without his concurrence; Hassem Khan, who had married her sister, was governor of Agra, while the numerous tribe of her relatives monopolized the most valuable places in the government. Surrounded with these, she managed every thing by her sole despotic will; and the emperor was almost a cypher in his own dominions.

On the solar anniversary of the emperor's birth-day, in A. D. 1610, when he entered into the forty-second year of his age, he was weighed in the royal apartments, with peculiar splendour, eleven times; the first time against gold, and the other ten against silver, and other metals, perfumes, exhilerating drugs, &c. This ceremony of weighing the Emperor of Hindostan, is performed twice in every year, on the solar, and on the lunar anniversary of his birth; and the gold and other articles are bestowed in charity.*

At one of these ceremonies of weighing the Mogul (the reigning monarch, Jehanguire,) the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, was present, and has thus described it.

"The second of September was the king's birth-day, and kept with great solemnity. On this day the king is weighed against jewels, gold, silver, stuffs of gold, silver, and many other rich and

* Gladwin's Hist. Jehanguir, p. 12.

rare articles, of every sort a little, which is all given to the Brahmins. He was so splendid in jewels, that I own in my life I never saw such inestimable wealth together. The time was spent in bringing his greatest elephants before him; some of which, being lord-elephants, had their chains, bells, and furniture of gold and silver, with many gilt banners and flags, carried about them, and eight or ten elephants waiting on each of them, clothed in gold, silk, and silver. In this manner about twelve companies passed by, most richly adorned, the first having all the plates on his head and breast set with rubies and emeralds, being a beast of wonderful bulk and beauty. They all bowed down before the king, making their reverence very handsomely: this was the finest shew of beasts I ever saw. The Mogul himself was sitting cross-legged on a little throne, all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Before him a table of gold, and on it about fifty pieces of gold plate, all set with jewels, some very great and extremely rich, some of them of less value, but all of them almost covered with small stones. His nobility about him in their best equipage, whom he commanded to drink merrily several sorts of wine standing by in great flaggons. On a sudden the king rose, we retired to the *Durbar*, and sat on the carpets, attending his coming out. Not long after he came, and sat about half an hour, till his ladies at their door had mounted their elephants, which were about fifty, all of them richly adorned, but chiefly three with turrets on their backs, all enclosed with grates of gold wire to look through, and canopies over of cloth of silver. Then the king came down the stairs with such an acclamation of Health to the King! as would have out-roared cannon. At the foot of the stairs, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty carp; another a dish of white stuff like starch, into which he put his finger, and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his forehead; a ceremony used presaging good fortune. Then another came, and girt on his sword, and hung on his buckler, set

all over with diamonds and rubies, the belts of gold suitable. Another hung on his quiver with thirty arrows, and his bow in a case, being the same that was presented by the Persian ambassador. On his head he wore a rich turban with a plume of herons' feathers, not many, but long. On one side hung a ruby unset, as big as a walnut; on the other side a diamond as large; in the middle an emerald like a heart, much bigger. His staff was wound about with a chain of great pearl, rubies, and diamonds, drilled. About his neck he wore a chain of three strings of most excellent pearl, the largest I ever saw; above his elbows, armlets set with diamonds, and on his wrist three rows of several sorts; his hands bare, but almost on every finger a ring. His gloves, which were English, stuck under his girdle. His coat of cloth of gold without sleeves, upon a fine *semain*, as thin as lawn. On his feet a pair of buskins embroidered with pearl, the toes sharp and turning up. Thus armed and accoutred he went to the coach that attended him, with his new English servant, who was clothed as rich as any player, and more gaudy, and had broke four horses, which were trapped and harnessed in gold velvets. This was the first coach he ever sat in, made by that sent out of England, so like that I knew it not but by the cover, which was a Persian gold velvet. He sat at the end, and on each side went two eunuchs, who carried small maces of gold set all over with rubies, with a long bunch of horse-tail to flap the flies away. Before him went drums, base trumpets, and loud music, many canopies, umbrellas, and other strange ensigns of majesty, made of cloth of gold, set in many places with rubies. Nine led horses, the furniture of some garnished with rubies, some with pearls and emeralds, some only with studs enamelled. The Persian ambassador presented him with a horse. Next behind came three palankins, the carriages and feet of one plated with gold, set at the ends with stones, and covered with crimson velvet embroidered with pearl, and a fringe of great pearl hanging in ropes

a foot deep, a border about it set with rubies and emeralds. A footman carried a footstool of gold set with stones. The other two palankins were covered and lined only with cloth of gold. Next followed the English coach newly covered and richly adorned, which he had given to Queen Nourmahal, who sat in it. After them a third, in which sat his younger sons. Then followed about twenty elephants-royal, led for him to mount, so rich in stones and furniture, that they glittered like the sun. Every elephant had sundry flags of cloth of silver, gilt satin, and taffety."

It has been before observed, that Raja Ranna was the most powerful of the native princes of Hindostan. His dominions bordered on Malva, were full of mountains, inhabited by rajapouts, or warlike tribes of native Indians, who secure in their strong holds, generally situated on the summit of inaccessible rocks, from time immemorial had defied all the power both of Patans and Moguls entirely to subdue them. Akber penetrated far into their desolate domain, and by the conquest of Chitore spread a general terror among them; but as he had other objects to engage his attention, more important than the persecution of those mountainous marauders, for they lived principally by plundering the caravans, he was contented with the submission of their chief, and left them in their former state. Jehanguire had himself, indeed, been sent against them near the close of his reign, but his own revolt prevented their subjugation. Having begun to renew their depredations, the generals Mohabet Khan, Abdol Khan, and finally Sultan Khorum, his youngest son, (afterwards Shah Jehan) were successively sent with great armies for the reduction of that territory, in which, after the most resolute and prolonged resistance on the part of the rajahs; after levelling many lofty forests, cutting through many steep rocks, and blowing up many castles deemed impregnable, they at last succeeded. Raja Ranna himself, by the mediation of Sultan Khorum, obtained his pardon of the emperor; but it was not

granted without presents of inestimable value, and the detention of his son Kurren at court, as a perpetual hostage for his future obedience.*

These three illustrious personages were shortly after sent into Deccan, to assist Khan Khanna in the prosecution of a war conducted on the enemy's part by Malek Amber, general and vizier of the Nizam. The kings of Visiapore and Golconda having neglected for some time to remit to court their annual tribute, were now likewise called upon by those commanders for that mark of homage to the emperor. But instead of remitting it they joined the Nizam's forces, and prepared to oppose the march of the Mogul army into his territories. Sultan Khorum, who on this expedition, for the first time, by permission of the emperor, assumed the name of Shah Jehan, and the other commanders, not at all dismayed at so formidable a combination, made those immediate arrangements that were necessary in this emergency, and first retaking all those strong posts in Deccan, and the neighbouring provinces of Candeish and Berar, which Malek in his first rapid incursions had conquered from the Moguls, moved forward in excellent order to meet the enemy. The prudent general for some time declined a general engagement, and retreated towards the capital; but being closely pressed was compelled to risk a battle, which he lost; he again rallied his forces, and was still unfortunate; at length his troops meeting a complete overthrow, the triumphant army entered the metropolis of Deccan, plundered it of immense riches, and in revenge for the Nizam's perfidy, levelled his sumptuous palace with the ground. The rebellious kings of Visiapore and Golconda, after paying the indebted tribute, were for the present no further molested: the time for the reduction of those wealthy and populous kingdoms into provinces of the empire was not yet arrived. The immortal Aurengzebe was not yet born.

* Gladwin's Hist. Jehanguire, p. 31.

That very moment in which Sultan Khorum assumed the title of Shah Jehan, or king of the world, he seems to have discarded from his mind filial obedience, fraternal affection, and every other restraint on an unjust and boundless ambition. He saw with equal indignation and contempt a woman swaying the sceptre of Hindostan, and every high post of honour and emolument bestowed upon her own relations. He determined to break the charm by which his father and the empire was bound, and risk every thing to obtain a throne for which he esteemed himself so much better qualified. There was no tie so sacred, no consideration so valuable, which he was not eager to sacrifice for the darling object that now engrossed all the powers of his soul, and influenced all the actions of his future life. The unfortunate Khosro had been committed to his custody, as to the custody of a brother who would naturally mingle pity with necessary restriction, and mitigate by tender assiduities the hardships of confinement. But Khosro was not wholly incapacitated for reigning; and *might* be an obstacle to his ascending the throne: he was therefore destined to destruction; and the better to prevent suspicion, the inhuman deed was perpetrated while he himself was absent on a hunting party. At midnight some hired assassins rushed into the chamber of the devoted prince, and strangling him, for ever annihilated from that quarter, the fears of a jealous and obdurate brother.

If power alone could have satisfied this enterprising prince, he possessed already an ample share of it. The whole southern army was at his disposal; and he united under the extensive government, to which by the liberal indulgence, or perhaps the forced consent, of Jehanguire, he was appointed, the provinces of Deccan, Candeish, Berar, and Guzzurat; over which he ruled with unlimited authority. He assumed every attribute of royalty; appointed governors to the several provinces and cities under his jurisdiction; and affected on all occasions the state and splendour of a king.

But nothing less than a real crown would fully content his grasping ambition. The emperor had for some time removed his court to Lahore, with a design to make that city the metropolis of his empire. The imperial treasures, for better security, were left in the stronger castle of Agra. Having, however, strongly fortified, as well as greatly beautified that city, he sent Asoph Khan, brother of Nourmahal, with a strong guard to escort them thither. Well knowing the only channel in which honours and distinction flowed, Shah Jehan had condescended to marry the daughter of Asoph, and by this politic measure had secured to his interest the power he despised. There was hardly an omrah likewise about his father's court who did not receive a pension from himself. A few only remained faithful to their sovereign. To support the vast efflux of wealth necessary towards preserving this corrupt influence, to which even the accumulated income of his rich governments was by no means adequate, he now resolved to avow his treasonable intentions, by seizing on the treasures of the empire during their transportation from Agra to Lahore. Asoph, between whom and the Prince an intimate correspondence was kept up, anxious to aggrandize a person so nearly allied, coincided in the measure; and both the time and place for the seizure were mutually agreed upon. To accomplish this bold design, Shah Jehan summoned Bickermajeet, governor under himself of Guzzurat, his most faithful commander, and set out from Brampoor with seventy thousand horse, under the pretence of hunting, and made such great expedition that he arrived at Fettipore in fifteen days; but intelligence of this event arriving at Agra, Ethabar Khan governor of Agra, justly suspicious of his intentions, refused to deliver the treasure to the king's order, and prepared against the consequences by getting ready the cannon, and walling up the gates of the castle. The Prince immediately detached Bickermajeet, his head general, and the greater part of his army to Agra, to effect that by open force which he meant to

have accomplished by surprize. The object, however, was not obtained; for the castle was fortified to hold out against a long siege, and the crisis was too big with important events to admit of such delay; yet, by the plunder of the palaces of some great omrahs in the king's interest, a very considerable sum was carried back to Fettipore. This sum the prudent prince distributed among the soldiers, to animate them to pursue with unabated vigour that greater object to which his hopes aspired. He had gone too far to recede, and success or failure depended on the exertions of the moment.

In the mean time couriers had been dispatched in haste to Jehanguire to acquaint him with these transactions, which threw the whole court into the utmost consternation, as there was but a small force at Lahore; and the Prince, having left Fettipore, was rapidly advancing to give his father battle. Summonses were immediately issued, for all the neighbouring governors to hasten with their troops to the assistance of the emperor; and Mohabet Khan from Cabul, and Khan Jehan from Multan, soon joined the royal army, and made it considerable. The two armies met near Delhi, and a battle was fought, in which Abdollah Khan, and many of the corrupted omrahs deserted to the Prince; but still, by the firmness of Mohabet Khan, and the exertions of Sultan Shehriar, the king's youngest son, victory declared in favour of the imperial army. At one time Shah Jehan's forces had manifestly the advantage, which Bickermajeet observing, rushed forward with a few chosen troops to the very tent of the king, whom they seized; but the guards making an united and desperate effort for his release, rescued him, and the heroic general, with his comrades, was in an instant cut to pieces. The fate of the general being known, contributed greatly to the dispersion of the army he commanded.*

The Prince, undiscouraged by this defeat, resolved to persevere in the course he had begun; and though by the mediation of Khan

* De Laet, p. 248. Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 69; and Herbert, p. 82.

Khanna, an interview soon after took place between father and son at Ajmere, when they were apparently reconciled; yet, on finding his governments were not to be continued to him, he again retired southward to recruit his army, and renew the war. By that authority which he had before exerted, and was now resolved not tamely to surrender, he appointed Abdollah Khan, who had continued faithfully to adhere to his interests, to the government of Guzzurat, vacant by the death of Bickermajeet, and sent him with the new raised army into that province to oppose Azim Khan and Sultan Bolaki, the young and only son of the unfortunate Khosro, who, at the head of the royal forces, were in full march towards Ahmedabad. So secure had Shah Jehan imagined himself of the crown for which he contended, that he had caused a sumptuous throne to be built by the most skilful artificers at that city, on whose erection he had lavished immense sums; adorning it with the choicest jewels, and with a profusion of gold in decorations. On this occasion he exhibited his early taste for that splendour and magnificence which afterwards marked his reign, and chiefly displayed itself in that wonderful production, in which all the riches of the world seemed to be concentered, the famous Peacock Throne. What was meant for the ornament of a triumph, was now converted into the means of his discomfiture, for Shaffi Khan, the king's new appointed governor, broke to pieces that pageant of grandeur, and, with the sum it produced, procured an army of such force as enabled him to defeat Abdollah Khan, without the assistance of the king, and compelled him to retreat to Brampour. *

Jehanguire, after his victory over Shah Jehan, had marched to Ajmere first, and thence to Agra, where Sultan Parvez, his eldest son, greatly incensed at the presumption of his brother, met him with a powerful army, which he was eager to employ for his reduction. The king equally incensed, or rather wrought up to a

* De Laet, p. 254.

pitch of frantic rage at this second revolt, not only permitted, but charged him and the omrahs to go in pursuit of his rebellious son, and bring him bound before him. The Sultan lost no time in executing the commission he so earnestly requested of humbling a haughty brother. The rival sultans came to an engagement at Mando, seventy-five miles to the north of Brampour, and the shock was equal to the implacable hatred they bore each other. Both accomplished wonders in the field, and the event was long doubtful: but in the end Shah Jehan's troops, that were originally much smaller in number than his antagonists, being thinned by great desertions, both of men and commanders, and wearied with the violence of ineffectual exertions, were compelled to retreat. Shah Jehan attempted to make a second stand at the river Nerbudda; but here Khan Khanna himself proved treacherous to this cause, which indeed he never espoused with ardour; while Parvez crossing the stream, pursued him with indefatigable activity, drove his scanty and routed forces before him, and at last fixed his victorious standards on the ramparts of Brampour. Many attempts were afterwards made, both by force and artifice, to secure the person of the prince, but he fortunately escaped; while fugitive and desponding, he wandered far into the territories of Deccan, and found in Malek Amber a more generous enemy than he had himself proved to that monarch in his distress. The emperor, though in that respect disappointed, was filled with joy at the downfall of an enemy who could only rise by the depression of himself, and heaped honours and riches on his son and deliverer.

During these intestine commotions, two formidable foes of a foreign kind, allured by the indolent character of Jehanguire, so contrary to that of his predecessor, appeared in force on the northern frontiers of the empire; for in the first place, the Emperor having suffered himself to be lulled into security by the warm professions of inviolable friendship, so repeatedly tendered to him by Shah

Abbas, had lately kept but a small garrison in the important fortress of Candahar, which offered such a temptation to the Persian monarch, as he was not able to resist. He therefore suddenly brought a large army against it, and Abdalezeez Khan, the governor, having no force capable of making resistance against such a mighty attack, surrendered the fort. In the second place; those numerous tribes of Uzbeks that wandered over the plains of Great Tartary, had long viewed with an envious eye the rich and fertile vales of Hindostan, but the terror of Akber's all-conquering arms deterred them from rushing on the inviting prey. That dreaded object being removed, the khan of that country, once so renowned in history, poured his hardy and rapacious legions over the province of Cabul, and was directing his course towards its capital, when he was met by the son of the valiant and loyal Mohabet Khan the viceroy, who, inheriting the undaunted spirit of his father, with twenty thousand horse attacked an enemy nearly double that number, compelled them to quit the field in irrecoverable disorder, and made a dreadful havock of their choicest troops. The destruction which they meditated for others was thus retaliated on themselves; and the Indian governor returned to Cabul, oppressed with a vast booty, and attended by innumerable captives.

The coolness, the verdure, the beauty of Cashmere, made it ever a desirable retreat for the sultans of Hindostan, and thither this luxurious monarch, dissolved in the soft languor of love, delighted to retire. He used to declare that he would rather part with all his dominions than that single province, and caused the ancient history of its kings to be abridged in Persian; a work which Bernier tells us he was about translating. On the borders of a beautiful and spacious lake, situated to the north of the city of Cashmere, he about this time raised a palace of most elegant construction, adorned with every rarity of art and nature; rich cabinets, splendid vases; whatsoever could charm the eye and delight the fancy.

In one of these distant excursions Shah Jehan, who had been collecting forces in Deccan, crossing those dreary and barbarous regions that border eastward on the mountains of Ballagate and Golconda, made an irruption into Bengal, which he over-run with astonishing speed and success. Ibrahim, the viceroy, a man more influenced by avarice than animated by fortitude, made few exertions to oppose the victorious invader, but flying before him, left the richest cities and the strongest castles at his mercy. His own accumulated wealth was enormous, which Shah Jehan seized, and having by that means greatly increased his army, entered without resistance the capital of Patna. Fortune seemed in this instance to favour him as conspicuously as she had before oppressed him, and he resolved to improve to the utmost the advantages which she threw in his way. After plundering Patna of immense treasures he marched towards Dacca, whence Ibrahim Khan, brother-in-law to the former, but still more wealthy and avaricious, and far more couragious, had issued with a considerable body of horse to check his career. The armies met at Rajamal, and the attack of Ibrahim was so furious and well-conducted, that the prince's forces were on the point of flying, when Abdollah Khan, who lay in ambuscade, seasonably rushing forth from his place of retreat, inspired their drooping courage and sustained their broken ranks. The battle was now renewed with tenfold fury. Ibrahim fought for fame, treasure, and life; each was alike dear to him. Shah Jehan had a stake equally important depending on that day's success. At length the greater part of Ibrahim's troops being slain, and the others not having the same motives with their leader to continue the obstinate contest, left him with about five hundred firm adherents to fight the battle out by themselves. These rushed in a body on the enemy, and after selling their lives as dear as possible, were, to a man, cut to pieces. A detachment was then sent under Darab Shah to take possession of Dacca, where, in the public treasury, as well as in the private

coffers of the governor, an amazing heap of gold and silver coin was found; while Shah Jehan, joined by many neighbouring rajahs, with considerable forces, returned to Patna in triumph. Other detachments were now sent to extort tribute from Benares, Jionpore, and the several cities on or near the Ganges, and Abdollah Khan marching to Allahabad, laid siege to that strong fortress, which was couragiously and perseveringly defended by Rustam Khan, the governor.

Tidings of these successes arriving at Cashmere, considerably abated the unrestrained gaiety that reigned in that delightful recess; but the court were shortly after relieved from their apprehension by the intelligence that Sultan Parvez and Mohabet Khan were advancing with fifty thousand horse to the relief of Allahabad, in addition to whose forces the emperor sent Khan Jehan, governor of Multan, with the northern army. These uniting, formed a force that swept every thing before it. Allahabad was recovered, Patna was retaken, and Shah Jehan, being once more defeated in a general engagement, lost the immense spoil he had collected in even a shorter interval than he had acquired it. He then fled to the frontiers of Golconda, and by the assistance of his steady friend Malek Amber, soon after invested Brampore, which Rostan, whom Parvez had left governor, had newly fortified. As this was his last and only stake, he attacked it with desperate fury, and the place was taken, but lost almost immediately by an unfortunate disagreement between his generals; while Sultan Parvez, approaching with as much speed as an army of such magnitude would permit him to use, compelled him to raise the siege, and think of bending his stubborn mind to obedience. With this view he sent the keys of those important fortresses, Hassera and Rhotas, which had lately submitted to his brother; and to appease the wrath of Jehanguire, on the breaking up of his camp, sent to court a hundred of his finest elephants, with his two sons, Sultan Dara and Sultan Sujah,

then very young, as pledges of his future fidelity. The present was accepted; and the two princes, with their governor Roja Jehan, remained at Agra, where they were treated with respect and affection.

This storm had scarcely blown over when another, raised by the turbulent spirit of the empress Nour Jehan, darkened the political hemisphere. Mohabet Khan, a faithful and active servant of the crown, observing in how imperious a manner that high-spirited woman conducted herself towards the king, and the principal omrahs, had remonstrated with his majesty on the subject, with a boldness justified by his eminent services and distinguished rank. The enraged queen, in revenge, procured his dismission from the army, and his expulsion from the government he enjoyed. Thus undeservedly treated, the disgusted chief leaving Brampour, with his small but faithful army of Rajapouts, retired to Rantimpore, his hereditary domain, (for he was by birth a rajah,) and without meditating any plans of tumult or rebellion, quietly acquiesced in the unjust sentence of his sovereign. But his degradation alone by no means satisfied the arbitrary princess: her sanguinary vengeance demanded the life of the aged veteran. To accomplish his destruction more readily, he was ordered to resign the keys of his castle into the hands of a certain governor, appointed to receive them, and repair himself, attended only by his domestics, to the king at Lahore. The sequel shall be given in the very words of an author of great respectability, often cited by me, and who flourished about the same period. "But Mohabet Khan was no baby, nor would hee "suffer such indignities: and thereupon gathers an army of twenty "thousand horsemen with which hee set upon them (that is, the "Imperial army advancing from Lahore to attack him,) all upon a "sudden, as they were passing over a river, and so amazed their army "that hee tooke the Mogull prisoner, and conveyed him to a tent, "(not, for all the world, purposing any hurt unto him), whom he

" knew to be good, and only abused by Nourmahal, his queene. " Shee in the interim had passed safely over the river, with most " part of the Lescar, or army, which shee immediately put into " battalia, and stood in her owne defence, to expect her mortall " enemy Mohabet Khan, that straight way gave her battaile, slue " most of her men, tooke her prisoner, and commanded her head " off, to satisfie his fury, with her brother's Asoph Khan, who " being wiser of the two, in the skirmish fled amayne to a strong " castle, where he intrenched himselfe till hee had petitioned the " Mogull for his liberty and reconcilement with Mohabet Khan. " Who so soone as the battaile was ended, gave orders to his army " to pursue Asoph Khan, and to behead him; and brought forth " Queene Nourmahal to receive her judgment, but shee got so " much favour from Jehangheer, the olde Mogull her doting hus- " band, that with tears hee beg'd her life, from this his champion, " who though hee knew she would be destruction to him or his, " yet to shew his loyaltie to his master, he released her, and became " friends."* However this friendship was not of long duration. The king shortly after, under a pretence of a hunting match, made his escape from his captor; and Nourmahal, as soon as she was restored to liberty and her former authority, which by her consummate policy she speedily effected, raised an army of fifteen thousand horse which she sent in pursuit of the Khan, who, resenting the black ingratitude of the king, and still determined to oppose the ambitious projects of the empress in favour of her son Sultan Shahriar,† retired to Shah Jehan, who had strongly pressed him to drop animosity and join his party. Thus these inveterate enemies, who had for many years entertained the most implacable hatred against each other, were at length reconciled; and the reconciliation

* Herbert, p. 9; this writer, together with Sir Thomas Roe, and Terry, visited India in this reign, and therefore obtained their information on the spot.

† Sultan Shahriar was the youngest son of Jehanguire, and was married to the daughter of Nourmahal by her former husband.

was more important to the prince, because in the late exigency of his affairs he had been deserted by the former firm supporter of all his measures, Abdol Khan, who, in the belief that his cause was become altogether hopeless, joined the victorious army of Sultan Parvez.

Shah Jehan had temporized; but at the idea of absolute unqualified obedience, the pride of his soul revolted. During the distractions at court he issued with a new raised army from his retreat in Deccan, and began his depredations in a quarter of the empire that had not yet experienced his ravages. With a fixed design to take immediate advantage of any favourable circumstance which those distractions might afford to his ambition, he hurried northward, to be nearer the scene of action, and besieged Tatta. Though unsuccessful in this enterprize, he still kept hovering about that region, impatiently waiting the event of Mohabet Khan's rebellion, till receiving intelligence of the death of Sultan Parvez and Malek Amber about the same time, he hastened back into Deccan, where Jehan Khan had succeeded to the supreme command in Brampoor, while Mirza Alladin, son of Malek Amber, had ascended the throne of his father. The new monarch continued to him the protection and friendship which he had before experienced in Deccan, and they united their forces to desolate the frontiers of their enemies. Rouzed at this insult to his newly acquired authority, Khan Jehan, with a great army of horse and a proud train of elephants, marched into Deccan, where the politic foe retreated before him, till he had advanced into the heart of the kingdom, when surrounding the incautious general, they put many of his troops to the sword, compelled him to submit to the most dishonourable terms, and return covered with confusion and disgrace to the capital of his government.

The death of Sultan Parvez made the deepest impression on the mind of the afflicted emperor; his affection as a son had ever been

alike conspicuous with his loyalty as a subject. He was in all points the exact reverse of the haughty, disobedient, aspiring Shah Jehan, and the distinguished virtues which his early life displayed afforded a happy presage of future glory; but his untimely death for ever destroyed those flattering hopes which the delighted father had indulged, and left him overwhelmed with anguish and despair. The gloom and sadness with which these considerations oppressed him, and the daily intelligence he received of Shah Jehan's open attempts to rend the crown from his aged brow, had such an effect upon him as to shorten his days; nor could all the delights which his favourite recess of Cashmere (whither he now retired), nor the tender assiduities of Nourmahal, dissipate that profound melancholy which soon took the sole possession of his mind. His peculiar malady, an asthma, and the other infirmities incident to age daily increasing, he fell at length the victim of their united violence; and having on his death bed, in the most solemn manner, appointed Sultan Shahriar his successor, to the exclusion of Shah Jehan, and obliged the omrahs of his court to swear fidelity to that prince, this unfortunate monarch expired at Bember, in his way to Lahore, on the 27th of October, 1627, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign.*

The character of Jehanguire exhibits a striking contrast to that of Akber. His former name of Selim, which signifies *peaceful*, was much better suited to this monarch than his latter assumed name of Jehanguire, or the *conqueror of the world.* Indolent, luxurious, effeminate, he possessed no quality that adds splendour to high station, and wasted in his haram those moments which his predecessor devoted to the pursuit of glory and the interests of the empire. By nature not tyrannical or cruel, yet, by the instigation of those about him, and the influence of wine, to which he was immoderately addicted,

* De Laet, India Vera, p. 288. Ferishta, Vol. II. p. 101. Gladwin's Hist. of Jehanguire, p. 91.

he was often hurried into the most despotic and barbarous proceedings, of which Sir Thomas Roe * gives more than one striking instance. His conduct proved him to be governed by wild caprice alone; without wisdom to judge, or spirit to act, but through the medium of others. The consequence was, that his reign was a

* From the latter author, who resided at the court of Jehanguire nearly a year, I had collected a variety of curious facts relating to this monarch, which want of room and more important events compel me to omit; although in his political character, as ambassador from James the First, he must again be mentioned. They will be found in his own Journal, inserted at the end of the first volume of Churchill's Collection. The following anecdote of him, from a publication less generally known, cannot fail of gratifying the reader. It is from those Memoirs written by himself, which form the basis of Mr. Gladwin's History of his Life, p. 93. "In proof of the honesty with which (in those Memoirs), he confesses his foibles, we shall shew in what manner he speaks of his addiction to drunkenness.—He says, that at the age of fifteen, he went along with his father to Attock, against the tribe of Yousef Zai; when, one day, having separated from him on a hunting party, and being exceedingly thirsty and fatigued, Shah Kuly, the commandant of the artillery, told him, that if he would drink a cup of wine, it would completely refresh him. He followed this man's advice, and drank a cup of sweet white wine, which he found so delicious, that from that time he became fond of liquor, and daily increased his dose, till at length the expressed juice of the grape had no effect upon him. Constantly, for nine years, he drank of double distilled spirits, fourteen cups in the day, and six cups at night, which, he says, were altogether equal to six Hindostan seers, or English quarts. At this time he had hardly any appetite, his daily food being a chicken, with a little bread and some radishes. By a continuance in this course, his nerves became so affected, that he was obliged to get somebody to lift the cup to his mouth. He then discovered his case to Hakeem Hemam, one of his father's physicians and intimate companions, who freely told him, that if he persisted in this way six months longer, his disorder would be absolutely incurable. Having a great affection for this friend, and confiding in his medical skill, he gradually lessened the daily quantity, and reduced the strength of the liquor, by diluting it with two parts of wine; and with the help of a small dose of philonium, at the end of seven years, brought himself to be satisfied with six cups daily. For fifteen years he drank at this rate, taking the whole at night: excepting on Thursday, the day of his accession; and Friday, the most holy night in the week with the Mohammedans, when he totally abstained from strong drink."

perpetual scene of anarchy and discord, from domestic dissention and civil commotion;—it is most probable that had he been a wiser prince, or more prudent ruler, Shah Jehan would not have disturbed his quiet; and it is evident Mohabet Khan would not have rebelled. Without piety, or even morality, he wished to be esteemed a prophet; and without knowledge of its principles, affected to revere the religion of Christ; for he not only continued the protection which his father had afforded to the Franks settled at Agra, and the other places of his dominion, but caused the sons of Shah Daniel to be baptized, and educated by the Jesuits. This act, however, is imputed by those who relate it, to political motives. On the whole, he was a singular compound of very opposite qualities; and it is to be imputed to the courage of his generals, rather than to the vigour of his counsels, that the vast dominions which he inherited descended in their original extent to his son.

BOOK V.

IN WHICH THE HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE OF ASIA IS RESUMED, AND THE CONQUESTS AND SETTLEMENTS OF EUROPEAN NATIONS ON THE SHORES OF INDIA ARE DETAILED.

CHAPTER I.

Progress of Asiatic Commerce in the middle Ages.—The Genius of Mohammedism, at first unfriendly to its Interest, in a short Period adopts, and vigorously pursues, the Line of Traffic which it fastidiously rejected.—Character of the Abasside Caliphs.—Its chief Marts, Bassora — Aleppo — Cairo — Alexandria.—The Venetian Merchants establish themselves at Alexandria.—The Genoese engross the Trade of Constantinople.—Inveterate Jealousy, and furious Conflicts at Sea, between those rival States.—Caffa, on the Euxine, seized and fortified by the Genoese.—Florence and Pisa become Rivals, in Opulence and Power to the former.—Rise and Establishment of the celebrated Hanseatic League.—The Portuguese under Vasco de Gama, pass the Cape of Good Hope, and establish themselves at Calicut, on the Coast of Malabar.—Wars with the Samorin.—Alfonso Albuquerque.—Assault and Capture of Goa.—Conquest of Malacca, and the Moluccos,—of Ceylon,—of Ormuz. Death of Albuquerque.—They establish themselves at Macao and Japan.—Degeneracy of the Portuguese, and consequent Decline of their Power in India.

HAVING in the Sixth Volume of the Indian Antiquities,* in a general way, considered the origin and progress of navigation and

* Part II. on the Phœnician and Ancient Greek Commerce.

commerce in the Eastern world, and in a more particular manner as connected with India, one of its most important empires; having also, in the early pages of this History, traced the latter as carried on by the Alexandrian Greeks, the Romans, and the Byzantines,* down nearly to the period of the Emperor Justinian and the birth of Mohammed, I intend to devote this chapter to the further investigation of that important subject, and the history of the EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS on the coasts and Islands of the Indian continent. On so vast a theme, though the limits of my work compel me to be rather concise, yet I trust it will be found to contain the substance of all that is necessary to be recorded in a history *professedly general.* For the gratification of those who require more particular and minute details, many respectable and authentic publications on these subjects have already been given to the world, and may with ease be consulted.

Equally hostile to letters and to commerce was the first dreadful eruption of the superstitious zeal and impetuous valour of the Mohammedan chieftains. The unsocial spirit of that religion for a time disdained all intercourse with the enemies of the Prophet; the gates of their cities were shut against the Christian merchants, and their harbours against their vessels. But when their arms had acquired to them the undisturbed possession of the finest provinces of Asia, and the fury of their zeal had in a great degree subsided; and, in particular, when the immense sources of wealth opened to them by an enlarged commerce with the other kingdoms of Asia and Europe, were gradually and clearly perceived, they became as strenuous advocates as they had previously been opponents to the cause of both. In respect to literature, some of the best Greek authors, translated into Arabic, were studied and admired. Colleges and observatories were every where erected; the genius and erudition of the Christians became respected; and, if all the freedom

* See of this History Vol. I. Chapter ii. p. 46.

and commercial privileges enjoyed by the *faithful* were, from motives of policy, denied them, the dreadful penalties denounced against them by former despots were greatly mitigated, and the chains of their oppression broken. An undiscriminating and sanguinary tyrant, indeed, might occasionally arise, and cause them to feel his iron scourge, but the illustrious dynasty of the Abassides were, in general, distinguished by their candid and liberal conduct to the virtuous, the learned, and the industrious of every faith and nation. In the glorious reign of AL MAMOON particularly, at an early period of the ninth century, a variety of valuable Greek authors, on the subject of mathematics, philosophy, and medicine, appeared in elegant Arabic versions, * their works having been purchased for this express purpose by that liberal and magnificent monarch; and the interests of literature continued for the most part to be holden sacred by his successors in that line, till its extinction.

With respect to the gradual and increasing attention of the Arabians to the promotion of commerce, we have already seen BASSORA, one of the proudest marts of Asia, situated on the great stream, formed by the conflux of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, erected by the sagacious policy of the Caliph Omar, so early as the year of our Lord 636, with a view to monopolize the entire Indian trade, that entered Persia by its celebrated gulf, and was intended to be dispersed partly by those rivers, and partly by the caravans that traded to Aleppo, over that empire, Syria, and the most distant regions of Asia. Of this vast, this lucrative commerce, carried on by the way of that gulf, with India, the Mohammedan traders, first Arabian then Persian, continued the jealous and uninterrupted possessors, till the unexpected appearance in those seas of the Portuguese in the year 1498. The footing gained in the succeeding periods by the Arabian generals in Cambay, Guzzurat, and along

* Vide Al Makin Hist. Saracen. p. 40. Abulfeda, Tom. II. p. 165, et D'Herbelot, article Almamoun.

the banks of the Indus by those generals, who, on national grounds, excluded the navigators of other countries as much as possible from the shores of India, was the cause of their enjoying the traffic so long without a rival. The importation into Persia of the rich produce of Gangetic Hindostan, and China, by the route of Lahore and Candahar, was for a time also wholly engrossed by them; while the Greek and Armenian merchants, who trafficked in that part of India, exiled from the accustomed marts of the south, were compelled, at great increased expence, to procure Indian commodities in far more northern latitudes, and for security, to transport them to Europe by the old circuitous route of the Oxus and the Caspian sea. I have already mentioned this famous route before, and shall repeat it here, as it possibly may not be long before it is revived. Up the Indus, to the country of the Bactrians and the river Icarus, according to Pliny, was a voyage of *seven* days only; the goods were then embarked on the Oxus, which falls into the Caspian; they were then transported across that stormy sea to the mouth of the great river Cyrus (now the *Kur*), whence, in four or five days, they were conveyed by land-carriage to the river Phasis (still called the *Faz*), that falls into the Black Sea in Mingrelia, the ancient COLCHUS. *

As the sentiments and conduct of the Mohammedans towards the Christians grew less rigid, the latter were, in time, again permitted to partake of the advantages of the great inland trade from Agra, by Candahar, to Ispahan; but Bassora and the Persian Gulf still remained in the entire possession of the Arabians. At a far later period than the foundation of Bassora, viz. 968, with equal policy we see the chief of another celebrated Mohammedan dynasty erect in Egypt the great city of CAIRO, or AL KAHIRA, *the victorious*, by which they effectually commanded the whole trade of that empire, consisting also, for the most part, of the rich productions of

* Plinii Nat. Hist. Lib. vi. cap. 17.

exhaustless India. That trade, thus again flourishing in full vigour, and flowing in its ancient channel, marked out by the Ptolemies, must necessarily have passed Cairo to Alexandria, whence it was circulated through the Mediterranean, and over Europe in the vessels of an ingenious and adventurous race, who must presently become the objects of our consideration.

In this manner, partly impelled by the ardour of religious zeal to make converts, and partly by the persevering and undaunted spirit of ambition and avarice, they pursued with unabated activity the projects to which both gave birth in all the neighbouring countries and islands on the Indian seas. They early obtained possession of the important harbour of Diu, in the Gulf of Cambay; on the distant coast of Malacca, and at Sumatra, they were known as merchants, and feared as conquerors; their triumphant fleets had sailed round the Moluccos, with whose princes, especially those of Tidor and Ternate, they entered into a treaty of strict amity and commerce; and, by the Mohammedan travellers of the ninth century, are even said to have secured a settlement in Canton; and to have been dispersed in vast numbers throughout the great empire of China.*

By the adventurous race just mentioned, the Oriental reader will immediately perceive that I mean the VENETIANS, who, on the utter subversion of the Roman power in the west, by the irresistible swarms of barbarians that inundated Italy, by gradual and indefatigable exertions had raised a great state, as it were, from the bosom of the ocean, and whom we find actively engaged, so early as the seventh century, in an extensive traffic with the Eastern world for all its most valuable commodities; nor did their connection and commerce with it entirely cease during the most turbulent periods of the Saracen invasions of Egypt, Persia, and Syria, though the course in which it flowed often varied with the fluctuating

* Ancient Accounts of India and China, p. 167, 168, et seq.

circumstances of the times, and the rapid vicissitude of events. By unremitting perseverance, by alternate fortitude and prudence, but, above all, by incessant efforts to become potent as a naval power, the Venetians gradually became at once useful and formidable to their Mohammedan rivals. Mutual interest and similar maritime pursuits gradually led to the mitigation, at least, if not to the extinction of mutual prejudice. The overflowing warehouses of Alexandria, and the increasing demands for the delicacies and luxuries of India, of the great and voluptuous capitals of Europe, conjointly operated towards the establishment of a firm commercial connection between the jarring sects upon as just and liberal principles as, in their relative situations, could well be expected. In this manner, then, was the commerce with India, under the early Saracen and Mohammedan sovereigns, through Egypt, carried on for a long series of years. The Arabian monopolizers bringing from the Malabar coast to the Egyptian ports of the Red Sea, the silk and cotton manufactures, the precious gems, drugs, and spices of India, where they were purchased by Egyptian factors, who transported them down the Nile to Alexandria, where the Venetian merchants again purchased them at high rates, and became the enriched carriers of them throughout the whole western world. The happy consequences of these vigorous exertions to all the parties concerned should never be forgotten to be impressed by an historian on the minds of a great commercial people: the Alexandrian merchants became the most renowned for wealth upon earth; the Venetians lived with the pomp and splendour of princes; and the annual revenue of the Sultans of Egypt, who encouraged and established this commerce, are stated by Al Makin to have been no less than three hundred millions of crowns of gold! Its present indolent sovereigns, with all their multiplied oppression, can only extort from its toiling sons about three millions.

The holy and ensanguined fury that in the succeeding period of

the crusades armed all Europe against Asia, and in which the State of Venice, then its first maritime power, was compelled to take a principal share, for a time obstructed the channel of this lucrative traffic, and proved the occasion of once more excluding the Christian vessels from the port of Alexandria. No more direct proof of my former assertion, that the Mohammedans *had*, in fact, from interested or other motives, softened the rigour of their despotism towards the Christians can be given, than that, long previous to this period, they had connived at the residence of numerous families of that sect at Jerusalem, and permitted pilgrims journeying thither either for devotion or traffic, in security to visit the Holy Sepulchre. Heavy imposts were undoubtedly levied upon those pilgrims, but still their avarice of Christian gold allowed them not to close the gates of its most venerated sanctuary against the enraptured adorers of a crucified Saviour. About this period, however, A. D. 1096, as we have before intimated, Syria was conquered from the Arabs by the Seljukian Turks, and Sultan Solyman, of that warlike dynasty, having fixed his capital at Nice, in the Lesser Asia, behaved to the Christians settled in Palestine, and especially those resident in Jerusalem, with extreme cruelty. This conduct, so different from that of his predecessors on the Syrian throne, excited the pity and indignation of the pious pilgrims who resorted thither from Europe, and particularly of PETER sirnamed the HERMIT, who, on his return to the West, armed with the reigning Pope's authority, fired with revenge, and rouzed to war, all the princes of Christendom, in that frantic expedition which deprived Europe of a million of souls, and drained it of immense treasures. Into the history of this war it is not necessary for us to enter farther than just to state, that the Venetians amply repaid themselves for the temporary loss of the trade of Alexandria, by the monopoly, for a time, of that of Constantinople, which, by the assistance of their powerful navy, under pretensions not the most just, nor by means the most honourable,

was conquered by the princes of the crusades from the Greek emperor, and remained in their possession for nearly sixty years, that prudent nation having, in the partition of the enormous plunder of the Western Empire, secured to themselves Candia, and other islands in the Archipelago, part of Peloponnesus, and several cities of the Hellespont. On these shores the Venetian merchants, during that period, reigned with the pomp and despotism of sovereign princes. Their numerous and triumphant fleets covered the ocean, and its ports alternately displayed the peaceful flag of commerce and the terrific ensigns of war.

When Constantinople, in 1260, was re-conquered from the Latins by Alexius, the general of Palæologus, vigorously assisted by the Genoese, the jealous rivals and sworn foes of the Venetians, the glory of the latter rapidly declined in that region of Asia, nor could they, by all their exertions ever after recover it to the extent in which they had formerly enjoyed it. By the munificent gratitude of the restored Greek emperor, PERA, the chief suburb of Constantinople, was bestowed upon the Genoese, with appendages of almost princely power; their ships lorded it in the Bay of Constantinople, and they absolutely engrossed the commerce of the Ægean and Ionian seas. Thus circumstanced, in the rapid revolutions of eastern empire, the Venetians, again induced by interest to overcome the strong prejudices of habit and religion, resorted to the ancient channels in which commerce had flowed, and to its principal and still most abundant mart for Indian commodities, Alexandria. There guided by reciprocal interest, from a thorough knowledge of what the Alexandrian commerce had, in preceding ages, produced to the Ptolemies, the Roman, and the Caliphate government of Egypt, the sultans of the military Mamaluc dynasty, as powerful to defend as politic to encourage the revived commerce, gave it all the protection which their absolute authority enabled them to give it; and the re-established traffic between the two nations,

though, on the part of the Venetians, loaded with heavy imposts, even to a third of the value of every article of barter, soon rose to a higher point of profit and celebrity than ever it had before reached. Of this assertion no greater proof can be adduced, than that to be found in Al Makin, that the predecessor of Thomam Bey, the last sultan of that dynasty, was able, on his accession, at once to bestow by way of largess on his soldiers, no less a sum than *ten millions of ducats*. * In consequence, the long-fermenting rancour of both religious and political enmity gradually subsided, and public recorded treaties at length gave their solemn sanction to the forbidden intercourse between the disciples of Christ and of Mohammed.

In the mean time, neither the vast revenue produced by the monopoly of the trade of Constantinople, nor the treasures wafted into her coffers from her lucrative settlements at Smyrna, Chios, and other Greek isles ceded to them by Palæologus, could satisfy the boundless avarice and ambition of the sons of Genoa. That rival republic, which, from an equally humble origin with Venice, had about this time arisen, both as a naval and military power, to an astonishing height of pre-eminence amidst the states of Europe, burned with envy at the unexpected success of their Venetian rivals. Though devoted themselves to an insatiable thirst of gain, yet they affected to despise the temporizing maxims, the base servility of the sordid Venetians, so unworthy the character of Christians, and so degrading to the dignity of an independent nation. Inspired with no less assiduity and zeal than themselves to become a great naval power, their arduous exertions were alike fortunate, and they directed the whole thunder of that navy against their haughty rivals and the determined foes of Christianity. The citizens of Genoa, indeed, seemed to have glowed with as much rancour and vengeance against those of Venice, as against the Saracens. During the progressive advance of each to their present period of power

* Al Makin Hist. Saracen. p. 218, ubi Supra.

and aggrandisement, dreadful were the conflicts maintained on the ocean, during nearly a century, between these potent republics, and terrible the massacres that often took place between them on land. Of these, two remarkable instances may be adduced from history; the one, the dreadful massacre made of the Genoese by the Venetians in the year 1257, at Ptolemais, or Acre, a city taken by the crusaders from the Saracens, where they both had peaceably established their respective factories in different quarters of that great city; but where, from a slight cause, their ancient and smothered animosity broke forth into acts of the most sanguinary ferocity. Victory on this occasion attended the Venetians; a victory recorded on copper-plates fixed into the two columns erected to commemorate it in the square of St. Mark.* The other, that obstinate and bloody contest between the fleets of the two nations that took place in the Adriatic sea in 1298, in which the Venetians lost *eighty-five* out of *ninety-seven* gallies, and beheld with rage and anguish the admiral of Venice and seven thousand seamen taken prisoners. This victory is also commemorated on the part of the Genoese by a great annual festival instituted for that purpose.†

Towards the close of the thirteenth, and through all the fourteenth century, we find the Genoese increasing in wealth and in renown. Not satisfied with the trade of Constantinople, and the Greek dependent islands, they arrogated to themselves an exclusive right to the commerce of the Black Sea. With this view, among other Eastern plunder, they seized upon Caffa, the ancient Theodosia, situated in the country anciently called Chersonesus Taurica, but by the moderns the CRIMEA, a city, for those times, very respectably built and fortified, but which they in a manner re-constructed, adorning it with many sumptuous palaces, surrounding it on the land side with lofty walls, strengthened at intervals with bastions

* See Muratori Rerum Ital. Script. Tom. xxiii, p. 998, et seq.

† Blond Hist. Lib. viii. dec. 2. et Sabellicus, Hist. Rer. Venet. Lib. x. dec. 1.

and towers, stretching far into the sea, enlarging and deepening its capacious port, and erecting on the south side of it a castle impregnable against all the attacks which the rude engineers of that age and of that region could bring against it. Asoph, also, situated at the mouth of the Tanais or Don, the present barrier between the Russian and Turkish empires, was founded by the Genoese, with many others of inferior note. Caffa, however, was, as we may say, their metropolitan city, and long remained in their hands, the most famous emporium on the Euxine for Indian and Tartar commodities, brought thither by way of the Oxus and the Caspian; but, with their other settlements, was finally conquered from them by the Turks in the year 1474; and by Sir John Chardin is stated still to retain many noble vestiges of its ancient grandeur, and no contemptible remains of its ancient commerce. This respectable traveller says, that during a residence of forty days at Caffa, he saw enter and depart that port above four hundred sail of ships, besides innumerable small-craft. *

On the great theatre of Eastern commerce followed the wealthy republic of FLORENCE, whose illustrious princes of the House of Medici are supposed, from that source, to have derived those exhaustless treasures that enabled them to rival kings in state and splendour, and become in an eminent degree the encouragers of rising arts, and the munificent patrons of dawning science. In the mean time her private citizens, by that active zeal and that unwearied industry in every branch of trade and manufacture, especially those of silk and wool, which mark the genuine spirit of commercial enterprize, amassed such amazing fortunes as to become the general factors and bankers of Europe. At every court of it the Venetians and Florentines had their agents; and if great and expensive projects, either connected with war or peace, were engaged in by its ambitious sovereigns, *they* advanced the money for carrying it on,

* Chardin's Travels, p. 69; English folio, edit. 1686.

the national revenues being pledged for their security, and often at exorbitant rates of interest, which rendered them universally detested by their oppressed subjects, who considered these merchants of Lombardy, by which name the Italian states were then generally known, as the worst of usurers. PISA too, the jealous, and often the successful rival of Genoa on the ocean, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was constantly drawing from its connection with the Eastern world, with whose princes in Syria her valiant sons maintained many fierce and bloody conflicts, enormous wealth of every species, which her fleets distributed over the northern parts of Europe, and especially the British isles, with whom she entered into divers commercial treaties still extant in Rymer's Fœdera, and in 1485 was, in return, honoured with the residence of the first consul that ever was sent out of Britain, on mere commercial concerns, to any foreign state.

Next to these, as promoting and diffusing the commerce of the East, should be mentioned that celebrated confederacy known by the name of the HANSEATIC LEAGUE, composed of above seventy of the most considerable trading cities in Europe, united together for mutual security, and the protection of the branches of commerce respectively carried on by them, against piratical and other aggressions. By this politic measure, the north and the south of Europe became bound by one common bond of commercial interest; and a line of rapid communication and defence, was extended from the coast of the Baltic to the banks of the Rhine. Awed by their power, or bribed by their wealth, the great potentates of Europe granted to these favoured cities unprecedented immunities, and they enjoyed almost a freedom from control in the several governments to which they respectively belonged. They for a time held, in a manner, the sovereignty of the ocean, and more than once took so severe a revenge on Denmark, for its opposition, as almost to annihilate her fleet and commerce. In the vast storehouses of Lubeck,

of Bruges, Antwerp, and other great marts, all the curious and costly productions of the Eastern world were treasured up, together with the more substantial and useful articles of merchandize peculiar to the west and the north. Under the same roof were collected the rarities at once of the tropical and polar regions, the ivory of Ethiopia, and the amber of the Baltic; the ore of Britain, and the gems of Golconda; the furs of Siberia, and the muslins of Bengal.

Such, considered in a general point of view, was the commerce carried on by Europe with India, and such the channel in which it flowed previous to that memorable æra, in which the undaunted fortitude of a Gama, impelled by the daring genius and the consummate policy of an Emanuel, opened to her adventurous sons, through the vast Atlantic, a new path to her wealthy shore. This important event, which fills the astonished soul with sublime delight, which enlarged to man the sphere of science, and expanded to his view the limits of nature, took place in A. H. 904, or A. D. 1498. The passage of that stupendous promontory first called the *Cape of Storms*, and afterwards, under more auspicious omens, the *Cape of Good Hope*, having been the theme of many enraptured poets,* historians, and philosophers, need not, any more than the preceding well-known history of events that led to it, in this place be dwelt upon. Suffice it, that taking the most authentic known, and principally native, authors for our guides, we endeavour to present the reader with as correct and ample a detail of their proceedings on its shores, as may be consistent with the plan of this undertaking. In Ferishta's general history, very little notice is taken of the settlements made by Europeans upon the Malabar coast, nor of their battles, however numerous, obstinate, and bloody, with its princes.

* Among these the first in excellence must doubtless be ranked the description of the passage, with the bold allegory of the genius of the Stormy Cape, by the sublime Camoens, so correctly and spiritedly translated by our countryman. See Mickle's Lusiad, Book V. p. 199.

The sound of their cannon was too feeble to reach the distant courts of Delhi and Agra; and while the monarch of Portugal vauntingly styled himself SOVEREIGN OF THE INDIES, his name and his claims were for a long time equally unknown in the capital of that mighty empire.

The voyage from Lisbon to India by Gama was completed in ten months; and the main object of that voyage being to open a commercial intercourse with the natives, he immediately directed his course, with the four ships he commanded, to CALICUT, a city at that time of great commercial celebrity on the coast of Malabar, and situated in the latitude of 11° 18′ north of the equator. At that period Sultan Secunder, the son of Beloli, sate on the throne of Delhi; the inferior sovereign of Calicut bore the name of Samorin, and was one of the race of the Nairs, princes formerly tributary to the king of Bisnagur, who seems to have enjoyed the extensive peninsular empire known to the ancients by the name of the *kingdom of Pandion.* To this sovereign the Portugueze sent a pompous account of the splendour and magnificence of their sovereign; reciting the dangers they had struggled with, and the vast distance they had come to solicit his friendship, and trade with his subjects. At once astonished and flattered, the Samorin received them with kindness and distinction, entered into treaty with them, and permitted them to establish a factory for the purposes of commerce. But stung by disappointed avarice, and urged by religious aversion, the Mohammedans settled in his territories, in a short time set every engine at work to crush the hopes and counteract the designs of their rivals. By repeated suggestions to their prejudice, both the monarch and his subjects became violently incensed, and a project was formed not only for their expulsion but their extermination. By the firm fidelity of a Tunisian Moor, named Monzaida, Gama obtained timely intelligence of this to avoid the meditated blow, and retreating on board the ships, boldly remonstrated by letter with the

Samorin on the cruel impolicy of his conduct, as well as displayed the base falsehood of his calumniators. He proceeded, however, to no acts of hostility, though he could have laid Calicut in ashes; and by this temperate and dignified conduct at once vindicated the honour of his nation, appeased the offended prince, and saved a useful ally. He had, eventually, the additional satisfaction of carrying back to King Emanuel, an amicable and respectful letter from the Samorin, in which he promised his subjects as free and as favoured a commerce in the ports of his kingdom as he could grant, consistently with prior engagements entered into with his Mohammedan allies. Although complete success, in mercantile concerns, had by no means attended this first European voyage to the shores of India, yet the vessels of Gama returned loaded, not only with the choicest productions of Malabar, but also with many of the rarer commodities of the provinces bordering on the Ganges; and these, while they highly gratified the luxurious nobles of the court of Portugal, inflamed the ambition of its youthful monarch, and goaded him on to new schemes of conquest and glory. *

A much stronger force was in consequence prepared with all possible expedition, and dispatched under Capral, the fortunate discoverer in this voyage of the great American continent, and of BRAZIL, that other rich gem in the crown of Portugal. Though this second fleet suffered severely during its passage from a dreadful tempest, yet so respectable was its appearance when arrived on the coast of India, that the Samorin immediately sent messengers to invite the admiral on shore, permitted him to erect the Imperial standard of his sovereign, and assigned him a commodious house for the establishment of a factory, and the deposition of stores. Incidents afterwards arose that rendered the sincerity of the Prince doubtful; and Capral, perhaps on too slight grounds, seized on the shipping in the harbour, in hopes, by that vigorous measure, of intimidating

* De Faria, Portugueze Asia, Tom. I. p. 52.

the Samorin, and preventing the prosecution of those schemes which, he was informed, were secretly forming for his destruction. The consequence however was, that the enraged citizens of Calicut surrounded the factory, burnt the house, plundered the magazines, and massacred all the persons of that nation who were not fortunate enough to effect their retreat on board the ships. Capral, in revenge, after plundering, set fire to the rich ships which he had seized, and pointing his cannon against the town, severely battered the walls and adjacent buildings; he then set sail for the more friendly port of Cochin, situated in latitude 9° 58′, about thirty leagues distant from Calicut. Between the sovereign, or rather rajah, of this kingdom, and the Samorin, considerable causes of dissention had recently sprung up, and a defensive league was formed, in which the neighbouring kings of Coulan and Cananor, who had likewise been injuriously treated by the Samorin, desired to be associated with them. Nothing of immediate consequence resulted from the junction of these princes. Their respective countries, however, producing the richest spices of Malabar, he was enabled to return to Europe with a most valuable cargo; and the three ambassadors of the sovereigns in question, sent with him to solicit the protection of Emanuel, gave unusual splendour to the procession that bore to Lisbon the second tribute from the shores of India. In the voyage homeward the valuable island of Saint Helena was first discovered and taken possession of by the Portugueze. *

A small squadron of four ships prudently sent out by Emanuel, under Don Juan Calleca, before the return of Capral, arrived there in proper time to support the new alliance entered into with the kings of Cochin, Coulan, and Cananor, and to chastise the insolence of the Samorin, who had prepared forty great ships to attack the Portugueze

* Lafitau Histoire des Conquêtes des Portuguais, Tom. I. p. 167, 4to. edit. Paris, 1733. De Faria, Tom. I. p. 62; and Maffæi Hist. Indica, Lib. ii. p. 35, edit. folio, 1589.

fleet on its reaching India, but against which Don Juan immediately directed the whole of his little force, as it lay at anchor in the road of Calicut, and burning some, and sinking others, almost extinguished hope in the mind of that prince. This fleet, however, was immediately followed by one of twenty sail, the largest yet sent out, with a proportionable number of troops under the command of the great Vasco de Gama, who, though advanced in years, at his sovereign's call nobly left the shade of retirement to renew his career of glory on the Indian seas. It was brilliant and decisive; the Samorin was again beaten, new confidence was inspired by it into the friendly princes of Cochin and Cananor, and he returned laden with greater wealth than ever India had yet poured into the harbours of Portugal.

Despairing of success against his enemies by sea, the Samorin, on the departure of Gama for Europe, immediately marched an army of fifty thousand men into the territory of Cochin, demanding of its king the instant surrender of all the Portugueze in his dominions; and threatening, in case of refusal, to burn the city, and desolate the country. Trimumpara, in this exigency, acted with the utmost firmness, and with unshaken fidelity to his new allies; and peremptorily refused to accede to the insolent demand. At the same time he fully expected from the Portuguese admiral, Sodrez, whom Gama had left with six of his stoutest ships to guard the coast, every possible assistance to repel the determined enemy of his nation, in the protection of whom he was hazarding his crown and his life; but that avaricious commander, intent on indulging his favourite passion by making prizes of the rich Mohammedan vessels that navigated those seas, positively refused to land a man from the ships, alledging, that his commission required him to act against the enemy at sea, and not on shore. The rajah was not less astonished than were the deserted Portugueze, at this base and cowardly reply, this utter dereliction of character in a man of his exalted station; but

still he remained resolute in the discharge of a duty prescribed by conscience and by honour; and when the enemy had by treachery gained possession of the immediate pass that led into the town, he retired with them to the more tenable island of Vaipi, determined to share the fate of his friends and allies. The town was burnt by the enraged Samorin, and the inhabitants massacred without mercy. Sodrez, pursuing his projects of avarice, was engulphed, as he merited, in the Red Sea; but the Albuquerques and Soldanna, with a powerful fleet, shortly after arriving at Cochin, liberated the besieged prince, and their countrymen, drove the Samorin's troops from the invaded territories, and re-instated him in pristine splendour. A new city was soon constructed, a nobler palace, and a stronger castle; but the restorers acted not with the disinterested magnanimity of the Indian chief, soliciting as their reward, permission to erect a fortress in Cochin, which they easily obtained, and in erecting, took especial care to build it in such an elevated situation, and of such superior strength, that it not only commanded the royal palace, the castle, and the town, but was absolutely impregnable to any attack that could be made upon it by the military tactics of Indian princes.*

The firm footing and the decided consequence which these events gave the Portugueze on the coast of Malabar, rendered them so truly formidable to its princes, that they were all anxious to share their friendship, or enjoy their protection. Of the petty contests which they waged among each other, they were generally the umpires; though oftener their policy inflamed those contests till the one or the other party, debilitated and exhausted, bowed down to their jurisdiction. The Samorin himself sought peace by negociation, and obtained it on terms highly favourable to the court of Portugal. But between two such mighty powers with such opposite interests, perfect tranquillity could not long be maintained;

* De Faria, Portugueze Asia, Tom. I. p. 72. Maffæi Hist. Indica, p. 41.

the vigilance of Trimumpara again detected the secret projects that menaced the downfal of their power in Cochin, and justly fearful of the consequences, he entreated the Albuquerques to delay the season of their departure for Europe. This, however they refused; but left a very valiant and skilful officer, Edward Pacheco, with three ships and a number of men, so very small, that his defence of Cochin, against the great army almost immediately brought against it by the Samorin, appears like a romance, for by a proper disposition of a few hundred men, according to De Faria, he put fifty thousand of the enemy to flight.* The baffled Samorin had now recourse to a project deeper laid, and of more extensive mischief. By the advice of the sagacious Brahmins, his counsellors, who in their hearts equally detested the Moors and the Christians, as alike invaders of their native country, he determined no longer to waste his own strength by ruinous and ineffectual war, but to set these hostile sects in arms against each other. With this view he sent an ambassador to the Sultan of the Mamelukes, who then governed Egypt, and who already felt a considerable diminution in the public revenue, occasioned by the diversion in a great degree, of the Indian trade from its ancient channel, to implore his powerful assistance in expelling the Portugueze from the Indian seas. By terrible denunciations of his sanguinary vengeance against the whole race of Christians settled in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, by threatening to burn all the churches in those districts, and to raze the foundations of the holy sepulchre itself, that Sultan endeavoured to awe the Pope and king Emanuel into compliance with his demand, that the new course of navigation to India by the Cape, or at least the trade carried on by that route, should be abandoned. Finding those potentates unintimidated by his menaces, he proceeded, with the vigorous assistance of the Venetians, who, sacrificing their religious prejudices at the shrine of avarice and revenge, permitted him to

* De Faria, Tom. I. p. 75.

cut down timber in their forests of Dalmatia, to build a fleet in the Red Sea of twelve large ships, on board of which a formidable body of Mamelukes embarked. This fleet being considerably increased by vessels of war from all the Arabian ports on that sea, the admiral, Mir Hazem, immediately sailed for the coast of Malabar in perfect confidence of victory. *

But a man of elevated rank, of dauntless bravery, of consummate practical skill in arms, and invested with power in India, little inferior to that which the prince who sent him enjoyed in Europe, the celebrated ALMEYDA had reached that coast before him, with an army and fleet proportionably powerful. The hostile fleets came to an action before Diu; and the Portugueze history of this period records no contest more obstinate or bloody, from the military habits of the Mamelukes, and the determined bravery of the Portugueze, who knew that their ALL was at stake in this desperate rencounter, and fought with consonant heroism. Victory of the most complete and brilliant kind crowned their exertions, and left them in future undisputed masters of those seas, from which their rivals would have for ever expelled them. In addition to this victory another signal one was about the same time gained, at the forfeit of his life, by his son Don Lorenzo, over the collected naval force of the Samorin; and thus was a solid basis laid for that towering superstructure of glory and dominion which, in the next viceroyalty, was erected upon it by the immortal ALPHONSO ALBUQUERQUE. †

That most renowned of the Portugueze commanders arrived in India in A. D. 1507, accompanied by Tristam d'Acugna, the marshal of Portugal, with a fleet of seventeen ships, and not less than three thousand troops at his command, to accomplish all those grand projects which had so long occupied the mind of Emanuel,

* Osorius, Lib. IV. p. 110.

† De Faria, Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p. 140, and Lafitau, Hist. des Conquêtes des Portuguais, Vol. II, p. 58.

and which were now deemed ripe for completion. It was not sufficient that the subject ocean bowed to the triumphant flag of Portugal; that flag must fly on the continent; and some more important place than Cochin and Cananor, with an ample and safe port, be secured as a grand depot of arms, and as the capital of a mighty empire. The port of Calicut possessed neither depth nor security, and consequently was not an object to Portugal; but as no permanent empire could be established in Malabar, while that capital and its sovereign retained their present proud pre-eminence on its coast, it was determined, by one decisive blow, to annihilate both. The design was no sooner formed than the attack was made; the city of Calicut being attacked by Albuquerque with impetuous fury by sea and land, was taken and burnt; the fortress, after a vigorous resistance by the garrison, shared the same fate. The attack of the royal palace was assigned to the marshal; and as the palaces of India are built after the manner of castles, that is, with a view to defence as well as grandeur, it cost him much expence of blood, labour, and time, to become master of it. When, at length, it fell into his hands, so immense was the booty found in it, so various and so valuable the species of wealth which it contained, that the impatient soldiers, regardless of order and discipline, rushed forward to ransack and plunder it. While they were thus dispersed through the numerous apartments, and every individual was encumbered with the costly articles of spoil that best pleased his fancy, the discomfited but wary Indians returned in great force to the palace, and in this condition, the conquerors fell their easy prey. In short, they were surrounded, and being utterly unable to defend themselves, were to a man cut to pieces, the brave marshal himself perishing in the undistinguished slaughter. Albuquerque, the instant he received intelligence of their perilous situation, intrepidly advanced at the head of a large body of troops to their assistance; but the increasing and frantic throng severely pressing

upon him, after receiving two dangerous wounds, and a dreadful contusion on the head from the fall of a large stone from an adjacent building, he was compelled to retreat, being with the utmost difficulty, and in a state of insensibility, conveyed on board his ship. The loss of the Portugueze on this fatal occasion consisted of eighty men killed, and three hundred wounded; that of the Samorin of a capital and a fort which never after rose again, the former in equal strength, the latter in rival splendour. *

Albuquerque lingered for some time of his wounds, but at length recovering, formed the important project of an attack on Goa, situated in the centre of the Malabar coast, in the latitude of 15° 28′ 20″, strong by nature, and rendered still stronger by art; with one of the safest, deepest, and most capacious ports in all India. By the seizure of Goa, he knew he should not only obtain possession of one of the finest cities in that part of India, and capable of being made a noble depot of arms, and other military stores; but by that daring act he meant to strike terror into the Mogul governments of the south, who, instigated by the representation of their Indian allies and dependants on the coast, had begun to manifest symptoms of hostility against the new settlers, and particularly the king of Deccan, whose domain bordered nearest upon the frontiers. At that period Bahadur was Sultan of Guzzurat, having, as we have seen in the preceding history, during the distractions of the empire under the Afghan dynasty of Lodi, shaken off the yoke of the Delhi emperors; and the king of Deccan, in whose immediate dominions Goa was situated, according to the Deccan history of Ferishta, † was Mahmud Shah of the Bahmenee dynasty: Mahmud was a weak and debauched prince, and the greatest part of his dominions in Deccan was usurped by his general Adil Shah, called

* De Faria, Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p. 157. Lafitau Hist. des Conquêtes des Portuguais, Vol. II. p. 15.

† See Scott's Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 198, sub. A. H. 916, or A. D. 1510.

by Tavernier and other European travellers Idalcan, a brave and accomplished warrior, worthy to cope with the renowned Albuquerque. Adil Shah was at a distance pursuing his projects of ambition on the continent when Albuquerque commenced his attack upon Goa, which he at length carried after a considerable resistance from the Mohammedan and Indian garrison. When intelligence of this important capture was brought to Adil Shah, sensible of the magnitude of his loss, that chieftain returned at the head of a great army, * and so totally and vigorously invested the place, that the Portugueze governor appointed by Albuquerque, and many others, having been slain in the action, the latter were compelled to retire on board the fleet that blockaded the harbour. Adil Shah having strengthened the fortifications, and greatly increased the garrison, hastened back to oppose the incursions on his frontier, of the king of Narsinga, considering Goa as secure from future impression. But this prince knew not the enemy he had to deal with. Repulse only inflamed the ambition of Albuquerque, who collecting the whole naval and military force of his nation in India, commenced a new and terrible assault on the works that defended the city and port; drove in or cut to pieces the Mussulman guard; and by storm made himself master of the finest city and port of Malabar. The utmost efforts of European skill in mechanics and architecture were now employed to render Goa impregnable. Lofty walls of great thickness, flanked with bastions of the most durable masonry, on every quarter surrounded it. A castle was constructed of immense extent and strength, and innumerable palaces and churches gradually arose to adorn the future metropolis of Portugueze India. †

* An army, according to De Faria, consisting of no less than 60,000 men, of which 5000 were horse. Tom. I. p. 168.

† Du Barros, dec. 2. Lib. x. p. 89. De Faria's Portugueze Asia. Vol. I. p. 172, edit. 8vo. London, 1695. Scott's Dekkan, Vol. I. p. 225. Lafitau, Hist. des Conquêtes des Portuguais, Tom. I. p. 384. edit. 4to. Paris, 1733.

As nearly all the difficulties and disasters with which the Portugueze had to contend in India arose from the perfidy of their Moorish rivals, Albuquerque, now at rest from continental war, from the assailed resolved to become the assailant, and attempt the utter subversion of at least their *commercial* consequence in India.

The three most frequented and celebrated ports which the Mohammedan merchants at that time possessed in the East were, ADEN on the coast of Arabia, ORMUS in the Persian Gulf, and MALACCA, the capital of Malay. From these great emporia he had long since, in compliance with king Emanuel's wishes, formed the bold design of driving them, and immediately proceeded to put that design in execution. Particular motives of friendship led him to commence the meditated attack upon the last of those places.

Malacca is situated in latitude 2° 12′ north, and the long tract of country, forming a vast peninsula nearly 560 miles in length, and from 60 to 150 in breadth, of which it is the capital, is joined towards its northern extremity to the southern confines of the kingdom of Siam. On every other side it is surrounded by the sea, and gives its name to the celebrated straits that divide it from Sumatra, to whose shores in all probability it was anciently united. Though situated so near the scorching line, Malacca is represented by travellers as a country almost paradisaical; refreshed with perpetual breezes from the sea, that allay the tropical fervor; the soil watered by innumerable streams, covered with odoriferous woods, and at the same time producing the loveliest flowers, blooming in succession the whole year round. From its central situation between India and China, as well as from the spice isles being in its immediate neighbourhood, Malacca had about this time become one of the most renowned cities of the East, and merchants from all the neighbouring coasts, the richest in the world, resorted in crowds to its splendid and overflowing mart. The Portugueze had two years before appeared there in the humbler capacity of merchants;

but Mahmud, the reigning prince of the country, and, from his name, a Mohammedan, having been inflamed against them by the calumnies of the Moorish traders, who dreaded the progress making in Asia by their European rivals, had acted perfidiously towards them, imprisoning some, and putting others to a cruel death, while SEQUEIRA, the Admiral, could with great difficulty, and by burning one out of five vessels which he commanded in the harbour, secure a safe retreat for himself and the remaining Portugueze. It was under colour of revenging this insult, and of rescuing the prisoners still retained in bondage in Malacca, that Albuquerque commenced this expedition against its sovereign.

The force which he now brought against it consisted of nineteen ships of war, and fourteen hundred troops, of which only eight hundred were Portugueze, a force apparently very disproportionate to the object, if what De Faria asserts may be credited, that, recently, the king of Siam had ineffectually sent against its sovereign an army of no less than 40,000 men. * To his demand of the immediate release of the prisoners, some of whom were of rank, and in the number of his friends, an evasive answer being returned, he immediately made a furious attack upon the city by sea and land, and the Malays having expected that attack, and being previously prepared, for some time with great resolution and vigour repelled it. But in vain did Eastern valour, though urged by despair, contend against European fortitude and science united; the city being set on fire, and the palace stormed, victory declared for the assailants, and the enormous spoil of that wealthy city fell into their hands. Of this wealth some estimate may be formed from the portion, a clear fifth, reserved for the king, which amounted to two hundred thousand pieces of gold. Albuquerque, having massacred or driven out all the Moorish inhabitants, repeopled the city with native Malays, and erected a fort of great strength, as well as

* De Faria, Tom. I. p. 176.

singular beauty, from which latter circumstance he gave it the name of FORMOSA. *

The subjugation of Malacca alone, without the additional conquest of the celebrated adjoining islands, called the MOLUCCAS, could by no means satisfy the expanding ambition of Albuquerque. These islands, supposed to be of volcanic origin and greatly varying in their dimensions, verge upon the equinoctial, are about ten in number, are included within the compass of twenty-five leagues, and governed by their particular native princes, but are *all* subject to the more potent sovereigns of TERNATE and TIDORE. Their principal productions are, the cocoa-nut, sago, cloves, mace, and nutmegs, and these precious commodities have, from early ages, allured to their dangerous coasts, abounding with sands and shoals, the great commercial nations that lie near them; the Chinese, the Javans, the Malayans, and the Moors, having successively erected on them their victorious standards. Some of the bravest and most skilful captains of the fleet were immediately dispatched on an expedition of such high national consequence, and were completely successful in respect to the more important of those islands; having obtained permission to build a fort in Ternate, the principal, which they as usual, constructed of such strength as enabled them to keep in awe and subjection both the native government and the Mohammedan settlers. †

During the period of Albuquerque's prosecuting these schemes of ambition and glory at Malacca, Goa was assaulted by a formidable army sent by Adil Khan (or Idalcan,) to recover that capital of Portugueze India from its new masters. De Faria states ‡ the

* Lafitau Hist. des Conquêtes des Portuguais, Tom. I. p. 420; and De Faria, Vol. I. p. 181.

† De Faria, Tom. I. p. 182. Lafitau Histoire, Tom. II. p. 179.

‡ De Faria, Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p. 188.

number of the besieging army at this time as 20,000 men, and the besieged Portugueze as only 1000. On this intelligence he immediately embarked, and leaving his lieutenants to extend and consolidate the conquests in the Archipelago, with all the force that could be spared sailed for the continent. The vessel, on board of which he was, striking on a rock, he very nearly escaped being cast away, but, at length, with the loss of all the vast treasures of Malacca, he arrived safe at Cochin, whence he dispatched eight ships, laden with troops and provisions, to the relief of Goa, and shortly after followed himself, with a fleet of thirteen more newly arrived from Europe, and bearing eighteen hundred fresh troops. Having by drafts from the other settlements increased this number to four thousand strong, he commenced a furious attack on the city by sea and land, exposing his person to the hottest fire of the enemy; and so irresistable proved that attack, the Moorish commander was quickly compelled to surrender, on conditions dictated by the conqueror. The fame of this gallant exploit spread rapidly over the whole Indian coast, and struck its princes with such terror that the most powerful of them, but the Samorin, and Adil Khan in particular, sent ambassadors to solicit his friendship and alliance.

Even the distant sovereign of Ethiopia hearing of his renown, is said to have sent ambassadors to Goa to congratulate him on his victories; and by their means, in his rage against the soldan of Egypt, he endeavoured to persuade their master to undertake the boldest enterprize ever conceived by the mind of man, that of turning the course of the great river Nile, by cutting a passage for its waters into the Arabian Gulf, before its entrance into Egypt, an enterprize which, if accomplished, would have effectually prevented the dreaded revival of the old trade so long carried on by the Moors, by the route of Alexandria, but which, at the same time, would have

depopulated that fine country, and rendered the greatest part of it a desert. *

An interval of peace now allowed him to prosecute another of his favourite objects hinted at above, an attack upon the city of ADEN at the entrance of the Red Sea. Against that celebrated city, then under the government of an Arabian Prince, without mentioning the object in view, he fitted out twenty strong ships, containing seventeen hundred Portugueze, and eight hundred Malabars. On their arrival before Aden, they found the place far more strongly fortified both by nature and art than had been represented to them. Nevertheless the scaling ladders were instantly applied to the lofty walls, and, eager of glory, the valiant Portugueze in multitudes ascended them. A considerable party quickly gained the summit, but others crowding after them with too much ardour, and in too great numbers, the ladders broke, and in consequence, those on the top were left exposed to the full fury of an enraged enemy. A retreat was therefore ordered, and of the broken ladders one ampler and more solid was constructed for their descent, which after an engagement of four hours, and suffering very material loss in slain and wounded, they at length effected. Albuquerque, yielding to the advice of his captains, for the present relinquished the attempt, and having taken a fortress that guarded the entrance of the port, in which were found ninety-seven pieces of cannon of large calibre, having also first plundered, and then burnt all the shipping in the harbour, they sailed out of it on the fourth day from their arrival towards the mouth of the Red Sea, on which they spread their sails with great delight and triumph, being the first Portugueze vessels that ever ventured upon that dangerous navigation. Their joy was considerably increased by the capture in that

* It is Lafitau to whom I am indebted for this anecdote of the daring genius of Albuquerque (Tom. II. p. 81); but he adds: "Mais on assure que ce projet est "absolument impossible dans son execution."

sea, of several rich ships belonging to the Sultan of Cairo; but being compelled to winter at Comaran, an island near its entrance,* they suffered severely from famine, and were gradually reduced in their numbers. When the season permitted, Albuquerque put to sea, and again appeared before Aden; but he found the fortifications of that city had been repaired, and that a successful attack could not be made without a more powerful force than he now commanded. After some discharges of artillery, and seizing and burning such Mohammedan ships as were in the harbour, he sailed for India, the more proper field of his glory. †

If, however, complete success did not crown this expedition to Aden, and the Arabian Gulf, the Portuguese enjoyed in MASKAT, on the shore of the Happy Arabia, and in the territory of Omman, a very excellent port, and a very thriving emporium, gained some years before, after a very desperate conflict by this very general. The ample protection which their decided superiority in arms enabled them to give to the Asiatic and European merchants established at Maskat, together with the advantages derived from its situation in the Persian Gulf, that caused the wealth of the three Arabias, of Persia, and of India, to flow into it in one collective stream, rendered Maskat at that time the grand rendezvous of all who were anxious to obtain wealth, or who wished to enjoy it in safety when obtained. It continued to maintain this envied pre-eminence till nearly the middle of the seventeenth century, when,

* Comaran, called Camaran by De Faria and Maffæus, now become so barren and obscure a place, as scarcely to be known to navigators, yet according to the latter author was then a flourishing island, abounding with springs and flocks of cattle. Ad Camaranam insulam intra fauces Erythræas cum universa classe provehitur. Locus haud inamœnus est, perennibus aquis et pecorum armentis abundat: ad hæc, ingentes ædificiorum ruinæ, celebrem olim tectis et opibus fuisse testantur. Lib. V. p. 101. B.

† De Faria, Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p. 193; and Maffæi Hist. Ind. Lib. V. p. 181, edit. fol. 1589.

in consequence of their tyranny, the Portugueze were, in a general insurrection of the inhabitants incited by a Banyan, expelled, never more to return.

There remained but one more decisive blow to be struck by the Portugueze, to annihilate in a manner the trade of their Mohammedan rivals in the East, and concentrate it in themselves. The island of Ormus, situated at the entrance of the gulph of Persia, in latitude 20° 30′, had long been governed by a dynasty of princes of Arabian original, rich, powerful, and respected. As the island itself was a mere rock of salt, and derived its wealth and splendour entirely from the commerce, which, from its central situation, it was enabled to carry on in such an extensive degree with India, Egypt, Persia, and Arabia, its kings wisely encouraged a general ardour for trade among their subjects, and solicited a commercial intercourse with all nations. The port of Ormus was consequently crouded with ships from every quarter of the world; merchants from the most distant climates flocked to its exchange, as to the general rendezvous of all traffic; and thus by degrees it rose to a point of eminence in fame and opulence unrivalled by the capitals of the greatest empires.

We read with astonishment in the Portugueze historians to what a pitch luxury of every species had arrived in this wealthy Asiatic mart, while that commerce flourished, especially at the trading seasons of the year, when the wealth of East and West was profusely poured out into her bosom, and the whole city exhibited one immense fair. The scorching rays of a vertical sun were excluded by vast awnings of canvas suspended above the lofty roofs of the houses; the hot and arid soil was covered with rich carpets; and the fronts of the houses and balconies were hung with tapestry of the finest texture and the loveliest dies. Rich Indian cabinets, filled with the choicest productions of that envied country, the growth of her mines and the labour of her looms; the finest porcelain of

China, the pearls of Omman, the gems of Pegu; in short, whatever magnificent or beautiful nature had formed, or art had fabricated, met the astonished eye in every direction; odours from the sweetest shrubs, disposed in gilded vases, cheered the exhausted sense; concerts of the most delicious music charmed the delighted ear; and the wines of Shiraz flowing in profusion, smoothed the austere brow, and expanded the exulting heart of the relaxing Mussulman. *

Ever watchful over the interests of his master, and determined, if possible, to exterminate every source of Mohammedan consequence in those seas, Albuquerque had long resolved to reduce the happy kingdom of Ormus, and its dependencies, to the condition of a province of the vast empire which he had been the principal means of raising and consolidating in India. Previously to his own appointment of General of the Indies, and when acting only in a subornate capacity, in A. D. 1507, under the viceroy Tristran D'Acugna, he had made some vigorous efforts to subdue that island; had undauntedly cast anchor in its very haven with only *seven* ships, in the midst of *four hundred* of the enemy; and on the refusal of the government to acknowledge king Emanuel for their lord, and to pay an annual tribute, had battered the city with his cannon, and fired the ships in the harbour and arsenal. The Prince then reigning was an infant only twelve years old, and entirely under the direction of his guardian and minister, Coja Atar, a man of deep cunning, but small experience, who at last consented both to pay tribute, and to permit the Portugueze to build a citadel on the island. When the citadel, however, was half built, Atar found means to corrupt the officers superintending the work by presents of very considerable value, and to excite mutiny among the soldiers employed in it. Under these circumstances an attack was successfully made by the army of the prince, and the half-built fort, as well as the island

* Maffæi Hist. Indica, p. 212. Du Barros Decad. 3. lib. 10.

itself, was obliged to be abandoned, while Albuquerque himself, being basely deserted by three of his captains, was deprived, for the present, of an opportunity of completing the conquest.*

Albuquerque having been foiled in his first efforts to become master of Ormus, took the wisest precautions against the possibility of a second failure. The whole disposeable force of his nation in India attended him on this important expedition. In haughty terms he demanded of its sovereign, TURAN SHAH, a weak and effeminate prince, solely guided by the artful counsels of the ministers that surrounded him, immediate possession of the citadel, the establishment of Portugueze factories on the island, and the acknowledgment in future of the absolute dependence of his kingdom on the crown of Portugal. If these conditions were not immediately complied with, he threatened to lay the capital in ruins, and make that flourishing island one scene of desolation. Terrified at the dreadful menace, and at the formidable force ready to carry it into immediate execution, Turan Shah hesitated not to obey the peremptory mandate. In vain did those ministers who at the time enjoyed that unlimited sway in Ormus to which Albuquerque aspired, in vain did they remonstrate against this unqualified surrender to a foreign foe of his rights as a sovereign, and his liberty as a man. His terrors prevailed over every other consideration; the keys both of the castle and the palace were tamely yielded up to the invader, and the flag of Portugal was soon perceived flying on the citadel of Ormus. Its palaces were converted into factories for the new settlers, and all the warlike stores and artillery of the place not necessary for its immediate defence, were for security deposited on board the fleet, and conveyed to Goa. His relation, Pedro d'Albuquerque, was appointed governor; and shortly after, on the discovery of a conspiracy, imagined or real, the offending ministers were put to

* De Faria's Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p. 132.

death, and fifteen princes of the blood were seized, and condemned to pass their lives in dungeons on a foreign shore. *

The preceding is a concise but authentic sketch of the feats of the great Alphonso Albuquerque, the history of whose viceroyalty may be truly called the history of Portugueze glory in India. His vigorous counsels and daring genius laid the firm foundation of that mighty fabric of empire which for so many ages filled Asia with awe, and Europe with astonishment. There is no necessity for our pursuing in regular series the history of his successors; the leading events that distinguished their often very transient reigns must suffice, that we may be able to be more diffuse when we come to record the actions on its shores of our brave countrymen.

A settlement first attempted in 1506 by LAWRENCE D'ALMEYDA, was about this time firmly established at Columbo, on the fertile and beautiful island of Ceylon, the sovereign of which was induced by the terror of a formidable fleet and army, commanded by the new viceroy Lopez Saurez in person, to compound for his kingdom by acknowledging himself a subject of Portugul, and by paying an annual tribute, which, according to De Faria, consisted of "twelve hundred quintals of cinnamon, twelve superb rings set with rubies and saphires, and six elephants." † At a later period, DIU, situated in latitude 22° 20′, on an island of the same name, at the entrance of the gulf of Cambay, and, not improperly, by some writers, denominated the Key of India, at that period a large, beautiful, and strongly fortified city, subject to Bahadur, the sovereign of Guzzurat, with one of the finest and most frequented ports in India, was subjected to the control of the Portugueze, by the usual mode practised by their commander, when open hostilities were not declared, of assisting the prince against his enemies, and in return

* Lafitau, Hist. des Conquêtes des Portuguais, Tom. I. p. 514.

† Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p. 219.

demanding permission to establish a factory and erect a fortress in his capital. This assistance, we have seen in a former page,* was afforded to Bahadur by the Portugueze in his war with the Emperor Humaioon; but Bahadur soon repenting of his generosity towards his allies, attacked them in that fort, and failing in his attack, called in to his aid the forces of the Samorin, and other Malabar princes. Before that aid however arrived, he was betrayed by a stratagem into the hands of his enemies, and endeavouring to escape, perished in the ocean in the manner described in a plate of Lafitau, that gives a view of the fort and city of Diu.† It was soon afterwards besieged by Solyman, Basha of Egypt, who came against it with twenty thousand men, to revenge the death of Sultan Bahadur; but this great army, together with a fleet of proportionate force, was utterly defeated by the persevering bravery of the garrison, under the celebrated Silveira; and this victory, obtained by a handful of men over so mighty a host, is among the proudest recorded feats of Portugueze glory in India. Bassain, in the district of Baglana, was taken by D'Acugna in A. D. 1555, and by that viceroy formed into a place of great strength. In time it became a considerable city, and was one of the latest in possession of the Portugueze. Daman too, in latitude 21°, and Chaul in that of 18° 30', under their auspices, rose to great eminence; and the former could boast a citadel absolutely impregnable, as Aurengzeb afterwards experienced, to the tactics of Asiatic warfare. In Bombay they enjoyed another excellent harbour, in which since the year 1661, the flag of England has securely and triumphantly waved. In Onor they enjoyed the monopoly of the finest pepper produced in India. It would be an endless task to enumerate all the places in this part of India whose capture contributed to gratify their pride as conquerors, or glut their avarice as merchants. The land and the sea alike

* See of this Volume, p. 152.

† See Lafitau, Tom. II. p. 264; with the engraving annexed.

obeyed them; they reigned undisputed masters of the whole coast from the Indus to Ceylon.

Sailing round the extremity of that island, they soon began to form settlements on the coasts of Coromandel; at Negapatam, in latitude 10° 46′, then an indifferent, ill-constructed town, but which they soon transformed into a city of great extent and magnificence, they fixed their first station. Their second was at Meliapour, in latitude 13° 5′, that famed city of the great Apostle of the Indies, St. Thomas, who, their writers affirm, was buried here, and whose sepulchre its inhabitants affect to shew on the summit of a neighbouring mountain. Both the influence of religion, and motives of commerce, combined to make them exhaust their Indian treasury, in the construction at this place of a city intended for their future capital in Coromandel, and which, for the sumptuousness and grandeur of its public buildings, its churches, its colleges, and its castle, had in fact no rival except their metropolis in Malabar. Of this vast city, indeed, as well as of many others above enumerated, scarce any vestiges now remain; our greater capital of Fort Saint George, or Madras, from which it is distant only ten miles, having been chiefly built, it is said, out of its magnificent ruins; but history has recorded the fact, and the pencil and the graver have consecrated the monuments of their glory to the latest posterity. Masulipatam, situated in latitude 16° 8′ 30″, near the mouth of the Kistna river, was the third and last of their settlements on this coast; it was inferior in magnitude and importance to the two others, and the climate and water are said to be unwholesome; the former from its great heats, and the latter from its brackishness; yet it is spoken of by travellers of the seventeenth century as being populous, and as driving a great trade in chintzes, dyed calicoes, and diamonds from the neighbouring mines of Golconda. *

* Thevenot's Travels, Part III. p. 105; edit. folio 1688; and Fryer's Travels, p. 35; edit. folio, 1698.

From their settlements on this coast to their still greater capital of Malacca, the voyage was short, and the intercourse between them was consequently vigorously kept up. To the latter emporium ships from China had frequently resorted, from the captains of which, the first authentic intelligence was obtained concerning the extent, the riches, and grandeur of that vast empire. This was faithfully transmitted to the court of Portugal; and it was immediately determined to send an ambassador to solicit the alliance of the Chinese emperor, and permission to trade in the ports of his kingdom. A squadron of eight ships was fitted out, laden with articles of the most costly European merchandize, and the command of it bestowed on Ferdinand Andrada, who arrived safely at Canton, and both himself and Perez, the envoy, were received with kindness and distinction. Disputes, however, unhappily arising between the Portuguese and Chinese merchants, and the former behaving with extreme insolence and outrage to the latter, the ambassador was thrown into chains, and hurried away to a dungeon, while Andrada was obliged to fly disgracefully back for safety to Malacca. Thus matters remained for many years, when accident accomplished what design was unable to effect. A certain pirate having become very formidable on the sea that washes China, had committed great ravages on its coasts, had laid siege to Canton, and seized upon the island of Macao, which he fortified. Unable by all their exertions to crush the daring marauder, they called in the more powerful fleet of Portugal to their aid: the Portugueze readily obeyed the summons, raised the siege, retook Macao, and drove the piratical adventurer to such extremities, that in despair he slew himself. The essential service which they had thus rendered the empire, being faithfully reported to the Chinese monarch, he in gratitude bestowed Macao upon them, with permission to form a settlement upon that island, and carry on trade with his subjects upon the most favoured terms. The little island of Macao was immediately fortified by

them in the strongest manner, and became in a short time one of the most celebrated marts of Asia; as from hence they were enabled to establish a vast and lucrative commerce with the rich islands that form the extensive empire of Japan, islands fortunately first discovered by some navigators of that nation about the year 1540, but from which they were as unfortunately and for ever expelled, for interfering with the politics of its government about a century after. *

I might have enlarged upon the extensive commercial intercourse kept up from their settlements in those islands of the Indian Archipelago, in which their valour had procured them a firm establishment and almost imperial sway, with those in which they were not so fortunate, as the great isles of Sumatra, of Java, of Borneo, of Celebes, with whose costly productions their annual fleets were loaded. I may also be condemned for not having entered into historical details concerning their numerous and important settlements, gained at the expence of so much blood on the African coast, as Sofala, Mombaza, Mozambique, and others; but as they had no territorial possession in the former, and as the latter did not properly constitute a part of their Indian empire, I conceived it unnecessary to swell these pages with matter not immediately relevant, nor particularly illustrative of the subject before us.

And now having conducted the reader thus far in the history of the mercantile concerns of the Portugueze with Asia, I conceive it important to bring before his view the following passage from De Faria, which will serve as a rapid but tolerably correct summary of what has been submitted to him in the preceding pages, on the subject. "Previous to these discoveries," says the Portugueze author, "spices were brought to Europe with vast trouble and cost. The clove of Molucca, the nutmeg and mace of Banda, the sandal of Timor, the camphor of Borneo, the gold and silver of Luconia,

* Maffæi Hist. Indica, Lib. 6. cap. 5.

and all the other species of wealth, drugs, spices, perfumes, and curiosities of China, Java, Siam, and other eastern kingdoms were carried to the market of the city of Malacca, seated in the Golden Chersonese, whence the inhabitants of all the western countries as far as the Red Sea brought them, carrying on this traffic by way of barter, money being of less value than the commodities imported. It was this trade that enriched the cities of Calicut, Cambaya, Ormus, and Aden; the merchants adding to the articles brought from Malacca, the rubies of Pegu, the stuffs of Bengal, the pearls of Kilkare, the diamonds of Narsinga, the cinnamon and richer rubies of Ceylon, and the pepper, ginger, and other spices produced on the coast of Malabar. From Ormus they were conveyed to Europe up the Persian Gulf, by the way of Bassora, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and thence distributed in caravans through Armenia, Trebisond, Tartary, Aleppo, and Damascus; and then at the port of Baruth upon the Mediterranean, the Venetians, Genoese, and Catalonians, loaded their vessels with them to their respective countries. Those that came up the Red Sea were landed at Toro and Suez, towns at the bottom of that gulf, thence they were transported in caravans to Grand Cairo, and down the Nile to Alexandria, whence they were shipped off to Europe." *

Such was the vast empire established by this bold and enterprising nation in the course of little more than fifty years, on the coasts and islands of the two great continents of Africa and Asia; an empire which, by its very magnitude, and the distance and number of the settlements of which it was composed, had the latent seeds of dissolution deeply implanted in its own bosom. Every settlement had its governor, whose interests were not always in perfect unison with those of the state; and though all were nominally subject to the supreme head, THE VICEROY AT GOA, yet it cannot be supposed, from the many leagues that separated most of

* De Faria's Portugueze Asia, Vol. I. p. 82.

them, that justice was always impartially administered, or abuses rigidly restrained. The misfortune was, that the viceroys themselves, whose term of government was limited to three years, but who were often recalled in a much shorter period, were in general too busily employed in those peculations which were to enrich and aggrandize their families at home, minutely to attend to the complaints made against the venality and rapacity of the inferior governors. Many of them, doubtless, like the great Albuquerque, and the virtuous De Castro, passed uncontaminated in fame through the fiery ordeal; but in most of their successors, the passions of avarice and ambition were too powerfully at work to allow of their being celebrated for rectitude of principle, integrity of conduct, or generosity of character. The ardent and active valour of their forefathers, by which one hundred princes of India and its appendages were rendered the tributary vassals of the crown of Portugal, became gradually exchanged for the inglorious indolence and effeminate softness of Asia. No longer able, by energy of counsel, or vigour of conduct, to inspire the conquered nations with esteem, to command respect from the virtuous, or excite terror in the criminal, they had recourse for the support of their power, to the arts of the robber and the assassin, and the dagger and the bowl were alternately employed in the destruction of their enemies. There was also another secret and dreadful engine which they frequently employed to awe the refractory, the fangs of a bloody inquisition, for a time more severe and terrible in its proceedings, than perhaps in any other city of the papal world. Its dungeons were crowded with the miserable victims of despotism, who there pined away their existence in darkness and sorrow, while their pampered tyrants were banqueting on their plundered property, or gratifying at their expence their insatiable lusts; and revelling in the charms of all they held dear or sacred on earth.

While, indeed, the illustrious Emanuel lived, no efforts were

wanting to sustain in its full vigour that mighty scheme of empire which his policy had planned, and which all his wisdom and all his power were united to consolidate. He enjoyed the uncommon felicity to have his life prolonged to that period, (though little beyond its prime, for he deceased at 53,) as to see whatever he had so boldly projected concerning India arrive at its full maturity, under the series of distinguished admirals and generals whom he had selected, equally for their talents and their bravery, to preside at the helm of affairs in Asia. The strenuous exertions which he made to carry into effect his vast designs, had in their prosecution often occasioned him considerable difficulties, since, to so small a kingdom as Portugal, the annual expence both of men and money was very great, and frequently, in the more early periods of the conquests in Asia, after the sailing of a new fleet for India, the national treasury was left in a very exhausted state; but the penetrating eye of Emanuel pierced through the dark impending cloud of the moment, and saw in the distant eastern horizon, a sky serene and cloudless. He had sown cautiously and wisely the seeds of future glory and advantage, and he ultimately saw them ripen into a plentiful harvest.

On the death of Emanuel, which occurred in 1521, no relaxation of vigour or discipline took place; his successor, John the Third, anxious to fulfil all the maxims of his wise progenitor, regularly dispatched to India, at the proper season, fleets not only adequate to all the purposes of necessary hostility, but also of the most enlarged commerce, on the coasts and islands of Asia. Many of the commanders also sent by him were men of inflexible virtue and the most shining abilities, who maintained the ancient renown of their country, and added new trophies to those acquired by preceding heroes. During the following reign of that infuriate bigot Sebastian, the Portugueze empire in India fell under the worst of all tyrannies, that of superstition; its palaces were filled with monks;

in every city the Jesuits erected the bloody banner of their order; the honours and rewards of the state were lavished solely at the capricious smile of those artful fanatics; and that system of religious terror and coercion was established, which for so many ages rendered their name the abhorrence and execration of the Indians. A cardinal and archbishop, in Don Henry, uncle to the last prince, succeeding to the crown, no alteration in the system of governing could well be expected to take place; and venality and superstition, seated aloft on the same gorgeous and guilty throne, still continued jointly to sway the sceptre of the Indies.

The same causes operated, with nearly as fatal effects, in Europe as in Asia, and contributed materially to the subjection of Portugal to the Spanish yoke, which took place after the short and inglorious reign of Henry in A. D. 1580. During this disastrous period of nearly sixty years, while Philip and his four successors of the royal line of Spain, anxious to reduce Portugal to the abject condition of one of its provinces, did all they could to break the haughty spirit of her nobles, and quench the fire of that valour and enterprize which had made her sons at once so formidable and so affluent; while in that hope they daily plundered her overflowing treasury, neglected to protect her commerce, the great source of her wealth and independence, and left her coasts and harbours exposed to the outrage of the Barbary corsairs, and the more fatal depredations of their English and Dutch rivals: during all this interval their power and influence in India kept gradually declining; Ormus was seized upon by the Persians; and they lost their valuable settlements in Ceylon, which, together with the great capital of Malacca, and most of the Molucca islands, were wrested from them by their jealous and insidious foes, the DUTCH. Instead of eighteen or twenty ships that were accustomed annually to be sent to India, for the purposes of sustaining their military and commercial establishments, only five or six were now dispatched thither, and those often in no

condition either to defend the one or support the other. * On the reduced produce of that trade also, the most burthensome taxes were laid; and while a proud and pampered nobility and priesthood revelled in more than Asiatic luxury, the inferior classes in both governments struggled under the severest pressures of abject poverty and misery.

When at length, under the brave and virtuous Duke of Braganza, that insulted nation rose as one man, and broke from the yoke of their proud oppressors, although some vigorous efforts were occasionally made by himself and his descendants on the re-erected throne of Portugal, to recover their consequence in the East, and revive their declining commerce, yet the perpetual war in which they were engaged with Spain, and the other powers of Europe, rendered those efforts wholly ineffectual. Neither ships nor men were to be procured in numbers proportionate to resist the encroachments of their Dutch and English rivals, who, as in the ensuing chapter will be amply set forth, were pouring their victorious legions over the coasts and islands of Asia, and every where erecting their standards over the humbled flag of Portugal. Baffled and degraded in India, her sons, in whom the spirit of mercantile adventure was not yet wholly extinguished, now directed their views and their speculations towards the less distant shores of Southern America, and in the rich territory of Brazil, in the gold and diamonds, and other costly produce of that country, found no mean compensation for the losses they sustained in the East; and even on that coast boasted a richer India. † There the sun of their glory was for ever

* The average number latterly was about five ships; see a regular list of all that successively sailed to India, at the end of the Portugueze Asia, Vol. III. p 432.

† Brazil might justly be called to Portugal *a richer India;* for whereas she never, in the most flourishing period of her Indian empire, received from thence a clear annual revenue of above £300,000. her receipts from the tributary *fifth* of the gold mines alone amounted annually to a million sterling, independent of her other immense revenue in diamonds, Brazil wood, balsams, indigo, sugar, tobacco, which may well be calculated at half a million more.

gone down; one settlement gradually fell after another; the factories of the merchants and the palaces of her viceroys were alike rapidly sinking in irretrievable ruin; her dismantled forts crumbling into dust, and her unrepaired ships rotting in the harbours. At length, towards the close of the seventeenth century, of all their vast domains, Goa, Diu, and a few other cities on the Malabar coast, alone, remained to testify, by the magnificent monuments still standing within their walls, how splendid and how potent had once been the PORTUGUEZE EMPIRE IN INDIA.

END OF PART I.

THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN.

THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN:

VOLUME SECOND; PART FINAL.

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF INDIA,

AND OF THE

EAST-INDIA COMPANY,

DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND PART OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S;
AND SOLD BY J. WHITE, FLEET-STREET.

1809.

PREFACE TO THE FINAL PART.

THE Author has, at length, the honour to present the public with the concluding portion of his second volume of the History of MODERN INDIA. That so considerable a period has elapsed since the first part appeared has not arisen from neglect, but from that necessary prudence which restrains a man, *printing at his sole cost and hazard*, from engaging in voluminous publication at a period when all the materials of printing are at so extravagant a price. The present volume having exceeded the number of five hundred pages, to which few quartos are at this day permitted to extend, it is thought proper to submit it to the public eye.

Owing to the vast mass and press of matter, accumulated during the two last centuries, and to the variety and importance of the subjects yet remaining to be discussed, he has found it utterly impossible to

conclude the History of India, and the India Company, which he also engaged to detail, in the present volume. It might indeed have been practicable, had he not gone so much at length into that of the Company; but as that portion of the work to an English reader must ever be the most interesting, and as many publications have of late appeared, particularly the improved edition of Mr. Orme's Historical Fragments, highly elucidatory of their early Asiatic concerns, it was thought that a more extended account of their affairs in that quarter of the world than was originally intended, could not fail of being acceptable both at home and in Asia.

In consequence, that account, commencing with their very existence as a Commercial Body in A. D. 1600, and brought down to the re-capture of Calcutta by Clive and Watson in 1757, in a regular series of historical events, engrosses nearly half of this final section of the second volume, and left only room for the insertion of two complete reigns of Mogul empetors. They are, however, next to that of the great Akber, by far the most important of any of the reigns of those princes, full of great and surprising incidents, such as the records of no other nation on earth can exhibit. In every thing splendid and magnificent

no monarch ever rivalled Shah Jehan; in sanguinary atrocity and dark intrigue none ever surpassed Aurungzeb. The author has endeavoured to do full justice to their respective characters.

The black details of blood and perfidy, that mark the closing day of this great empire and that renowned dynasty, together with what remains to be recorded of British transactions in India down to the year 1800, will in a few months be presented to the public in the form of an APPENDIX, of which, whatever may be the magnitude, the price shall on no account exceed a GUINEA. The author is full as anxious as the reader to consult *œconomy*, but could not consent, by unnecessary brevity, to render his pages defective in interest and perspicuity. When the reader shall have considered how vast a period this history embraces, commencing at the death of Alexander, and terminating with the triumphs of a British army on the very spot where an Alexander had fought; that, in fact, it is not the history merely of a province, or kingdom, but that of a mighty empire, and its astonishing and varied revolutions, for above two thousand years;—when he, also, shall have considered of how many rare and *costly* books, (as the author, has too well experienced) these volumes contain

the substance, independently of an elegant coloured Map of India, according to its latest divisions, by Arrowsmith, he is convinced that the sum of five guineas, the whole amount of the subscription, of which a very small portion can be appropriated to remunerate *his* labours, will not appear extravagant. To those who may think otherwise, it may be satisfactory to know, that of the Company's History, the most interesting part terminates with the re-conquest of Calcutta; and that the glory of the Indian empire expired with Aurungzeb.

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In the preceding chapter we have seen how fatally the tyranny of Philip of Spain, and his immediate successors, over the humbled nation of Portugal, operated towards the destruction of the power and commerce of the latter in India. The Dutch, recently emancipated from the same inglorious yoke, and wholly excluded from the port of Lisbon, where they had formerly been employed as the principal carriers, to the different marts of Europe, of its overflowing Indian treasures, now determined to explore the source of that wealth of which they were forbidden to trace the channel, and boldly passed the Cape in quest of seas and countries unknown. This memorable event took place in A. D. 1595, with a fleet of four ships commanded by Cornelius Houtman, a man of the deepest political sagacity, joined with an undaunted fortitude to execute the greatest enterprises. Houtman, while a prisoner for debt in Portugal, had been indefatigable in gaining all necessary information with respect to the course of the voyage, and the kind of commerce carried on by that people with the East. As this was a voyage rather of discovery than of actual traffic, no great riches were the result of it; but the correct account which he gave to the associated merchants, who employed him, of the coasts and islands he had visited, particularly of Java, with whose sovereign, in spite of the intriguing Portugueze, he had formed an alliance that augured the most beneficial consequences, determined them immediately to fit out double the

former number of ships, which, in 1597, sailed under the command of the Admiral James Van Neck, whose prudence and valour, in spite of all the hostile efforts of the united Portugueze and Spaniards to prevent it, secured them a settlement in Java and the Moluccas, and he returned to Europe loaded with their richest productions. *

The success of Van Neck inspired the merchants of Amsterdam with the most sanguine confidence. They already exulted as masters of the commerce of India, and saw its treasures pouring into the Texel in an unbounded torrent. Far more vigorous exertions, and worthy of the great object in view, now began to be made; and in a short time thirteen stout ships, under able commanders, sailed for the same favourite islands. From Amsterdam the ardour for Indian wealth spread through all the capital cities of the United Provinces. Immense sums were subscribed, and ships every where constructed to secure the advantages already so happily obtained. It was in vain that the Spaniards, exasperated and indignant at seeing the glittering spoil which they had obtained at the price of so much blood and treasure, snatched from their grasp by the contemptible merchants of Holland, as they affected to consider them, sent out their fleets to intercept them; they were either eluded, or beaten, and the cargoes of their richest carracks were often doomed to swell the coffers of their enemies. †

The Portugueze had entered India as conquerors, as well as merchants. The Dutch artfully concealed from the natives their ambitious views, and professed to come as mere mercantile adventurers. Their success was proportionate, and their cause generally favoured by them in their contests with their insolent rivals. But while they were gradually advancing in wealth and

* Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 91. † Ibid.

influence, there existed, in their own country, a fatal obstacle to their ever arriving at permanent opulence and prosperity on the shores of India, and that was the numerous companies that every where started up to divide the spoil, and, by underselling each other at the different Indian marts, greatly diminished their respective profits. The sagacious rulers of the new republic saw the evil, and instantly applied the remedy. A general meeting of the directors of both the Holland and Zealand companies was convened at the Hague in A. D. 1602, and they were exhorted, or rather compelled, to unite their stock, to form themselves into a body corporate, and to act under one common seal, to which the sovereign power gave the stamp of its authority. Henceforward, being now become a CHARTERED COMPANY, every thing went on with rapid and unvarying success; the number of adventurers, and the amount of the capital, astonishingly increased; and a formidable fleet of fourteen ships was soon seen on the ocean sailing for India, provided at once with all the apparatus of war, and all the various articles of commerce. Every successive year added to the number and the strength of their fleets in Asia, while occasional defeats only gave new vigour to the spirit of national enterprize!

It was in vain that the Spaniards, by fulminating their anathemas in Europe, and by the more substantial thunder of their artillery in the East, aided at the same time by all that remained in Asia, of the power and military resources of Portugal, threw perpetual obstructions in the way of a people fired equally with the thirst of gain, and the ardour of ambition. A series of triumphs over their potent and combined rivals, which it is not my province minutely to record, gradually, and firmly, planted their standard in the Indian Archipelago, and at length opened the way to their final settlement in imperial splendour at Batavia, a city

that in a few ages became the rival, in grandeur, in wealth, in population, of the proudest capitals of Asia.

A far more formidable enemy than any the Dutch had to encounter in the arrogant Spaniard, and the humbled Portugueze, were the daring mariners of that country to whose powerful assistance, during their contest with Spain, they in a great measure owed their emancipation from her yoke, the ENGLISH, who about this time began to display their victorious flags in the Eastern ocean, and whose earliest approach and gradual progress in regions where they are now become so irresistible, it is therefore necessary to investigate. On this interesting subject I shall be easily pardoned by the reader, for going into a more than usual length of detail.

In the preceding chapter, while tracing through the middle ages the progress of Asiatic commerce, I had occasion to observe that its principal channel, particularly of that rich portion which was produced by India, before the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, was by the way of the Arabian gulph, and down the Nile to Cairo and Alexandria, whence it was circulated through the Mediterranean, and over Europe in the vessels of the Venetians. To them was Britain, at that early period of her maritime power, chiefly indebted for such Indian luxuries as she enjoyed; a large ship of that country, called a CARRACK, being annually dispatched to her shores with an abundant cargo of all the incentives to voluptuous enjoyment; with those fragrant spices that exalted the banquets of her kings, and those costly silks that adorned the nobles of their court. As that power increased, and as her policy became enlarged, she resolved no longer to be thus served, at second hand, with those precious eastern commodities which so highly enriched every nation that trafficked in them, and which she knew her own valour

and industry were so well able to procure. It was not, however, for the remote region of India, but for the shores and islands of the Levant, that the merchant adventurers of London fitted out their first fleet, for the security of which they obtained of Elizabeth public letters of recommendation to the Grand Signior, which terminated in a treaty between the two nations, highly favourable to the interests of the British trader. These vessels for some time carried on a lucrative commerce with Candia, Chios, Cyprus, Tripoli, and other cities on the coast of Syria. Their imports were silks, camblets, rhubarb and other drugs, malmsies, muskadels, and various sorts of Greek wines, sweet oil, cotton, carpets, pepper, cinnamon, and other spices. The exported goods, in that infancy of our commerce, were not numerous, consisting chiefly of woollen cloths, calves skins, leather, the staple commodity, TIN, lead, &c. The brave Sir Francis Drake, and, after him, the celebrated Cavendish, having returned from a voyage round the world, by their reports rouzed the curiosity of the public, and animated the merchants to attempt the establishment of a direct trade to India. In consequence of their application to that public-spirited Princess, who then wielded the British sceptre, a charter was granted them, bearing date the 31st December, 1600, being the forty-third year of her reign, conferring on them exclusively the right of trading to the East Indies, and allowing them for a certain limited time to export goods free of duty, with many other valuable privileges and immunities. Sir Thomas Smith, an alderman of London, was appointed their first Governor, assisted by a Court of twenty-four Directors to be chosen annually on the first of July, and this Charter to remain in force for the space of fifteen years, to be then renewed, or to terminate, as might appear most conducive to the public good.

The original subscriptions or shares were only fifty pounds, and their total amount of capital only £72,000. Of this sum forty-five thousand pounds were immediately expended in fitting out a fleet of five able ships, whose names (curiosity may be gratified to know) were the Dragon, the Hector, the Swan, the Ascension, the Guest, under the command of Captain James Lancaster, and the remaining twenty-seven thousand pounds were consumed on the cargo. Such was the commencement of that renowned Company whose revenues now amount to millions, and which can boast such a vast extent of empire in Asia. This squadron, manned with 480 able mariners, sailed from Torbay in the spring of the following year, and with as few accidents as the nature and distance of a voyage so new to an English fleet would admit, on the 5th of June 1602, safely arrived in the road of Acheen, in Sumatra, by the sovereign of which place, after the delivery of the Queen's letters and presents, they were honourably received, and had considerable privileges granted them, sanctioned by a treaty. They afterwards touched at the Moluccas, where they were received with equal distinction. After a prosperous voyage, and loaded with the richest produce of those spice-bearing regions, they joyfully re-entered the Downs in September 1603.

The second commercial voyage to India was undertaken in A. D. 1604, with a fleet of only three ships, Sir Henry Middleton commander, which traded to the same marts with similar success; but the kings of Ternate and Tidore being then at open war, and the Dutch taking the part of one sovereign, and the Portugueze of another, it was scarcely possible for an English commander to be wholly unconcerned in the midst of those disputes. Middleton was accused by the Dutch of favouring the cause of their enemy, the King of Tidore, which is not impossible, if he thought his cause a just one, though possibly, on the other hand, it might

have only been a mere pretext for their malignant and interested efforts to crush the British trade in embryo; and exterminate a successful rival. Whatever was the cause, a deep rooted and rancorous spirit of hostility to the English, ever after distinguished in Asia that ungrateful race, who owed their very existence, as a nation, to their protecting arm. In the present instance, however, their rage was unavailing; for the English Captain, though unfortunate in the loss of one of his ships, which foundered at sea, returned not only with one of the richest cargoes that had yet arrived on the shore of Britain, but with letters and presents of considerable value to its sovereign, James I. from the Kings of Bantam and Tidore.

Captain William Keeling was appointed to command the third English fleet, and with him was dispatched Captain Hawkins in quality of ambassadour to the Mogul Court, where he was received with respect, conducted himself with prudence, and procured for his countrymen those commercial privileges which industrious foreigners of all nations never failed to obtain from the sovereigns of the illustrious house of Timur. The fourth expedition, deviating from the regular channel of trade, visited the shores of the Arabian Gulph with indifferent success; but the fifth, with Captain Middleton a second time for its commander, was eminently fortunate; for after triumphing over all the machinations of the Dutch at the Moluccas, he is said to have brought home with him a hundred and thirty-nine tons of nutmegs, and the same quantity of mace, besides pepper, and various other valuable articles of traffic. *

With the enlargement of their commerce, the minds and views of the managers of this lucrative national concern also expanded. Although the time of their charter was far from being expired,

* Harris's Collection of Voyages. Vol. I. p. 227. and Purchase, p. 143.

their success encouraged them to apply, in A. D. 1609, to his Majesty, for a renovation of it, which was readily granted with new immunities. They now proceeded to build ships, instead of purchasing them already built, of the Hanseatic towns, and in particular one was constructed of twelve hundred tons burthen, the largest trading vessel ever launched at that time in England, on board of which the King and his courtiers dined, and to which his Majesty himself gave the appropriate name of the *Trade's Increase*. This large ship, with two others, was fitted out for India early in the succeeding year, at the great expense, as it was then thought, of eighty thousand pounds, and produced an adequate remuneration for their liberality.

It has already been intimated that the Tartar family on the throne of Delhi had ever been great encouragers of commerce; and the Company, by their envoy at that capital, had obtained permission from Jehanguire, the reigning monarch, to form settlements and establish factories on the shores of Cambay, yet the envy and jealousy of their Dutch and Portuguese rivals, had hitherto rendered all their efforts nearly abortive. The Dutch, in particular, having now become complete masters of the spice-islands, and using both fraud and force to obstruct our progress in that quarter, it was resolved to attempt gaining a settlement on the continent, and Surat, on the province of Cambay, was the place fixed upon for the first display of our united military and commercial exertions. In 1611, four large ships, in equipping which more than usual pains and expense were bestowed, with a view to offensive measures, were therefore dispatched, under the command of Captain Best, a commander fitted by his bravery and naval skill for any enterprize, however daring. The Portugueze had been long settled on that coast, guarded it with jealous vigilance, and were resolved resolutely to oppose the

entrance into their harbours of the ships of all other European nations. Captain Best, however, with his small force, boldly entered the road of Surat, and, with the consent of the Mogul governor, established a factory in that city. A powerful fleet being afterwards sent to destroy him by the Viceroy of Goa, a fleet, said to have consisted of four great galleons, and twenty-six gallies, in which were five thousand men, and one hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance; the intrepid Briton manifested no symptoms of dismay; but, on the contrary, when he beheld this formidable force approaching, undauntedly sailed to meet them, and rushing into the midst of them, poured his broadsides around him with such effect, that the astonished Portugueze admiral for the present declined the engagement. The day, in fact, was drawing near its close, and he hoped to commence the attack the next morning, under circumstances of less hazard and danger. With the earliest dawn the impetuous attack upon his fleet was renewed, and three of the large galleons were soon driven upon the sands, vollies of shot sweeping their decks, so that not a gun could be fired in return. In the afternoon, when the galleons were again afloat with the tide of flood, the Portugueze renewed the action, but were again discomfited with the loss of twelve hundred men; the numbers of soldiers on board, and their unwieldy ordnance only adding to their confusion. A third attempt was afterwards made by the enraged enemy to sink their ships, and raze the factory, but disgrace to themselves, and glory to the new settlers, were the only result. The natives, to whom the Portugueze were odious for their cruelty and avarice, exulted in their success; and the fame of their heroic valour soon reached the Court of Delhi itself.* After having thus triumphantly settled matters at Surat,

* Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 133. Harleian Collection of Voyages, Vol. i. p. 157.

the gallant Captain sailed with the fleet for Acheen and Java, where the report of his exploits had arrived before him, and so awed the Dutch, that no obstruction was given to his commercial intercourse at either place, and he returned to his native country in July 1614, loaded with glory and riches.

The successful mission of Captain Hawkins at the Court of the Mogul Jehanguire, who had recently succeeded the great Akber, has been already mentioned. A long and not uninteresting relation of his transactions at Agra will be found in Purchase,* together with an account of the immense wealth possessed by that monarch, in gems, in gold, and costly articles of furniture of every species. This account, as it exhibits in a striking point of view the unrivalled opulence and grandeur of that great empire with which Britain was now peculiarly anxious to connect herself, and of a third part of which she is now the mistress, shall be presented to the reader with only the antiquated language of that author a little altered. There can be no doubt of its being an authentic document obtained by Hawkins at the Court of Agra, and its truth is confirmed by the statements in the Ayeen Akbery. It will be remembered that the empire under Akber, only lately dead, and from whom this treasure must have descended to Jehanguire, was at that period in the meridian of its glory; and that the Indian custom of conferring on favoured omrahs presents of horses, with costly caparisons, of swords set with jewels, and rich dresses, rendered the accumulation of such splendid articles in the royal treasury in some degree necessary.

" Of jewels composed solely of diamonds, one batman and an half; a batman is five and fifty pounds weight English: these are rough, and of all sorts and sizes, but none of less than two carats and an half. Of balass rubies, two thousand. Of pearls,

* Vol. i. p. 591. edit. 1617.

twelve batmans. Of rubies of all sorts, two batmans. Of emeralds of all sorts, five batmans. Of eshime, which stone comes from Cataga, one batman. Of stones of Emen, a kind of red stone, five thousand. Of all other sorts, as coral, topazes, &c. the amount is innumerable."

"Of jewels wrought in gold, two thousand and two hundred swords, the hilts and scabbards set with rich stones: two thousand poniards in like manner ornamented. Of saddle drums of gold, used in hawking, set with stones, five hundred. Of rich broaches for the head, in which their feathers are set, two thousand. Of saddles of gold and silver, set with stones, one thousand. Of tuikes, five and twenty. This is a great lance covered with gold, the fluke set with precious stones; they are carried before him when the king goeth to the wars. Of gold parasols of state, richly set with diamonds, one hundred. Of gold chairs of state, one hundred and five. Of large agate chrystal vases for wine, adorned with gold and jewels, one hundred. Of drinking cups of gold, five hundred; of which are fifty exceedingly rich, all of one stone, as beryl, sapphire, &c. Of gold chairs, strung with pearl, and rings set with jewels, the number is infinite. Of gold plate of all kinds, exqtiisitely wrought, as dishes, goblets, basons, three thousand batmans."* This account, the author adds, concerns his palace of Agra alone; but every one of his palaces, Delhi, Cabul, and Lahore, has each its respective proportion of similar treasures.

Hawkins's success at the Mogul Court encouraged Sir Thomas Smith, still the able manager of the Company's affairs in Europe, to represent to his Majesty the great national as well as individual advantage that would result from sending a person of distinction, as a public ambassador, to the Mogul Court, with ample

* Purchase, vol. i. p. 593.

powers to conclude a treaty, and arrange other matters of commerce and policy with the reigning monarch. The King readily complied with the request of the Company, and Sir Thomas Roe,* an accomplished gentleman and scholar of the Court, was shortly after appointed to that high station. A squadron, fitted out with more than usual expense and magnificence, under Captain Keeling, safely conveyed the new ambassador to the shores of India, and he fulfilling the duties of that station with uncommon ability, and by his insinuating manners, becoming a great favorite with the Mogul, raised the English name and character at that Court, and procured for the Company many very important privileges.

Their commerce, aided by fleets rapidly succeeding each other, built equally for war as traffic, began now to extend widely over the coasts and continent of India. Notwithstanding the infuriate opposition of their rivals of Portugal and Holland, and all the machinations of the active Jesuits, at the Courts of the native princes, they had established settlements and factories, of greater or less consequence, at Bantam, Jacatra, (since named Batavia) Surat, Amadavat, Agra, Ajmere, Brampore, Calicut, Masulipatam, Patan, Siam, Banda, Amboyna, and at many other great eastern marts, now unknown or deserted. The principal imports were, from those famous islands, cloves, mace, nutmegs, pepper; and from other parts, precious stones, cinnamon, valuable drugs, indigo, silks, callicoes, &c.: the chief exports, woollen manufactures of various kinds, iron, tin, lead, copper, brass, bullion, &c. The Dutch, however, eventually so firmly established themselves in their newly erected city and castle of Batavia, and fortified its port in a manner so impregnable, that after many severe battles fought both with the Portugueze and English fleets, its commerce in

* See his curious and interesting Journal, in Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 647.

future remained wholly under their controul, and almost to this day they have continued the envied monopolists of its valuable produce.

Perpetual and fruitless hostility, sound morality, and sound policy must ever alike condemn. For nations, that had equally struggled and bled for freedom, to become tyrannical and blood-thirsty themselves, appeared a dreadful solecism, at least to one of the contending parties, and a treaty was in consequence entered into between them, by which it was stipulated that from that date (7th July, 1619) a general amnesty and oblivion of all past offences and excesses committed in the East Indies, by either party, should take place; that commerce, throughout the East Indies, should be thenceforth uninterruptedly carried on, by both parties, and that to prevent all unfair practices, the price of the different commodities should be fixed by commissioners appointed for the purpose; but that in consequence of prior right, and incalculable expenses incurred in erecting forts and magazines, in the Molucca isles, Banda, and Amboyna, the English should enjoy one-third part of the commerce, and the Dutch the other two-thirds; with many other very equitable and salutary regulations,* which it is unnecessary to recite, because almost as soon as ratified, the treaty was violated in its most essential points, by the perfidy of the Dutch, settled in Asia. Into the details of the horrible cruelties, and massacres, said to have been subsequently committed by that nation on our countrymen at Banda and Amboyna, I have neither room nor inclination to enter. In the pamphlets of the day, the accusations were mutual and violent; for the honour of human nature let us hope that by the passions of the writers the recitals are greatly aggravated. Those details are amply given in the Harleian Collection of

* See Fœdera, vol. xvii. p. 170.

Voyages; where, also, may be seen the respective charges and recriminations of the accusers, and advocates on either side. Whoever were the aggressors, and to all appearance the evil was fomented, if it did not originate, in the dark and insidious policy of the Dutch wholly to expel the English from the spice islands, such was the final result. The dread of assassination and ruin from those Batavian tyrants, and the want of powerful maritime support, from a court influenced by pacific rather than warlike maxims, compelled the English to seek an asylum in other parts, where their persons might be secure, and their property inviolable. All the forts and factories were gradually evacuated; the Dutch driving away with fire and sword those who were reluctant to depart, and their grand object was thus obtained in not having a rival flag flying through their usurped empire in those seas.

Although it by no means accorded with the political principles of the imbecile James to take vengeance for these insults, by a public declaration of war, yet strong remonstrances were made to the States-General, and reparation for at least the plundered property demanded. The guilt of murder and robbery however being followed by the meanness of falsehood and evasion, nothing was at that time effected; and the impoverished monarch soon after receiving from the Dutch a considerable sum as the consideration for the cautionary towns, the matter was for the present dropt, to the injury of the suffering Company.

The genius of the English, however, disdained despondence. Neglected by the government, the spirit of the Directors, aided by the active exertions of individuals, still preserved their affairs from ruin. Though they must, hereafter, procure their *spices* at second hand, India produced other luxuries, and had other marts. Having by the skilful management of Captain Saris

obtained a footing in Japan, they now attempted to open a trade from that island to China. Instigated and assisted by Shah Abbas, the Persian monarch, they drove the Portugueze from Ormus on the Persian gulph, by which conquest their commerce found a new channel, and their revenue became greatly improved. They were also engaged in a somewhat hazardous but lucrative traffic to the shores of the Red Sea. About this time too, they obtained permission from the King of Golconda to lay the first foundation of their famous settlement at Madraspatan, on the coast of Coromandel, whence they supplied a great part of the peninsula with European goods, and received in return diamonds, muslins, chintz, and other rich commodities of that region of India.

During the remainder of the reign of King James no public act took place in aid of a Company that had so greatly contributed to extend the wealth and celebrity of the nation; and during the distractions of the following reign, although Charles was well disposed to avenge their wrongs, no effectual relief was obtained. The vigorous measures that marked the administration of Cromwell was in no instance more conspicuous than in the prompt declaration of war against the Dutch, whose aim seemed to be entirely to crush us as a naval power, but who, by a series of the most severe engagements that ever were fought at sea, were soon taught a different lesson. That haughty nation being compelled at length to sue for peace, it was granted, and in the articles of the subsequent treaty of 1654, the affair of Amboyna, and the plunder of the English at Bantam and Java, were not forgotten. Though the demand of the Company amounted to above two millions and an half, yet the Dutch having brought in counter-demands to a vast amount, the business was finally settled by the latter paying the inadequate sum of 85,000l. and making a provision for the surviving relatives of those unhappy wretches that perished at

Amboyna. After this decided patronage of the government, the affairs of the Company became in a high degree prosperous; and, under the powerful protection of Cromwell, a subscription was raised for the more vigorous execution of their commercial projects, to the amount of 800,000*l.* sterling.*

In A. D. 1655, the Dutch made themselves masters of Calicut, where the Portugueze standard had triumphantly waved from the year 1500; soon after, they conquered from them, Columbo, their principal settlement in Ceylon, and to their monopoly of nutmegs, mace, and cloves, they now added that of cinnamon. With the great empires of Japan and China they had negotiated treaties, and carried on an extensive commerce; they had established a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, which was in a very flourishing condition; and though humbled in their naval pride in Europe, were every where rising, in India, to the highest point of power and splendor on the ruin of the Portuguese.

The protection that had been so decisively afforded the English company by Cromwell, was continued to them by Charles the Second, who, in 1661, renovated their charter with the addition of many new and great privileges. But, in this King's reign, a still more important benefit was obtained, by the acquisition of the port, town, and island, of BOMBAY, on the Guzzurat coast, ceded to his Majesty by Portugal, as part of his consort's, the Infanta's portion, and afterwards by royal mandate consigned in full property to the Company for ever. The situation being eminently convenient for their trade in this quarter, though the soil was barren, and the air far from salutary, no expense was spared in the improvement and defence of the island. A fort of great magnitude, and rendered as strong as the skill of that age in architecture could make it, was constructed without delay; and though

* Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 331.

its situation was objectionable from having no springs of fresh water within its limits, and from its being overlooked by an eminence not eight hundred yards distant from it, called Dungaree Hill; it was on the whole no despicable specimen of that skill. On the island were also erected several inferior forts to check the progress of an invading enemy, particularly Mazagon, on which were mounted fourteen large guns. Bombay had also the advantage of a spacious harbour, in which a numerous navy could at all times ride secure.

At this new emporium, notwithstanding some opposition from the jealousy and superstition of its late possessors, the affairs of the Company went on very prosperously under the management of various wise and prudent governors, till the appointment, to their great detriment, in 1682, of the imperious Sir John Child. The tyranny of this man over the merchants and factors was insupportable, and only to be equalled by the arrogance with which he treated the officers of the Mogul himself, the mighty Aurengzebe. In fancied security, and urged on by the spirit of plunder, for it is impossible to suppose with Captain Hamilton,* that such a respectable body as the Company could have issued these predatory mandates, on the ground of pretended injuries received from the governor of Surat, he gave orders for seizing, wherever met with, the vessels and cargoes of the subjects of the Mogul empire, that now, in great numbers, navigated the Indian seas, and the Arabian and Persian gulphs. At length, he proceeded to the more daring outrage of seizing and carrying into Bombay harbour a fleet of vessels loaded with corn for the imperial army, then encamped about fourteen leagues to the southward of Bombay. In vain did the Seddee, or Mogul General, by two messengers, in mild terms solicit the liberation of this fleet;

* See Hamilton's Voyage to the East Indies, vol. i. p. 200. et seq.

a flat denial, with an insolent answer, was returned, nor did he awake from his dream of folly, till information was brought him that the Mogul had, at midnight, effected a landing on the island with twenty thousand men, and had secured a post about four miles distant from the principal fortress. With little opposition, the Seddee the next morning got possession of Mazagon, a fort of fourteen guns, about a cannon-shot distant from the castle; afterwards he erected batteries on Dungaree Hill, which, we before observed, overlooked, and, in some degree commanded, the castle; and it was to the want of skill rather than of vigour in the enemy that it was not taken, and the whole garrison sacrificed. In this distressing situation no alternative remained but to send a submissive embassy to Delhi, soliciting forgiveness for the unprovoked aggression, and promising full restitution for the plundered property. To this the Emperor, who was no stranger to the naval consequence of the English nation, after a severe reprimand, consented, and the firmaun was conditionally renewed. The Seddee shortly after removed his army, which had increased to 40,000 men, and Child, who it was stipulated should in nine months quit India for ever, before the termination of that period expired on the shore where he had caused so much blood to be spilled. Thus terminated a most unpleasant affair, which cost the Company above 400,000*l.* and what was still more deeply to be deplored, materially injured their credit with the Mogul and his subjects.

From this gloomy picture of affairs on the western side of India let us now direct our attention to its eastern shore, where brighter prospects were beginning to dawn. Their new settlement at MADRAS, notwithstanding its wanting the convenience of a port for shipping, and other local disadvantages, under which, indeed, all their infant settlements laboured, continued in a progressive state to commercial distinction, not a little aided by the

King of Golconda's consenting about this period (1691) to accept a certain sum annually and for ever of the Company, instead of the customs hitherto paid to him. Although in 1640, according to Mr. Orme,* the town consisted of only a few fishermen's huts, it had by this time risen, upon the ruins of the neighbouring city of St. Thomas, situate about three miles distant, to an high degree of wealth and population, so as to have become an emporium of their trade, on the coast of Coromandel, which had before centered at Masulipatam. In the rich province of Bengal too, under the agency of Mr. Job Charnock, the first foundation of that vast empire, which by their power was in after ages established there, was now laid a few miles below the town of Hoogly, situated on the arm of the Ganges, to which it gives name, and the ancient *bunder* or *port*, where the Mogul duties were immemorially collected. He is said, by Hamilton, to have fixed on that spot for an emporium, on account of a large over-spreading tree that stood there, though an unhealthier one, he adds, could not have been chosen, on account of its neighbourhood to a vast lake of stagnant water, the exhalations from which at times rendered the air very insalubrious.† Fort William was strongly constructed, a large irregular tetragon, of brick, and a peculiar kind of mortar used in India, that, by time, becomes harder than stone. The town itself was built in a straggling manner, and with the gardens, indispensible to Eastern dwellings, covered a large tract of ground. At Hoogly, and in its vicinity, the Dutch and several other European nations, allured by the great profits of the Bengal trade, had forts and factories, but they were all in a short period surpassed in wealth and splendour by the English settlement of Fort William, or, as it is now called, CALCUTTA. That trade (the export

* See Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 230, quarto edit. 1805.

† Hamilton's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 47.

trade) consisted principally in raw silks, muslins, cottons, saltpetre, and opium, for which they had in return the ores, and the woollen manufactures of Britain, with the various productions of Europe, imported by our Company.

Into the disgusting details of the domestic squabbles, that about the period of the revolution distracted the Company, and of its consequent division into two distinct bodies, acting in opposition to each other, and to their own interests, the general historian need not enter. Passing by, therefore, alike the interested clamours of grasping avarice, and the boisterous declamation of disappointed faction, of which the publications of that day are full, let us adhere to recorded fact alone. Let it suffice, on that substantial evidence, to report that these two Societies, or, as they were called, *the old, and the new Company*, after many violent proceedings, in which the nation, and even its parliament, took no small interest, were at length firmly and happily incorporated A. D. 1702 into one, under the style and title of "THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND, TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES," with a capital greatly enlarged, with immunities far more extended, and established not by regal charter only, the validity of which now began to be questioned, but with the addition of the solemn sanction of Parliament. With these vastly increased funds, and under the national support, new advantages crowned their commercial, and new glory their military, efforts. The Dutch had for the most part retained possession of the islands, and the English of the continent of India. To the Portugueze, of all their vast empire, nothing remained but Goa, Diu, and a few inconsiderable appendages on that coast. A fourth power, that of France, was however, now by great and rapid strides, advancing to eminence, with whose proceedings we shall hereafter have much concern, and to the history of which we must therefore advert.

The genius of the French nation was ever more of a military than a commercial nature. Ambition, rather than avarice, is the ruling passion of that volatile people. Happy also in a rich and abundant country, but too often distracted by civil feuds, they had not the same spur of necessity, by which the Dutch were goaded, to explore distant regions under a burning sun; or to engage with vigour in maritime adventures. The example and splendid success of surrounding nations, had, however, early in the 17th century, excited some efforts of the kind in France, to which the great and politic Cardinal Richlieu gave all the assistance in his power, but they produced no permanent effect, and terminated wholly in some trifling advances towards a settlement in the island of Madagascar.*

It was to the vigorous genius, and comprehensive views of the great Colbert, that the French are indebted for the establishment in 1664, of an East India Company on a solid basis. Sufficient time and experience had been allowed for discovering those fatal errors, on which, both in France and in other countries, preceding establishments had been wrecked. They were, therefore, sedulously avoided, and not only the term of the charter was at once fixed for fifty years, that their efforts and interests might have time to consolidate; but the new society had the benefit of the whole weight and influence of the government, with as ample a pecuniary aid as the finances of the court of Lewis XIV. would admit of. Now, though it be an undoubted fact, that commerce always flourishes best in countries where liberty is most cherished, and in general grows torpid under the chilling grasp of arbitrary power, yet when genius and wisdom preside in arbitrary states, and sincerely lend their patronage to commerce,

* Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 87. and Thevenot's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 128.

the boldest efforts may be successfully made, and the government and the merchant will be proportionably remunerated. Thus both king and minister being alike sincere and hearty in this business, the project commenced under the happiest auspices. The most alluring offers were holden out both to natives and foreigners to embark their property in the lucrative scheme; unprecedented privileges, both of the import and export kind, were conferred upon the adventurers; and whereas, in general, the idea of engaging in commercial concerns was considered by the proud nobility of France as degrading to their blood, the national vanity was flattered by an express law, conferring new honours on such of the nobles as might choose to enter into it. Upon this judicious plan, fifteen millions of livres, about £656,000. sterling, were in a short time raised, and, in the spring of the following year, four large ships, equipped not less for commercial than military operations, if necessary, with a competent number of men, sailed from Brest, and safely arrived in the road of Madagascar in July following.

After having previously experienced so many disasters at Madagascar, it is rather surprising that the French should have again assiduously laboured to establish themselves in that grave of their commerce and their countrymen. They were soon however convinced of their error, and, in 1668, through the united influence and exertions of two enterprising foreigners, one the Sieur Caron, a disappointed Dutchman, and the other the Sieur Marcara, a native of Ispahan, but engaged in their service, we find them settled in Surat, and other places on the Malabar coast, erecting forts, and participating at least with other Europeas, in its trade. By the active exertions of the same Persian, who is said to have been related to some persons of rank at the court of Golconda, they shortly after got a footing at Masulipatam, on

the Coromandel coast; they also obtained a settlement at Bantam, in Java, which they retained till they were expelled by the Dutch, together with the English in 1682; at Balasore, and at Hoogly in Bengal, as well as at St. Thomas, they had inferior factories: and finally, after several severe conflicts with the Dutch, into which it is unnecessary to enter, they established themselves in great force and splendour at Pondicherry, their future Indian capital.

Had a Colbert been always at the helm of government in France, the spirit of zeal and enterprize that certainly distinguished the Company's early Governors in India, would have probably been crowned with more distinguished success; but with all their advantages at setting out, above enumerated, the period at which their fleets arrived in India, so long after their European rivals had formed settlements on its shores, and treaties with its sovereigns, was a powerful obstacle to their success. Whatever could be performed by persevering assiduity, united with great political abilities, was effected by those who presided over the Indian establishments; but they had neither the ample revenues, nor, the navy of France being as yet in its infant state, the formidable fleets of their more fortunate competitors. In consequence, after having attained to no small elevation as a commercial body, long before the expiration of their charter, their affairs rapidly declined. On the Malabar coast their power was extinguished; and Pondicherry, with some minor factories, alone remained to them on the opposite shore of the Peninsula. Both the framer of their charter, and the king who sanctioned it, were now no more, (1715); their funds were nearly exhausted, and the French people groaned under a load of taxes accumulated during that reign of boundless expense and ambition. No new fund could, therefore, be raised for the

support of their Indian trade; and during this dark period, it was principally through their insinuating manners and address, by which they ever in a peculiar manner attached to themselves the princes and people of India, that they retained their power and consequence on its shores. At the same time they were continually enlarging the limits, and adding to the strength of the fortifications of Pondicherry, whence they carried on a lucrative trade with the other great marts of India, and, from the near neighbourhood of the diamond mines, in its very richest commodities.

After the lapse of a few years, fresh efforts were made to renovate the affairs of the expiring Company, and, by a singular stroke of policy, an union in 1719, was formed between the French East and West India Companies, under the general title of the "COMPANY OF THE INDIES;" with a new and vast capital, not less than fifty millions of livres, and with the full confirmation and wide extension of all grants and former privileges.* Although political rather than commercial considerations formed the origin and basis of this grand project, still for the present it operated highly towards their emancipation from the difficulties under which the Company laboured in Asia, and they saw, with astonishment and rapture, three ships richly freighted with European commodities, and having, likewise, on board a large quantity of silver, in specie and bullion, arrive to their relief near the close of the following year. As the Company's embarrassments in India were considerable, no very ample returns could immediately be made; but what was thus liberally given being wisely used, and these well judged supplies being, with some occasional interruptions, continued from the parent country, they in a few years were enabled to send back such valuable cargoes

* Abbé de Guyon's History of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 96. ubi supra.

in return for the munificence of the ministers, who were in fact the principal, though concealed managers, as excited at once the wonder and envy of all the maritime powers of Europe.

Under these fortunate auspices they began to display their victorious banners once more on the Indian continent, and retook and fortified many of their ancient castles and factories. At a more advanced period, we find them driving a brisk trade with China for teas; with Mocha for coffee and Arabian drugs; and with Bassora for pearls, and the rich articles of the Persian loom. The great isles of Bourbon and Mauritius were also by the same vigour of enterprize added to their acquisitions in the East, and at Chandernagore, two miles below Hoogley, in Bengal, they had exhausted their whole military skill, in erecting a fort and bastions fully adequate to resist any force that could be sent against it, at least by the native Powers. This very rapid sketch of the general situation of the French in India, and of their various settlements, about the year 1740, is intended as introductory to those more important historical details which must presently occupy the reader's attention. Those details fill many volumes of the European writers who have attempted minutely to record them. We can only give the substance of these great and complicated events, which shall be done with impartiality, and with as much perspicuity as the intricacy of the subject will permit.

CHAPTER III.

POWER *necessary to uphold* COMMERCE *in Despotic Eastern Countries.—The English at* CALCUTTA *oppressed by the Mogul Viceroy.—They send Ambassadors to Delhi, and obtain a* FIRMAUN, *or Royal Mandate in their favour.—The consequent Prosperity of that Settlement.—View of Affairs at* MADRAS.—*Summary of the Mogul History, and that of Nizam-al-Muluck, necessary to a right Comprehension of the Transactions in the Carnatic.—In the violent Contests for the Nabobship the English and French take different sides—Auxiliaries first, but afterwards Principals—To restore order Nizam-al-Muluck marches into the Carnatic at the head of a vast Army.—Supersedes the reigning Dynasty of Princes, and appoints his General, Abdallah, Nabob.—His sudden death.—Anwar-odean appointed to succeed him.—*M. DUPLEIX *sent out Governor General to India.—His daring and ambitious Character. Madras besieged and taken by the French.—Pondicherry besieged by Admiral Boscawen.—Madras restored at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.—Anwar-odean slain in Battle.—The Cause of Chanda-saheb supported by the French; that of Mahommed Ali by the English.—Death of Nazir, and Murzafa, Jing.—Salabatjing made Soubah of the Deccan.*

IN the two preceding chapters, a rapid survey has been taken of the gradual progress of the principal European settlers on the continent and islands of India; I say the *principal*, because the transactions in those regions of the Danes, the Ostend, and other companies, are not of importance enough in this very general retrospect to merit any particular notice. We have seen

the Portugueze, the Dutch, the English, and the French, successively, and strenuously contending for that commerce which has in all ages so highly enriched the nations that have shared in it. The genius of the Mogul government, friendly to commerce, had for the most part permitted and sanctioned these establishments; but, remote as they were from the capital, could not prevent their being occasionally plundered by a tyrannical or avaricious Nabob, the provincial governor.

A certain degree of POWER is absolutely necessary to protect COMMERCE in arbitrary eastern countries; and the truth of this maxim was no where more deeply felt than at Calcutta, now risen to proud distinction, as the emporium of the Company's traffic in Bengal, but subject to perpetual extortions from the unprincipled rapacity of the reigning Viceroy, and his officers. To obtain an enlargement of their juridical power in certain cases, within the imits of their own territory, as well as an extension of their privileges in a country, so highly benefited by their trade, seemed no unreasonable expectation, and, after due deliberation, an embassy for that purpose to the Mogul Court was, in 1715, resolved upon, together with a memorial, humbly stating their claims upon it for protection, enumerating the hardships under which they laboured, and praying immediate relief. Edward Stephenson, Esq. and John Surman, Esq. two of the ablest factors at that Presidency, were appointed the embassadors, and as no Eastern potentate is ever approached without a NEZR, or present, a valuable present was prepared, consisting of the rarest and most exquisite articles of the rich traffic in which they dealt. Innumerable obstacles, too tedious to be recapitulated, retarded the progress and completion of this mission; but at length, after the lapse of nearly two years, its objects were fully attained. The embassadors were favourably received by the reigning emperor,

FURRUKSEER, and they obtained a firmaun, or imperial mandate, conferring on them the desired enlargement of their juridical authority within their own domain. That firmaun not only confirmed all former grants, but allowed them the liberty to trade, free of customs, to construct new fortifications, to coin money, and many other highly important immunities. In their memorial, the grievances by which the other two settlements were oppressed, were not forgotten; and they too obtained redress and ampler privileges. From this period Calcutta, which had, till now, looked to Madras for directions and advice in difficulties, began to act as an independent Presidency, only accountable to the Direction in England. To the consideration of the affairs of that government, where a dark storm was brooding, it is now necessary to direct the attention of the reader.

A short anticipation of the Mogul history, which will be detailed more at large in the succeeding book, is here absolutely necessary to understand that portion of the narrative of our affairs in India, on which we are about to enter. Aurungzeb, who died in the year 1707, left the richest and most powerful empire in the world to be rent asunder and convulsed to its very centre by the ambitious contentions of his surviving offspring. India had not for ages seen two such immense armies assembled on her plains, as those which accompanied to the field his sons Azem Shah and Mahommed Mauzim, the rival competitors for his vacant throne. Mauzim was the successful combatant. His son Jehander Shah, weak in intellect but violent in his passions, succeeded him. Two powerful Omrahs, brothers, called the SEYDS, disgusted at his effeminacy, united to dethrone him, and raised Furrukseer to the imperial musnud. The reign of Furrukseer was a reign of more vigour, but aiming to make himself independent of these assuming brothers who had secured for

themselves and their friends all the great offices of state, after seven years they deprived him both of his throne and his life. To the same high dignity, and the same deplorable fate they devoted Rafeih-al-Derjat. They then proclaimed his brother Rafeih-al-Dowlat, who, a few days after his succession, died a natural death. Lastly they exalted to the throne Mohammed Shah, who exerted his whole power to accomplish their destruction, and effected it. This vigorous and successful enterprize, at the commencement of his reign, afforded great hopes that it would prove a glorious one. It, however, turned out to be not only a very inglorious reign, but during its continuance, there occurred that dreadful calamity which eventually subverted the Mogul empire, or at least so convulsed it to its centre, that it has never since recovered from the blow; I mean the invasion of Hindostan by Nadir Shah.

The principal instigator of this memorable irruption was a great and ambitious but slighted Omrah, named Nizam-al-Muluck, in shorter terms, the NIZAM, who, after the plunder of Delhi by the Persian troops, retired to the province of which he had long been governor, the Deccan, and erected a standard little inferior to the imperial in power and splendor. By the Deccan must here be understood, that word in its most extensive signification, as including all the southern provinces, the vast regions recently conquered by Aurungzeb, amounting to nearly a fourth of the empire. The transactions of this important personage and his descendants in the peninsula, as Soubahs of the Deccan, will occupy no small portion of the subsequent pages.*

* The reader will please to observe that in the names of persons and places throughout the narrative I shall usually follow the orthography of the author who will be our surest guide, Mr. ORME.

The Carnatic is one of the most considerable Nabobships of that Deccan over which his usurped sway extended. From its capital of Arcot, it is also named the province, and the prince the Nabob, of Arcot. The title is indiscriminately given. Sadatalla, a regular and acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, who governed it from 1710 to 1732, having no male issue, adopted the two sons of his brother, appointing the elder, Doast-ally, to succeed him in the Nabobship. The old Nabob died in 1732, much regretted. The Nizam, however, not having been consulted in the appointment, is said to have beheld the succession of Doast-ally with aversion, and to have prevented his obtaining authentic patents from Delhi, confirming the appointment. Doast-ally had two sons, of whom the elder, Subder-ally, had already arrived at man's estate, the other was a minor. He had also several daughters, one married to his nephew, Mortiz-ally, and another to a more distant relation, Chunda-saheb. In the Peninsula, as well as in many other parts of the empire, many inferior rajahs were left by the conquerors in possession of their territories, on condition of annually paying a certain stipulated tribute to the Viceroy of the province. They were allowed to live in splendor little less than royal, and to maintain an army adequate at least to all the purposes of effective government. Of this class were the kingdoms (if they may be so called) of Tritchinopoly, Tanjore, Madura, and some others towards the southern extremity of India. They paid tribute to the great Mogul, and that tribute was collected, sometimes not without an army to enforce its payment, by the Nabob of the Carnatic. At Tritchinopoly the king dying in 1736, and there being a dispute relative to the succession, an army was sent by the Nabob into that quarter, under the command of his son, Subder-ally, and his relation Chunda-saheb, to

settle the disputed points. They lay for some time encamped near the city, whose gates were closed; but Chunda-saheb, by stratagem, and, it is said, by the connivance of the queen-regent, who had fallen in love with him, soon contrived to introduce himself and a large body of troops within the walls, the consequence of which was its speedy subjugation, and her dethronement. The dependencies very soon after submitted, and Chunda-saheb remained to govern the new conquest, while Subder-ally returned to his father at Arcot.

The resentment, however, of the Nizam still continuing, he determined that neither the Nabob nor his relation should peaceably enjoy their dominions. Remote at Delhi, embarked in vast schemes of ambition, and anxious to enrich and aggrandize his family at the expense of the empire, he was unable personally to interfere, but instigated the Mahrattas, ever the tools of his ambitious projects, to invade the Carnatic, who, prompt to obey the summons, in 1740, poured their predatory myriads over its fertile regions. In the very first engagement at Damal-cherri, Doast-ally, and his son Hassan, after fighting gloriously for several hours, fell dead from their elephants on the field of battle. The Mahrattas, formed for engagements in the open plain, are but little skilled in the attack of fortified cities, and when Subder-ally, who was approaching with an army to the assistance of his father heard of his fate, he immediately altered his course, and took refuge in the strong fortress of Vellore, while Chunda-saheb remained secure at Tritchinopoly. In the mean time the Mahrattas inexorably ravaged all the open country. A treaty was at length set on foot, and their retreat was purchased at the high price of ten millions of rupees. The impoverished Subder-ally immediately ascended the musnud, as Nabob of the Carnatic. But on

this, as on a former occasion, the Nizam not having been consulted, his pride was again severely wounded, and his resentment highly inflamed.*

In this treaty with the Mahrattas there was a secret article highly disgraceful to Subder-ally, but very consistent with the known perfidy of Asiatic despots, even though connected by the ties of blood. Bearing concealed in his heart a jealous hatred of Chunda-saheb, it was agreed that the Mahrattas, as if unknown to the Nabob, should return at the close of the year, and that Tritchinopoly and Chunda-saheb should be given up to them. This they failed not to do, at the appointed time; Chunda-saheb, after an obstinate defence, was compelled to submit, and was carried prisoner to their capital of Sattarah, where he was detained in close confinement till the year 1748, when by M. Dupleix's intercession he was released. Morari Row, one of their generals, was left with 14,000 of their best troops in the command of the newly acquired kingdom, which was pillaged and devastated through all its bounds in the manner usual with those barbarians.

The two great rival settlements of Madras and Pondicherry being situate on the coast of Coromandel, at the distance of only 100 miles, could scarcely avoid being in some degree involved in the everlasting conflicts that occurred, within its limits, between the native princes. The great superiority of the Europeans in military science, and above all, the infinite advantage which their well-conducted artillery gave them in Indian warfare, made the native powers at all times extremely solicitous to have their assistance in their contests with each other. They were at first, indeed, auxiliaries only in those conflicts, but mutual irritations

* Orme's History, vol. i. p. 46. ubi supra.

and reproaches taking place between them, they soon became animated with all the fury and vengeance of principals.

The fortifications at Pondicherry were of such magnitude and extent as to astonish the natives of India, a people who had made little progress in that art; they appeared to them impregnable. In fact, the utmost efforts of late governors had been exerted to render the place exceedingly formidable. To that city, therefore, as to an inviolable asylum, a few days after the battle, the widow and relatives of Doast-ally had fled for refuge with all their jewels and treasures to an immense amount. They were received with great kindness and hospitality; and when the Mahrattas had left the country, both Subder-ally and his brother Chunda-saheb repaired thither in great pomp and splendor, and expressed eternal gratitude to the French for the protection thus generously afforded to the royal fugitives. Presents of great value and high honours were accumulated on M. Dumas, the governor; and whatever privileges he thought proper to claim for his nation were readily granted. This was the basis of that intimate connection formed by the French with the native powers, which afterwards proved the baleful source of so many wars; for, at a future period, the English at Madras finding it necessary to espouse the interests of a contrary party, the merchant was compelled to turn soldier, and amidst the perpetual struggles for power of the contending parties, the desolated Carnatic in time became an ACELDAMA; a very field of blood.

The history of these turbulent chieftains is indeed but a black detail of murders. Subder-ally, the self-created Nabob of the Carnatic, enjoyed his authority but for a short period. While on an expedition to collect the tribute due to him as Nabob from Mortiz-ally, at Vellore, that ruffian, whom no ties of consanguinity could bind, after in vain attempting to poison him, pro-

cured a Patan to dispatch him with several stabs of a poniard. He immediately caused himself to be proclaimed Nabob; but his execrable character and tyrannical conduct occasioned an universal insurrection among both the civil and military officers of the province: they in a body surrounded the palace, with loud invectives, and the cruel being always cowardly, he was intimidated, and fled by night in the habit of a woman in a covered palankin. The widow and infant son of Subder-ally had fled for refuge to the English at Madras: and Mortiz-ally in vain demanded them and the treasures they carried with them into that city. The English knew the distracted state of the province, and resolutely refused to give them up. The revolted chiefs declared the Nabobship vacant, and proclaimed Subder-ally's infant, named Seid Mahommed, Nabob; who with his mother was immediately removed to Vandiwash, a strong fort, governed by a near relation af Subder-ally.

Indignant at these atrocities and innovations, and having succeeded in getting his son, Ghazi-odeen Khan, made Captain General of the Mogul's armies, the Nizam, at the head of a vast army that spread dismay and terror as it past, in 1743, marched from Golconda to settle the disorders of the Carnatic. When arrived at Arcot, he was struck with astonishment at the anarchy that pervaded every department of the government. Every petty chieftain had assumed the title and parade of a Nabob, and one day, after eighteen persons thus distinguished had been presented to him, he was so irritated, as to order any person to be scourged, who in his presence should again dare to assume that title. The young son of Subder-ally, the only one who had any shadow of a claim to it, was also presented to him, and graciously received; but instead of being returned to the guardian care of his uncle at Vandiwash, the young prince was committed to the custody of some lords of his court; at the same

time he commanded them to treat him with all possible respect and tenderness.

Having made the reformations in the government, which his political wisdom, and his uncontrolled authority enabled him to make, the Soubah appointed Abdallah, the general of his army, Nabob of Arcot, and all its dependencies. After reducing Morari Row, the Mahratta governor of Tritchinopoly, rather, it is said, by presents and promises, than by arms, the Soubah returned to his capital of Golconda, Abdallah still continuing in the command of the troops, and governing Arcot by a deputy. Early in the following year he prepared to assume in person the reins of government, and, on taking leave of the Soubah, for that purpose, was distinguished by particular honours. The next morning, however, he was found dead in his bed, with evident marks of having been poisoned, but by whom was never discovered. A successor was immediately nominated in the famous Anwar-odean. This promotion, in exclusion of the rightful heir, gave great disgust in the province, and was the occasion of many convulsions that afterwards distracted it. The inhabitants indeed fondly hoped that to Seid Mahommed, the son of Subderally, above mentioned, the throne might ultimately revert; but that hope suddenly expired, for on a public festival, in a conspiracy of Patan chiefs, to which Anwar-odean and Mortiz-ally were supposed to be not unconscious, the unsuspecting youth was basely assassinated. Whatever suspicions however might attach to his character, Anwar-odean had the address to clear himself with the Nizam from the guilt of this foul murder, and soon after the event, he sent him regular patents, signed by the Mogul, with full powers to administer affairs, as Nabob of the Carnatic.

The above summary of transactions that about this period took place in the southern part of the Peninsula, may be thought rather to belong to the Imperial, than to the Company's history;

but it is introduced to show by what means the affairs of the latter became gradually so implicated in those of the former, that towards the close of the century the history of the one is nearly the history of the other.

It has been observed that *a dark cloud brooded over Madras.* In 1744, war was declared between Great Britain and France, and as it was not doubted but that a decisive blow would be aimed at her Indian commerce, preparations, but not such as were adequate to the impending danger, were early made to ward off that blow. Commodore Barnet, with three ships of the line and a frigate, appeared in July, 1745, on the coast of Coromandel, which in the then situation of Pondicherry, destitute of a ship at anchor in its road, alarmed even the daring mind of M. Dupleix, the new governor, and he prevailed on the Nabob Anwar-odean to interpose his authority with the Madras government that no hostilities should be attempted against the French possessions in the territories of Arcot. Anwar-odean consented, but insisted at the same time that the French, if ever they became superior, should observe the same law of neutrality. From respect and deference to the Nabob's authority, no hostile acts were attempted this year. A reinforcement of two fifty gun ships and a frigate enabled the English in the following year to present a bold aspect at Pondicherry, but the unexpected arrival of nine ships of war under the famous Bourdonnais disconcerted their projects, though it damped not their spirits. They gave him battle, and fought undauntedly till the darkness of the night separated them. In a council of war, holden the next morning on board the English Admiral's ship, it was not thought prudent, from the shattered state of their ships, and especially of one, a sixty gun ship, that had received the greatest injury, to renew the engagement, until the damages they had sustained had been

repaired. The fleet therefore sailed for Trincomalee, in Ceylon, to refit; and though, afterwards, the two fleets came in sight of each other, and continued so for several days, no second engagement took place.

The French admiral imputing to timidity what was solely the effect of prudence in the English commander from the great disparity of their respective force, instantly determined on the bold measure of laying siege to Madras. The English, alarmed at their situation now, in their turn, called on the Nab b to fulfil his promise of preventing any hostile attack of the French by land, but having no costly presents made him to stimulate exertion, he is supposed to have been not very ardent in their cause, and if he did not absolutely *provoke*, he certainly made no efforts to *repress* the violence of the invading foe. Madras, built with a view to commerce, rather than defence, was but indifferently fortified to resist an enemy; especially an enemy so well skilled in military tactics as Bourdonnais, the Commander of the French. It consisted of three divisions, of which the first contained the fort, the houses of the factors, and the public warehouses. It was surrounded with a slender wall, defended with four bastions and as many batteries of very defective construction. This quarter was inhabited solely by Europeans, was for distinction called the White Town, and is properly Fort St. George. The second division is far larger, but worse fortified, inhabited by the richest Arminian and Indian merchants: this quarter was called the Black Town. Beyond this, northward, stretched a vast suburb, filled with the habitations of Indian natives of all ranks, promiscuously scattered. There were scarcely three hundred Europeans in the whole colony, and 200 of these composed the garrison; the total number of inhabitants in the Company's territory was not less than 250,000.

On the 18th of August, 1746, the French squadron appeared and cannonaded the town, but retired without doing much damage. In the mean time the terrified inhabitants anxiously expected the appearance of that fleet, which was principally sent out for their defence. Most unfortunately, however, the sixty gun-ship, the only one of that magnitude in the fleet, was found to be so leaky, that it was feared, if again brought into action, the very shock of firing her own cannon would sink her, and the squadron was compelled to proceed to Bengal. On the 3d of September, the French fleet again appeared on the coast, and four leagues to the south of Madras landed a considerable part of the large force which they had brought for its reduction. It consisted of 1100 Europeans, and 800 natives, while on board the fleet there remained 1800 mariners; an immense disparity! compared with the handful of men, which, by the most criminal negligence, were alone left to defend the first settlement of the Company on the shores of India. The remainder of the force, with all the engines of assault, with which the ships were so amply stored, were debarked the next day within cannon shot of the fort, and the White Town, in which the English resided, was first attacked. The bombardment and cannonade were extremely severe, not only from the batteries erected on shore, but from all those ships that could be brought near enough to fire upon it with effect. The conduct of Mr. Morse, the governor, on this occasion was highly praiseworty, and he resisted as long as his inefficient garrison, and his ill-conditioned works could hold out against so formidable a foe. On the 10th he sent deputies to capitulate, and the terms dictated by the victor were, that the English should surrender themselves prisoners of war, and that the town should immediately be delivered up; but that it should afterwards be ransomed. On the same day, Bourdonnais, at the

head of a large body of troops, took possession of the place, and the keys of the fort and the public magazines were delivered to him. An Indiaman, then lying in the road, was taken possession of; and the lilies of France were seen triumphantly to wave on the ramparts of St. George.

The ransom afterwards agreed upon was 1,100,000 pagodas, or about 440,000l. sterling. This ransom was for the town; all the money, merchandize, military and naval stores were sent on board the French ships. The amount of these was calculated at about 200,000l. more. M. Dupleix, however, the governor of Pondicherry, refused to ratify the treaty. He and the council of that presidency were decidedly of opinion that Madras, its rival, should be razed to the ground; and nothing but the honourable firmness of M. de la Bourdonnais in adhering to his engagements prevented that catastrophe. The disputes which on this and other accounts arose between these two high-spirited chiefs were of essential service to the Company's affairs; for they detained the latter with his fleet on the dangerous coast of Coromandel till the monsoon set in, when it was dispersed in a dreadful storm, and received irreparable damage. Matters however were at length brought to a crisis, and it was determined that the French, who were by the first treaty to have quitted the town on the 4th of October, should remain in the possession of it for three months, or at least for such a period as might be necessary to adjust all the discussions arising from the treaty. In consequence, Bourdonnais shortly after invested one of the council of Pondicherry, sent by M. Dupleix for the purpose, with the government, and to the regret of those whom he had vanquished, sailed with his shattered fleet under jury masts, for the Mauritius.

The Nabob, Anwar-odean, in the mean time had not been wholly inattentive to the proceedings of the French; and before

the capitulation had sent a menacing letter to M. Dupleix, at Pondicherry, for having violated the peace of the province. He was pacified however by the promise that Madras, if taken, should be given up to himself, and that he would be certain of receiving a large sum from the English for the restitution of so valuable a possession. In this expectation finding himself deceived, he soon after sent an army of 10,000 men to Madras under the command of his son Maphuze Khan, who invested the town. The French sent deputies to treat, but these he detained: still they delayed coming to extremities with a person of his high distinction, and committing themselves with the delegated viceroy of the great Nizam. Being at length compelled to come to an engagement with him, his army was in several successive actions utterly routed, and his camp and baggage plundered, to the great emolument of the victors. The charm being thus broken, and the terror of warring against the supposed invincible Mogul effaced from the minds of Europeans, the reader will not wonder after this to find their standards frequently opposed in the field to those which may be called imperial. In fact, as ambition or avarice swayed their minds, the Moguls fought alternately on the side of the English or French, and alternately became the plunder of those whom they themselves meant to pillage.

After these transactions, the French proceeded to one of the basest acts of perfidy that ever disgraced the page of history. They refused to relinquish Madras; they declared the ransom null and void; they sent the governor and principal inhabitants prisoners to Pondicherry; their valuable property was seized upon; and all who would not take the oath of allegiance to the French king were ordered to quit Madras, and its territory, in the short space of five days. A great addition was made to the garrison for its

better security, and the fortifications repaired and strengthened. Determined, if possible, to extirpate the English from Coromandel, they next led a formidable force against Fort St. David, situate near the sea, twelve miles south of Pondicherry. This town was a sort of dependency on Madras, small, but better fortified for its size than any in India. About a mile from it stood Cuddalore, where many rich Indian merchants, and others dependent on the Company, resided. The English of Fort St. David, in this extremity, applied to the Nabob, who now breathed nothing but vengeance against the French, for his assistance, and it was readily granted. At a moment when all seemed lost, a body of 6000 horse and 3000 foot made their appearance, and these, mixed with, and in some degree guided by the English troops, attacked the invaders with success, and compelled them to retreat with considerable loss. In proof, however, of what has been just observed concerning the fickleness and venality of these Mogul chiefs, M. Dupleix, by a bribe of 50,000 rupees, and a present of European trinkets of the value of 100,000 more, was able to purchase peace of them, and the recal of their troops from Fort St. David.*

Of the fleet whose unfortunate, I will not say disreputable, absence thus contributed to the loss of the first English settlement, Commodore Peyton had the command, having succeeded that valiant officer (Barnet) who had the year before perished on that shore which he had so well defended against the enemies of his country. Something more in the then perilous situation of the settlement should certainly have been attempted by Peyton, and in that opinion, doubtless, government coincided, by sending Admiral Griffin to supersede him. Griffin arrived in India about the middle of December, 1746, but found his collective force too small either

* Orme's History, vol. i. p. 85, ubi supra.

to reduce Pondicherry, or retake Madras; however he stationed his force with such admirable skill in Fort St. David's road, about five leagues to windward of Pondicherry, as for nearly two years, the period of his continuing on those seas, to intercept all the trade, and cut off all the supplies of that city. To him Admiral Boscawen succeeded, and with nine sail of the line, two frigates, and a larger body of troops than the English had ever yet sent out to India, began the regular siege of Pondicherry. It is revolting to the feelings of an historian to be perpetually recording disasters. The attack was not ultimately successful, owing to the great strength of the fort, constructed with uncommon skill, defended by two hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, with magazines and arsenals amply provided, and a well-disciplined garrison, consisting of above 4000 men. Exertions worthy of a British army were made by the besiegers; but Admiral Boscawen, invincibly brave and skilled in the conduct of marine engagements, is said to have wanted the qualities necessary to success in carrying on war on shore. Sickness, too, prevailed to a great extent in the British lines; and the stormy monsoon setting in earlier by three weeks than usual, compelled them rather ingloriously to raise the siege. But that transient disgrace was not long after amply retrieved. The hour of dreadful retribution for all the injuries committed by the French was not yet arrived. The finest European city in India was not razed to the ground till a few years later in the annals of Asiatic warfare.

In 1748, Peace auspiciously arose to dissipate the sanguine cloud that had so long veiled the horizon of India. By the conditions stipulated at Aix-la-Chapelle, Madras was restored to the Company, and the nation, in return for Cape Breton; and Boscawen with a part of his squadron sailed to take possession of

it in August of the same year. The English received it in a very improved state from that in which they had yielded it up; many new bastions and batteries having been constructed, and an excellent glacis had been formed that covered the north and south sides of the town. Re-established in its ancient abode, the genius of British Industry again began to rear its head; and wise from past misfortune, with their commercial speculations, the new presidency neglected not to blend that prudent attention to military concerns which their hazardous situation amidst a host of ambitious and contending foes seemed to require. During all this dreadful calamity the seat of supreme power on the Coromandel coast had been transferred by the Company's orders to Fort St. David, which had now become a place of great strength, and highly increased in its population and commerce. Nor was Madras again restored to its ancient honours as the seat of the presidency till May, 1752. A stronger garrison, however, was in future maintained within the walls of Madras, and the fortifications were constantly kept in the most respectable state of defence. This indeed was now become imperiously necessary, for M. Dupleix still pursuing the high game of conquest rather than of commerce, for which his genius was better qualified, was perpetually urging on the native powers to mutual attacks, that his ambition might be gratified by the elevation of himself and his nation on their downfall and ruin. The imperial standards of England and France were no longer opposed in the field, or on the ocean; but, as allies to the princes of India, the banner of hostility was still kept unfurled, reluctantly enough by the cautious English, but by their more daring rivals with the avowed principles of subjugation and triumph.

The death of Mohammed Shah, the enervate, the humiliated monarch of the millions of Hindostan, took place about this

period; and shortly after, at the advanced age of 104, expired the greatest of his subjects, if indeed the man who arrogated almost imperial honours could be called a subject, the NIZAM. He left five sons, two of whom only it is of immediate importance to notice. The eldest of these, Ghazi-odean, still continued at Delhi, in his post of captain-general of the forces. The second succeeded him as soubah of the Deccan, though a grandson of the Nizam, born of a favourite daughter, and cherished by the old man with the greatest affection, on the ground of a will asserted to be made in his favour, laid claim to that distinction and to the greatest part of the treasures of his grandfather. His assumed name was Murzafa-jing, and a disputed succession offering a glorious opportunity for the intrigues of M. Dupleix, he resolved not to lose it; presuming that by vigorously promoting the objects of his ambition, he might afterwards make him an easy tool for the accomplishment of the great projects which he had himself in view, he gave the young prince his decided and zealous support. Convinced of the abilities and great military talents of Chunda-saheb, still languishing in fetters among the Marhattas at Sattarah, he extended all his influence to get him released, and by bribes and promises he at length succeeded. He then contrived to get him appointed general of the forces of Murzafa, and by a lavish expenditure of the Company's treasures, greatly increased their numbers and importance. Anwar-odean still continued acting viceroy of the Carnatic, but Chunda-saheb, related to the old line of Nabobs descended from Sadatullah, that anciently governed the province, so forcibly urged his own pretensions to that distinguished situation, that he soon prevailed upon his new-acknowledged lord to issue letters patent appointing him Nabob in the place of Anwar-odean. As opposition would doubtless be made to this assumption of viceregal honours, he

had the further art to persuade the young prince to try his strength first in this minor expedition, which, if successful, would secure to him the wealth and resources of that vast tract of country, which extended from Arcot to Cape Comorin, including many rich and powerful states. The scheme appeared so plausible, and at the same so highly flattering to the ambition of a brave young soldier, ardent to distinguish himself in the field, that it was immediately adopted.

Anwar-odean knowing the great military talents, as well as the pretensions of Chunda-saheb, had always regarded him with a jealous eye, and is thought to have used his influence in protracting the period of his confinement at Sattarah. When intelligence was brought him of the hostile intention of the combined princes, he lost not a moment in preparing to defend his rights by the sword. He levied an army of 12000 horse, and 8000 infantry, and with these he hastened to defend the passes of the mountains that led into the Carnatic. M. Dupleix had previously dispatched a body of 400 Europeans, and 2000 sepoys, under the command of M. d'Auteuil, to join the forces of the invaders, and in fact, to their skill and valour the success of the day must principally be ascribed. Independent of the stimulus of national pride, they were inflamed with a desire of plundering the camp of the Nabob, which was said to contain immense treasures. Fortunately the English were not engaged in this contest; either from an ill-judged parsimony, or thinking his force sufficiently strong without them, the Nabob had not applied to them for assistance. At Amboor, fifty miles to the west of Arcot, a decisive engagement took place; and so vigorous was the resistance of the Nabob's army, that even the French veterans, in their attempts to storm the entrenchments, with which he had fortified the front of his camp, were twice repulsed. In the third

attack they were successful, and the whole army pouring in impetuously through the breach, the battle became as general as the nature of the place, the defiles of a mountain, would permit. At a distance on an eminence was seen the Nabob, surrounded by a chosen body of cavalry, in which lay the strength of his army. The stateliness of the elephant on which he was borne, and the blaze of the great standard of the Carnatic, attracted every eye. His voice was heard animating his troops with the fortitude with which his own bosom burned, and his heroic actions were in unison with his address; nor was his ardour damped when tidings were brought him tha this son Maphuze Khan, who commanded one of his wings, was slain with a cannon shot. Amidst the slaughter that raged around him he happened to espy the elephant of Chunda-saheb, with the usurped insignia of the nabobship. A torrent of contending passions now agitating his breast, and eager to crush at once the author of so many calamities, he commanded the conductor of his elephant to drive furiously against the elephant of his rival; but before he reached the object of his indignation a ball from the musquet of a Caffre shot him through the heart, and he fell headlong on the plain. The death of the chieftain, in the battles of India, is always the signal for the immediate flight of his army; this was the case of the fallen Nabob's, and a very considerable booty was the reward of the victors.

Murzafa-jing, the next day, marched unopposed to Arcot, where he appeared in all the pomp and splendor of a soubah of the Deccan, and he there confirmed the appointment of his friend Chunda-saheb to the nabobship. Some time was occupied in receiving the submission of the great lords of the province, and, what was still more acceptable, their contributions; among whom Mortiz-ally, the governor of Vellore, alone paid

700,000 rupees. The confederate princes, accompanied by the French battalion, then proceeded to Pondicherry, which city they entered in great pomp. They were exultingly received by the gratified Dupleix, and entertained during their stay with oriental magnificence. Here were laid those deep concerted projects of ambition and conquest, in the attempt to accomplish which the whole Carnatic was convulsed, and which finally compelled Nazir-jing to take the field at the head of an army of 300,000 men. As in the transactions that rapidly followed are involved the interests of all the southern provinces, comprising nearly a fourth part of the empire, and as they must again come in review in the course of the general history, a cursory account can alone be given of them in this place.

Mahommed Ali, the second son of Anwar-odean, on the defeat and death of his father, had fled for safety to Tritchinopoly, where, expecting to be besieged by the conquerors, he eagerly solicited the assistance of the English. He represented to them that both Murzafa-jing and Chunda-saheb were to be regarded as rebels to the empire; that Nazir-jing was the real soubah of the southern provinces, and that he himself was now the real nabob of the Carnatic, having obtained the reversion of that post from the Nizam, and that he was in daily expectation of having his appointment confirmed by Nazir-jing. This statement had so much the air of truth, and was so conformable to all they had witnessed, that fearing to commit themselves with the court of Delhi, the Presidency complied with his request, but, in a cautious manner, and dispatched about 120 Europeans to his relief. Instead, however, of attacking Tritchinopoly, much against M. Dupleix's decided advice, who wished to extirpate the family of Anwar-odean, and make himself master of that strong fort, whither its representative had retreated, the thirst of greater

plunder induced the allied princes to invest Tanjore, where they obtained their object, the king of that place saving his capital at the price of 700,000 rupees, a large sum, paid immediately down to the French troops, and the cession of 81 villages to the government of Pondicherry. The approach of the Soubah at the head of such a mighty force saved Tritchinopoly. Every effort was made by Murzafa-jing to present a formidable front to the enemy, and with that view Dupleix increased the European force in his army to 2000 men. Nazir-jing summoned Mohammed Ali, as his feudatory, from Tritchinopoly; and requested the English at Fort St. David to send him a body of Europeans. In consequence, a few days after Major Lawrence with 600 Europeans arrived at the Nabob's camp at Valdore, about 15 miles from Pondicherry, which was now in sight of that of the enemy. An immediate engagement between the hostile armies seemed inevitable; but in the dreadful interval, events took place that materially affected its hoped for success.

Glutted with the wealth which they had divided at the siege of Tanjore, as well as exhausted with their fatigues, many of the officers on that service had obtained leave to retire from the camp to momentary repose, while others supplied their places. These latter, thus immediately exposed without *their* reward to the dangers of a severe service, the burthen of which, they knew must lay principally on them, loudly remonstrated, and demanded a sum of money that might render their fortunes adequate to those to whose posts they had succeeded. The high mind of M. Dupleix revolted at this demand, and proceeding to put one of this refractory band under arrest, the others insisted on receiving the same treatment. The moment was critical, and their services were deemed essential to the expected success of the day; and consequently no severities were resorted to. They

continued in the camp, but turbulent and factious; and the soldiers also caught the flame of discontent. The event was that the commanding officer, M. D'Auteuil, fearful of the consequences in a general engagement, withdrew the whole detachment from the field, and marched back to Pondicherry. Thus deserted by his principal support, Murzafa-jing was overwhelmed with astonishment and terror. He, therefore, listened to overtures of accommodation made him by his uncle, who had sworn on the Koran that his person should be safe, if he surrendered. On this solemn pledge he entered the camp of his enemy, but was instantly thrown into fetters. The prince secured, with the same shameless perfidy his army was attacked, treated as rebels to the empire, and for the most part cut in pieces, as the Soubah's troops gave no quarter. Chundah-saheb not choosing to trust the Soubah, had retreated with the French to Pondicherry. Some of the Patan chiefs who had attended the Soubah in confident hope of high rewards, being disappointed in those hopes, and treated insolently by him, began to be extremely dissatisfied. Dupleix heard of their discontent, and by his emissaries blew up the flame. He entered into close correspondence with them; and to pass over minuter circumstances, in which all the art, policy, and valour of Dupleix were exerted, the death of the Soubah, and the exaltation of Murzafa-jing to the nabobship were ultimately resolved upon. Major Lawrence, still in the Soubah's camp, but unstained by his treachery, obtaining information of what was going on, took the resolution at an audience to make it known to him; but the interpreter, either from fear, or induced by bribes, misrepresented his words; and shortly after, unable to obtain the confirmation of a grant of territory adjoining Madras, made to the Company by their friend Mahommed Ali, now esteemed Nabob of Arcot, left the camp in disgust. In the mean time the

conspiracy entered into against the life of the Soubah, by Dupleix, with the Nabobs of Cudapa, Canoul, and Savanore, all Patans by birth, and the most potent of the feudatory lords who had accompanied him into the Carnatic, went on cautiously and securely. Nor was the sanguinary project at all impeded by his suddenly breaking up his camp at Valdore, and retiring to Arcot. There devoting himself to the pleasures of his seraglio and of hunting; he lived in utter disregard of the storm which was just ready to burst upon him: but the capital and the palace afforded no opportunity for assassination like the field of war. The artful Dupleix, therefore, contrived by new irritations, by insulting embassies, and a vigorous attack on the fort of Gingee, one of the strongest in the Carnatic, to rouze Nazir-jing from his dream of indolence, and drive him to that field on which he was doomed to fall. The indignant Soubah soon appeared in arms, though at the head of far less numerous forces than before. When arrived at the distance of only sixteen miles from Gingee, the autumnal rains set in, and in two or three days he found his army inclosed between two rivers, rendered almost impassable by the inundations, with the probable prospect of not being released till the return of fair weather in December. The Soubah saw the danger of his situation, and immediately commenced a negociation with the governor of Pondicherry. He promised to ratify the treaty desired, and in fact had ratified it, when the quarter of the camp, in which his tents were fixed, was suddenly attacked before day-break by a strong division of the French army, and carried, while the greater part of his army, drawn up at a distance in battle array, remained inactive. These were the rebel chiefs, at the head of their respective legions, waiting the result of this premeditated attack of the French. It was a long time before the Soubah could be persuaded to believe that the aggressors were

really French. When convinced of this, he ordered the head of Murzafa-jing to be instantly struck off, and brought to him: but the officer who had him in custody was leagued with the conspirators to crush his captor, and did not obey. Equally astonished and enraged at the continued inactivity of his troops, he mounted his elephant, and, accompanied by his body guard, rode up to the nearest of the rebel battalions, commanded by the Nabob of Cudapa, and called him aloud a dastardly coward, for not daring to defend the imperial standard, against the most contemptible of enemies. The indignant Nabob answered him by the discharge of a carabine that lodged two balls in the heart of the unfortunate Soubah, who fell dead on the plain. He then ordered his head to be severed from the body; bore it himself on the point of a javelin to Murzafa-jing, already liberated from the fetters which he had worn seven tedious months, and exultingly hailed him Soubah of the Deccan.

The treasures of Nazir-jing were estimated at two millions sterling, and the jewels at half a million. Of these it is supposed M. Dupleix received for his share 200,000l. besides some very valuable jewels. The Patan chiefs had a million sterling allowed them, with large additions to their respective territories: but though they professed to be satisfied and swore allegiance to the new Soubah, on the Koran, discontent and rancour reigned in their hearts, and they wanted only a fair opportunity to dispatch this new puppet of their power, as they had dispatched his predecessor. That opportunity soon occurred. The Soubah's presence being necessary at his capital, he in a short time commenced his march for Golconda, attended, for his better security, in such turbulent times, by a considerable body of French troops, under the command of M. Bussy. When arrived in the territory ofCudapa, about sixty miles from Pondicherry, apparently by

accident, but doubtless by design, some straggling Mogul horsemen quarrelled with the inhabitants of a village, and the injury being resented, the incensed soldiers set fire to that and several other villages in the vicinity. The Nabob of Cudapa, pretending to be highly exasperated at the insult, attacked the rear guard of Murzafa-jing's division. The astonished Soubah commanded the whole army to halt, and would have immediately led on a large portion of it against the refractory Nabob. He was, however, restrained by the prudence of M. Bussy, and only a messenger was dispatched to enquire into the causes of so daring an outrage. An answer, breathing defiance, being returned, the Soubah rushed forward to the attack of the Nabob, who, with those of Canoul, and Savanore, had taken a strong station near a defile through which the army must pass, and which was strongly fortified with a number of cannon, *previously planted* there. So impetuous was the attack, and so powerful the fire of the French artillery, that the Patans were compelled to retreat, and the Nabob of Cudapa fled out of the field desperately wounded. Elated by this triumph, and anxious to exterminate the Patan rebels, the Soubah pushed on with the cavalry, regardless of the intreaties of M. Bussy, whose battalion, encumbered by the artillery, could not keep pace with him; and in the pursuit came up with a body of his own troops, who were, at that instant, cutting to pieces the body of the Nabob of Savanore, dead on the ground. Shortly after he came up with the Nabob of Canoul, who finding escape was impossible, resolutely turned back his elephant, and urged him on towards the elephant of the Soubah. The latter accepted the challenge of single combat, and made a signal to his troops to retire. The two elephants were driven up close to each other, and Murzafa-jing with his uplifted sabre was just going to strike, when the wary Nabob thrusting

forth his javelin, drove the point through his forehead into his brain, and he fell back dead. A thousand javelins were immediately aimed at the Nabob; and himself and all his troops were cut to pieces on the spot. Such, in a very limited period, was the unfortunate end of three successive Soubahs of the Deccan, an awful lesson to human grandeur! but too frequent in that country to be much regarded; though the death of the three conspirators in one day, in addition to that of Murzafa-jing, who by their atrocious murder obtained the throne of his uncle, was even there considered as a signal retribution of the divine justice.

It has been already mentioned that the Nizam left five sons, of these the three younger were, for security, kept near him in strict confinement in the camp, by Nazir-jing, and for the same powerful reason were retained, in similar restraint, by Murzafa-jing. To prevent the confusion beginning to take place in the camp, on account of the death of the Soubah, M. Bussy, who was not wholly without suspicion of being conscious to the conspiracy that destroyed him, after consultation with the ministers and generals, immediately raised to the vacant throne Salabat-jing, the eldest of them. M. Dupleix, on being made acquainted with the event, consented to the appointment, and the new Soubah, in consequence, confirmed all the vast cessions made to the French by his uncle, with the addition of many others. The imperial army, restored to order and discipline, continued its march without interruption to Golconda.

CHAPTER IV.

The English, astonished and alarmed at the success of the French in the Carnatic, endeavour to counteract their ambitious projects.—They send assistance to the Nabob Mahomed Ali, besieged at Tritchinopoly.—Captain Clive volunteers his services, and, by surprize, takes ARCOT, *the Capital.—Maintains himself in it against very superior Forces, and displays the dawn of his great military Genius.—Mahommed joined, in his distress, by the Regent of Mysore, the Rajah of Tanjore, and a body of Mahrattas.—Chunda-sahèb driven to extremities, surrenders himself to the Tanjorine General, and is by him perfidiously put to death.—The Mysorean and the Mahrattas lay claim to Tritchinopoly, as the stipulated price of their services, and besiege it.—Great length of the Siege and Sufferings of the Garrison.—At length the Regent abruptly breaks up his Camp, and retires to Mysore; while Mahommed, under the Protection of his firm Allies, the English, establishes himself in security at Arcot.—Transactions in* BENGAL; *prefaced by an Account of the Rise and Progress of the* MAHRATTAS.—*Their vast Empire founded by* SEVAJÉE, *a Soldier of Fortune, of the Tribe of* RAJPOUTS, *or native Hindoos.*—SAMBAJEE.—SAHOOJEE.—*Astonishing extent of that Empire at the Death of* SAHOOJEE.—*The* RAM RAJAH—*finally divided into two distinct Governments, that of* POONAH, *and that of* BERAR.—*Account of the respective Sovereigns of those Governments.—Reflections on the Character and Manners of the* MAHRATTAS.

THE English government at Fort St. David, still the presidency on the coast of Coromandel, on receiving intelligence of these

important transactions, and of the high predominant influence of the French at the court of Golconda, were overwhelmed with astonishment, mingled with terror. They now saw the error of their too great caution, and regretted the abrupt departure of Major Lawrence from the Nabob's camp, by which the field was left open to their rivals. That able officer too had sailed for Europe on his private concerns, and had been succeeded in the command of the troops by Captain Cope. They now resolved to take a more active part, and faithful in their attachment to the family of Anwar-odean, dispatched a body of troops to assist his son Mahommed Ali, invested by the French at Tritchinopoly; while Chunda-saheb had marched to Arcot, and was receiving the renewed homage of the province, as Nabob. In a short time, however, he returned at the head of 12,000 horse and 5000 sepoys, and first invested Volcondah, a very strong fortress, near which the English were encamped, situated on the great road between Arcot and Tritchinopoly, which, after some negociation, was surrendered to him by the perfidious governor, and the English retreated to Tritchinopoly. He then advanced to the siege of the latter place, where his troops, which outnumbered the English, ten to one, took a position on the southern, while the English encamped on the western side of the city.

Tritchinopoly, situated about 90 miles from the coast, is one of the best fortified cities in the Carnatic. It is inclosed by a double range of walls, flanked by round towers, built at equal distances from one another: the outward wall is eighteen feet high, and about five feet thick: the inward wall is of much greater strength, being thirty feet in height, with a rampart of stone decreasing by large steps from the ground quite to the summit, where it is ten feet broad, with a parapet of stone about seven feet high, in which are loop-holes to fire through. The outer wall is

surrounded with a ditch thirty feet wide and twelve deep. The Presidency of Fort St. David made the greatest exertions to increase the number of their troops and artillery before Tritchinopoly, but the army of the Nabob and the French was still so much stronger, that the event of a battle seemed very doubtful; and it was now that the great military genius of young Clive, at this period only a lieutenant in the service, began to display itself. This intrepid officer proposed to the Presidency, as the only resource in this extremity, the daring measure of attacking ARCOT itself, and offered to head himself the expedition, which, he urged, would infallibly cause a diversion of the enemy's force from Tritchinopoly. Fort St. David and Madras were exhausted of troops to furnish men for this important enterprize, which was as fortunately conducted as it was judiciously planned; for the city of Arcot having no walls or ramparts, and the fort being defended by only a slender garrison, they entered the place with little opposition; and 100,000 astonished spectators beheld a handful of English take possession of the capital of the Carnatic, its military stores and accumulated treasures. The generous victors, however, seized only the public property; all property of a private nature was considered as sacred, and punctually restored to the owners. When the panic, into which the garrison and inhabitants were thrown by the boldness of this manœuvre was over, troops were collected from all quarters, and Clive soon found he had an army of 3000 men to contend with; but by a series of bold and skilful attacks made upon the enemy, when opportunity most favoured, he contrived to remain in full possession of all the advantages which he had so gallantly obtained.

This spirited undertaking, which so early marked the character of the young commander, was attended with all the success that

could be desired. Chunda-saheb found himself compelled to detach 4000 of his best troops from Tritchinopoly to attempt the recovery of his capital, in which attempt, however, they completely failed, being routed in all their attacks by the superior skill and bravery of the garrison and their intrepid chief. At the same time, by this draught from the main body of the troops before Tritchinopoly, the besieging army was proportionably weakened, and time was afforded to Mahommed to strengthen himself with new allies. Among these was the Regent of MYSORE, a country of considerable extent, but at that time of little note, compared with its subsequent state of power and aggrandizement. The king was a minor; but his uncle enjoyed the regency of the kingdom, and governed it with unlimited authority. A body of Mahrattas, also, under Morari Row, were taken into his pay; and even the Rajah of Tanjore, with whom he had been so long at variance, seeing his cause so generally befriended, now joined with the other allies, to effect his deliverance from those evils which had been partly occasioned by his own hostility. It is impossible, in a summary history like this, to enter into the details of sieges, and minutely to record events of inferior importance. Suffice it to observe, that on the return of Major Lawrence to India, early in 1752, that experienced soldier, assisted by the victorious captor of Arcot, resumed the command of the English troops, and that by vigorous exertion on the part of the confederate army, Chunda-saheb was at length driven to such extremities, and his resources became so utterly exhausted, while his army was so completely inclosed and blocked up in the island of Seringham, near Tritchinopoly, that he was compelled to fly for succour to his most determined enemy, Mona-ji, the general of the Tanjorine army. Presuming that by the gratification of his avarice, his resentment might be appeased, he proffered the poor

remains of his treasury to secure his personal safety, and Mona-ji confirmed his promise of protection by the most solemn oath that binds an Indian soldier. He swore, on his sabre and poniard, that he should be safe, devoting himself to death by those instruments if he failed in his engagement. It was then agreed that Chunda-saheb, with a few attendants, should come to his quarters at midnight, where he promised an escort of horse should be in readiness to convey him to the nearest French settlement. As by perpetual fatigue and vigils the Nabob's health was greatly on the decline, a splendid pallankin, as for an infirm person, had been artfully got ready, which, with the other preparations for his escape, was shewn to the officer who conducted the negociation, and who returned without suspicion. At the dead of night the Nabob with his slender band cautiously advanced towards the Tanjorine camp, but with the perfidy usual among Asiatic princes, the instant he entered the lines, the perjured villain ordered him to be arrested, and thrown into irons.

On this intelligence being communicated to the other chiefs, they immediately assembled with a view to determine in what manner the unfortunate prince should be disposed of. The English, the Mahratta, and the Mysorean generals were all equally anxious to have the charge of so important a personage; but the Tanjorine firmly refused to part with his prisoner; and, the assembly breaking up abruptly, his savage soul, delighting in blood, resolved to end the contest by his destruction. A Patan, trained to deeds of horror, was dispatched to execute the barbarous resolution. He found the wretched prince, in chains, stretched on the floor of his apartment, from which, debilitated by age, by anxiety, and by disease, he was unable to rise. The monster's purpose was evident in his features; and it was in vain that his victim solicited a short conference with Mona-ji, to reveal a

secret of importance. The ruthless assassin stabbed him to the heart, and then severing the head from the body, carried it in savage triumph to his employer, who instantly sent it reeking with blood into Tritchinopoly, to be viewed by the Nabob and his courtiers. The army of the murdered prince immediately dispersed, and the French, who had fortified themselves in the great pagoda of Jambakistna, shortly after surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Thus, at length, Mahommed obtained in reality that distinction to which he had so long laid claim, and for which so much blood and treasure had been expended. The English, to whom he had exhibited his patents of investiture, from Nazir-jing, and Gazi-odean Khan, confirmed by the great Mogul, were satisfied of the justice of his claim, and on that basis they had, through innumerable difficulties, adhered faithfully to his interests, and still continued his friends and protectors.

Of the continuance of that protection he was, indeed, deplorably in want, for although the nominal lord of the whole country from the river Penner to Tinivelly, in all that extent there was scarcely a single fortress, besides Tritchinopoly, in which he could repose his head with security. What rendered his fate still harder was, the Regent of Mysore and the rapacious Mahrattas were hovering near to rend even that solitary possession from him. To that chief he had made a secret promise, evidently extorted from him by the necessity of his circumstances, that if, through his assistance and that of the allies, successful, he would surrender to him that city and fort, which the Regent now claimed, as the stipulated price of his services, and those of his subsidiary Mahrattas. Remonstrances were in vain; the mercenary chief insisted upon the due performance of the contract, and the rival Mahrattas supported him in it. A compromise at length took place between the contending parties, and the Mysorean was, or

at least appeared to be, satisfied with having made over to him a grant of the revenues of the island of Seringham, and several other neighbouring districts, with full power to collect them himself; and a renewed promise, that, within a fixed period Tritchinopoly should be delivered up to him. Matters being thus accommodated, and a strong corps of Europeans and sepoys being left in the city, to guard against possible outrage, Mahommed Ali, at the head of a large body of horse, with 500 English and 2500 sepoys, trained after the European manner, began their march for the recovery of the Carnatic. The first place of strength at which they arrived was Volconda; where the chief bought his peace by taking the oath of allegiance, by the payment of 80,000 rupees, and by giving security for the perpetual payment of future arrears. From this place the Nabob dispatched a body of 1000 horse to strengthen the garrison at Arcot, and then marched on to Trivadi, in the pagoda of which place they found a body of French troops, who surrendered at the first summons. They were unsuccessful in their attack upon Ginjee; they were gloriously triumphant at Bahoor. Vandiwash was ransomed by its governor for 300,000 rupees; and every thing was giving way before them, when by the perfidy of the Mysorean who had invested Tritchinopoly, and driven the garrison to the utmost distress by cutting off all their supplies of provision, the army was suddenly recalled to that important fortress.

M. Dupleix stung with anguish at the discomfiture of his troops, and jealous for the honour of his nation, had been exerting all the energies of his mind, and all the resources of his situation, to re-establish its fame, and its power. He encouraged the Regent, and the Mahrattas, who still adhered to him, to persevere in their claims on Tritchinopoly, and he supplied them

with arms, with men, and with money. He employed both promises and threats with the Rajah of Tanjore, to prevent his sending succours or provisions to the exhausted garrison; and the Mahrattas cut off the noses of the country people whom they found engaged in that benevolent occupation. He proceeded at length to the bold measure of applying to be made himself Nabob of the Carnatic, and by means of M. Bussy, who still continued and was omnipotent with Salabat-jing, obtained a firmaun to that intent, from the new Soubah, although his own title to the viceroyalty had not been confirmed by the Mogul. By virtue of this pretended commission he appointed Mortiz-ally of Vellore, to act as his lieutenant, and received of him 50,000l. as the price of this delegated authority. He assumed all the pomp and dignity of a real Nabob; and the ample revenues which the French now obtained, in addition to former grants, for their assistance in placing and upholding Salabat on the vice-regal throne, were devoted to support his usurped authority. Among these may be enumerated what are called the Northern Circars, thus denominated from their position in respect to Madras, procured, also, by M. Bussy's intrigues at the court of the Deccan, and amounting to above half a million annually.* The return of the Nabob and Major Lawrence to Tritchinopoly saved the garrison from the disaster that immediately impended over it; but the great length of the siege, and the number of the besiegers, had rendered the country for miles round a desert, and supplies were obtained from a great distance with the utmost difficulty; nearly half the army being engaged as an escort, and the troops being perpetually harassed during their march by large bodies of Mahratta cavalry. Several desperate battles were fought, but nothing decisive took place, till at length an

* Orme, vol. i. p. 335.

event occurred of the greatest importance of any that could, at at that time, have happened, and by its consequence put a period, for a time at least, to those unceasing wars which, at a period when the parent countries were at peace, had so long desolated the Carnatic.

A strong remonstrance, occasioned by the complaints of our East India Company, who found their commerce greatly impeded by those wars, had been made by the British to the French ministry, concerning the ambitious projects of the French on the Coromandel coast, and the recall of M. Dupleix, the soul and source of them all, insisted upon. The additional menace that if the measure were not complied with, a national rupture must ensue; and an order of an immediate equipment for the shores of India, of a squadron of men of war, with a body of troops, induced the French court, at that time not at all inclined or prepared for a general war, to check the ambitious career of their servants in India. Early in the spring of 1754, M. Godehen was sent out to supersede M. Dupleix, and with powers to conclude a conditional treaty with Mr. Saunders, the Governor of Madras, and the able opponent in the cabinet of M. Dupleix, to be approved or rejected, as they might think most proper, by the Court of Directors at home. M. Dupleix, totally unacquainted with what had taken place, received his order of recall with astonishment, but with dignity. He was convinced that in all he had done he had the secret approbation of his government, and submitted to be the victim of political convenience without repining. In the pursuit of this great object of national aggrandizement, if he had squandered the public wealth, he had not been sparing of his own; and he returned to an ungrateful country with a fortune much impaired, instead of being improved in its service.

By the appointed commissaries a suspension of arms was

immediately agreed upon between the French and English, which was to include their allies, followed by a conditional treaty, to which, however, the barbarous Mysorean would not submit, declaring that he was under no obligation to regard any treaty that was not made by himself. On receiving intelligence, shortly after, that Salabat-jing was advancing from Golcondah, at the head of a vast army, for the purpose of collecting the tribute, due for many years from Mysore, he abruptly broke up his camp, and after having waited three years with patient perseverance, as well as with great waste of men and treasure, at the head of 20,000 men, to accomplish a favourite project, he retired to his country, in 1755, without having accomplished it. Such was the commencement of our transactions with the kingdom of Mysore; the renowned Hyder served in that camp under his uncle, and learned from his failure, on this occasion, a more wise and politic lesson for his future conduct in war.

With a view to enforce, if necessary, their demands relative to a change of measures in the councils of Pondicherry, the British government had early in 1754 dispatched to India Admiral Watson, with a squadron of three ships, having the 49th regiment on board, and towards the close of the year, Commodore Pocock arrived with two more ships of the line, which, added to those already on the coast, composed a formidable fleet. Of Europeans, too, the number at Madras and Fort St. David's amounted to full 2000 men; yet the terms of the treaty were lenient and favourable, leaving in the hands of the French very large districts, and revenues far exceeding their own. Absolute peace, however, amidst so many armed claimants, and through so wide a circuit as the field of the late war, could not immediately be obtained. Inferior contests for some time agitated the south of the peninsula; but, before the close of the year 1755,

the rightful claims of Mahommed Ali, as Nabob, were generally acknowledged throughout the Carnatic, and, invited by the Presidency at Madras to Arcot, under their support and protection, he thenceforth securely fixed his residence in that ancient capital of the province.*

Having now brought the complicated history of affairs in the Carnatic to some kind of termination, we must direct our attention to the transactions of the Company in Bengal, whose Soubah already had followed the example of the Nizam in assuming independence, or at least in paying only a nominal obedience to the Mogul, without remitting a rupee for his support.

The frequent appearance of the MAHRATTAS, however, about this time, on the theatre of war, renders it necessary for us previously, and rather prematurely, for it properly belongs to the general history, to present the reader with a detailed account of the origin and progress of that singular race.

The term Mahratta is very properly derived by Major Rennel† from MARHAT, the name of a province in the Deccan, comprehending Baglana, and other districts, which at present form a large portion of the dominions of that people. The founder of the tribe was SEVAJEE, descended from the Rana of Oudipour, the chief of the Rajpoot princes. His mother was not of such high origin, she is said to have been an obscure person of the

* My authorities for the above extensive detail of affairs on the coast of Coromandel and in the Carnatic, independent of Mr. Orme's more elaborate work, are the authentic "Narrative of Colonel Lawrence" himself, published in 1762, in refutation of M. Dupleix's disingenuous Memoire; Cambridge's "War in India;" Dow's "Decline of the Mogul Empire," important, in what concerns the history of Nizam-al-Muluck and his descendants in the Deccan; the India Papers, and the Gazette accounts, published by authority.

† Memoir, p. 79, last edition.

tribe of *Bonsola*, or *Boonsla*, retained to this day as the family name by his descendants, the Rajahs of Sattarah and Berar. His immediate father bore a high command in the armies of the king of Visiapour. Sevajee was born in 1628, and spurning at subordination, early aspired to independent sovereignty. The distractions which about that period prevailed in Visiapour, from the irruption of the Mogul monarch into the peninsula, were highly favourable to his views. Among the mountains of the western coast, and the strong fortresses in which they abound, he first raised his banners, which were resorted to with eagerness by many bold chieftains, of his own tribe of Rajpouts, all animated by the same turbulent disposition. From those mountains they descended in formidable bodies, chiefly cavalry, into the wide-spread champaign country below, plundering the inhabitants of their treasures, driving away their flocks, and carrying off their grain to their strong holds.

Living entirely in this predatory manner, on the labour and industry of his subjects, the sovereign of Visiapour, who was at that time also engaged in a destructive war with the Delhian emperor, sent armies upon armies against them, but by open resistance, or by treachery, chiefly by the latter, every effort to crush the rising foe was defeated. Aurungzeb himself, then on the throne, who had in the first instance employed this body of banditti to promote his ambitious project of subjugating Visiapour, soon found them to be the more determined enemy of the two, and exerted against them the forces of the empire with very inadequate success. The King of Visiapour dying in 1661, left his son a minor, and dissensions arising among the nobles, relative to the regency, Sevajee took advantage of these distractions, and sent detachments to obtain possession of the towns and sea-ports

lying along the shore of the CONCAN,* which was effected with little opposition. Pirates had abounded on this coast from the time of Alexander, whose historians mention the Sangarians of those days as famous in that line, and Sevajee, to whom no species of plunder was unwelcome, encouraged rather than repressed their predatory disposition. By this means he gradually became formidable on the ocean, and to the Europeans settled on that coast: the interruptions given to their trade by his ships, though not hitherto of magnitude or importance enough to be recorded here, are frequently mentioned. In the event, however, we shall find the English navy occupied in utterly destroying the piratical empire in these seas by the defeat of Angria, and the destruction of GHERIA.

While his generals were ravaging the shore of the Concan, Sevajee himself descended from the northern hills in great force into the plains that stretch between Ahmednagar and Aurengabad, every where laying waste the country, and despoiling the Moguls. In another campaign which took place in 1664, he made an irruption into Guzzurat, and plundered Surat of a million sterling, but molested not the English and Dutch factories. Highly exasperated at this new insult, Aurungzeb now commanded the whole army of the Deccan to march against the

* "The region," says Mr. Orme, "called the CONCAN, extends along the western coast of India, from the territory of Goa to Daman, in length 240 miles. The vast range of hills which accompanies the sea-coast, and always in sight of it, from Comorin to Daman, is called the GAUTS, an Indian word which signifies *passages*. This chain, never more than 50, or less than 30 miles from the sea, has in its whole extent very few passages which open into the inland country by windings among the mountains. In all other parts, and especially in the Concan, the whole chain seems one connected wall, to the summit of which every path has been hewn by the hand of man; and, nevertheless, is not to be ascended even by the single foot of the traveller, without the fatigue of hours." Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 22, last quarto edition.

marauder, but at the same time ordered the general of that army, Rajah Jysing, to use every effort to decoy him to Delhi. What artifices were used it is impossible to say, but by superior cunning, of which he was a consummate master, Sevajee not only went to Delhi, but returned in safety, after an ineffectual attempt to assassinate him, and with a spirit of highly inflamed hostility, to commit new ravages in Guzzurat. We find him again, in 1669, before the gates of Surat, levying heavy exactions, and retiring with an immense booty, in safety, to the almost impregnable fort of RAIREE; situated, like many others of his strong holds in the mountains, on the summit of a lofty rock. Aurungzeb, about this time engaged in an obstinate war with the Patans, not being able to send troops in sufficient numbers to check his incursions, ordered vessels to be constructed in the ports of Surat and Cambay, for the purpose of invading the shores of the Concan, in conjunction with the Seddees; but Sevajee, at all points prepared, with his superior navy captured some, and burned others in the harbours. At length, having become in every respect an independent prince, he caused himself to be publicly enthroned with all the pomp of an Hindoo monarch of the war tribe, and on that day laid the foundation of one of the most powerful sovereignties of India. His life and his victories terminated in 1680.

He was succeeded, on his self-erected throne, by his son Sambajee, who began his reign with great apparent vigour, and for some years, upheld its glory, both in the cabinet and in the field, against Aurungzeb, personally opposed to him in the latter. His three principal forts of Sattarah, Pannela, and Rairee, having been separately invested, he descended with all his forces from the mountains, and defeated the assailants. He for a long time protected Sultan Akber, the rebel son of Aurungzeb, at his

court, against the menaced vengeance of his father, and at length he so deeply incensed the Mogul by the unprecedented barbarity with which he carried on the war against his troops, poisoning the tanks of pure water near which they might be tempted to encamp, and committing other wanton outrages, that he swore, before his return to Delhi, he would see at his feet the head of Sambajee weltering in its blood. With this determination he fixed, in 1688, his head quarters at the city of Visiapour. With his innumerable army he soon reconquered all the towns and castles in the open champaign country; while along the foot of the mountains, which contained his strong and scarcely accessible fortresses, he so judiciously stationed bodies of troops as prevented any descent of the enemy into the plain. The number of these posts in the high ridge of the gauts, is said to have amounted to no less than 350.*

By open hostility, however, Aurungzeb soon found it impossible to conquer Sambajee, or obtain possession of his person. He therefore sought to effect it by secret ambush. Sambajee had an unbounded propensity to women. He who rose invincible from the toils of war, was still to be caught in the toils of love and beauty. The Mogul bribed the pander of his lust, and secured his prey. He appeared before his captor with an undaunted countenance. Being proffered life if he would turn Mahommedan, he poured forth a bitter invective against the Prophet, and lauded the gods of Hindostan. The fury of the bigotted Mogul rose to its highest pitch; he was instantly ordered to a cruel death. After suffering a thousand indignities, his tongue was torn out. He was again insultingly offered life, if he would abjure the Hindoo faith, and adopt Mahommedism. He wrote, "Not, tyrant, if you would give me your daughter in marriage."

* Orme's Historic Fragments, p. 93.

His heart was then cut out in the presence of Aurungzeb, and his mangled limbs were given to the dogs.*

This nefarious execution, intended to awe a race not to be intimidated, had no other effect on the Mahratta nation at large than to exasperate them to keener vengeance, and to excite them to deeds of bolder enterprize. To Sambajee, at a very early age, succeeded his son Sahojee, who possessing all the courage and political wisdom of his father and grandfather, during a long reign of fifty years, not only very widely extended the bounds of the empire, but matured and consolidated what their genius had planned and their exertions had secured. The dissensions that raged among the sons and descendants of Aurungzeb, whom his ancestors had braved in the field, were extremely favourable to the exaltation of a race, inured to war and discipline, animated by the same religion, governed by the same laws, and doomed, as it should seem, to rise upon the ruins of a mighty empire. During this long period of distraction, the armies of the Mahrattas over-run and plundered almost every part of Hindostan, excepting Bengal. We have seen them, during the absence of Nizam-al-Muluck, their greatest check, at Delhi, and indeed by his express permission, taking a decided part in the wars that desolated the Carnatic; they had conquered the greatest part of the fine province of Malwa; and, on the return of the Nizam to the south, they had carried their devastations even to the gates of the capital itself, and extorted a vast sum, by way of tribute, from the enervate Mahommed. Finally, in 1735, they obtained from that weak monarch authority to collect the CHOUT, or *fourth* part of the net revenues of the other provinces of the empire, though Bengal for some time longer remained unviolated by their daring irruptions. In short, at the death of Sahojee, which took place

* Orme's Historic Fragments, p. 164, ubi supra.

in 1740, their territories extended from the western ocean to Orissa, and from Agra to the Carnatic, forming a tract of nearly 1000 miles long, by 700 wide, and including some of the richest and most fertile provinces of the Indian peninsula. The capital of this great empire was established at Sattarah, a fortress situated about 50 miles south-east of Poonah, and near the 18th degree of north latitude.*

During the latter period of Sahojee's reign, being oppressed with age and infirmities, he had almost wholly confided the reins of government to a very able minister, named Ballajee, who under the official denomination of the PAISHWAH, or vice-gerent, skilfully conducted all the affairs of the vast empire of his master. Sahojee, indeed, lived so wholly secluded from public business in his palace and fortress of Sattarah, that the Paishwah was considered in the light of a sovereign, and acted as such without the name. From him immediately issued all the orders of government, and peace and war depended on himself alone. Sahojee having no children, was succeeded by his nephew, Ram Rajah, a prince of weak intellects, over whom the Paishwah continued to exert the same powerful influence, or rather in consequence of his defective understanding, a still greater than he had exerted over his uncle, and kept him constantly confined in his splendid prison of Sattarah. He had the power to render the office of Paishwah hereditary in his family, and at his death his son Bajerow succeeded to his high office and his honours.

There was another officer of distinguished eminence in the court of Sattarah, termed BUKSHI, or commander in chief. His name was Ragojee Boonsla, and he was nearly related to the reigning dynasty, as his name indicates. Uncontrolled in their respective situations, and equally ambitious of vice-regal sway,

* Rennell's Memoir, p. 124.

these two great officers agreed to divide between them the empire of their master; the one, the Paishwah, assuming to himself the government of the eastern provinces, fixed his capital at Poonah; the other, the Bukshi, who held the province of Berar in Jaghire, fixed his residence at Nagpour in that province. Though distinct and independent governments, still the chief of Berar acknowledged the supremacy of the Rajah of Sattarah, as the head of the empire, and regarded the Paishwah as the principal executive authority of the state, invested with the exclusive right of concluding treaties, and regulating other great national concerns. The descendants of Sevajee, in their splendid confinement continue to be treated with the greatest respect. "No Paishwah," says Lord Wellesley, who had the best opportunity of knowing, "can enter upon his office without receiving a *kelaut*, or dress of honour from the Rajah.* On taking the field he must previously have a formal audience of leave from the Rajah. The country in the vicinity of Sattarah enjoys an exemption from military depredations of all kinds; and whensoever any chief enters this district, all the ensigns of power and command are laid aside; and the nagara, or great drum of the empire ceases to beat."†

Although it may be considered as an anticipation of events, yet, for the sake of connection, I shall carry somewhat lower down in the century the history of their descendants, and the usurpers of their thrones.

The reign of Bajerow was a reign of activity and vigour; he greatly increased the limits of the Mahratta empire, and wrested from the Portugueze the important fortress of Bassein, and the island of Salsette, near Bombay. He died in 1759; and was

* A KELAUT is a dress of honour, conferred by a superior on an inferior, on occasion of accession to office, or as a mark of esteem and approbation.

† Lord Wellesley on the Mahratta war, Appendix, p. 8.

succeeded in the Paishwahship, that is to say, on the Poonah throne, by his son Ballajee. His real sovereign, the RAM RAJAH, fourth Rajah of Sattarah, dying without issue, that dignity *ought*, by the ties of blood, to have descended to Ragojee Boonsla, sovereign of Berar; but his dread of the superior power of the Paishwah prevented him from putting in his claim, and it passed into some other branch of the family, who are *supposed* still to reside closely shut up in their ancient but splendid prison; I say supposed, because it is a matter of just doubt whether any of that family at present actually exist at Sattarah.* This suspicion is confirmed by the fact that the Rajah of Berar, on occasions of meeting between himself and the Paishwah, is always treated, in consequence of his rank, as his superior; and, in the capacity of first constituent member of the empire, claims the right of sending to the Paishwah a dress of honour on his accession to the office. The name, however, of RAM RAJAH still remains, though his person be unknown; and is stamped on the seal and coin of the empire.

Ballajee died in 1761, leaving three sons, of whom Maderow ascended the musnud. He reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by his younger brother Narrain Row, a youth of 19, whose unfortunate end excites the sigh of compassion. He was assassinated by the base contrivance of his uncle Ragonaut, better known by the name of Ragobah, son of Bajerow, the first Paishwah. Ragonaut had been for some time in confinement at Poonah; for what offence is unknown. On Narrain's accession he solicited his liberty, which it was not thought proper to grant him. Two officers, high in his nephew's service, were suborned by him to perpetrate the bloody deed. On a certain day all the avenues leading to the palace were secured, and the whole building

* See Moor's Narrative of Captain Little's Detachment, p. 432.

surrounded with the troops under their command. On the first alarm, suspecting the treason, and well aware of the author, the distracted youth rushed into his uncle's apartment, threw himself at his feet, and with tears implored his protection. "You are my uncle," said he, "take my throne; but spare my life; bathe not your sword in the blood of so near a relative." At this instant the two assassins entered the apartment. Ragonaut, affecting anger which he did not feel, ordered them to depart, The hardened ruffians, convinced of his insincerity, rushed forward with their poniards and stabbed him in the arms of his uncle, treacherously extended to protect him. A deed of such black atrocity could not fail to render the author the object of universal hatred and detestation. Though for a short time he enjoyed the throne in defect of other male relatives, yet his crown was a crown of thorns; and the widow of the young and unfortunate Narrain proving with child, and that child a boy, the vote of the chiefs that raised him to that musnud was rescinded, and he was hurled from it with merited indignation. To that favoured child was given the name of Sevajee Maderow, and in due time he mounted the throne, and reigned on it till 1795, when he was killed by a fall from the terrace of his palace.

Of the sovereigns of the eastern Mahrattas, on account of our having less political intercourse with them than with the western, fewer particulars are known. The first Rajah of Berar, Ragojee Boonsla, whom we shall soon see performing a part of very active hostility in Bengal, finished his career of glory and depredation in 1749. He left four sons, Janojee, Sabajee, Moodhajee, and Bembajee, of whom the eldest, Janojee, succeeded to the musnud. Janojee dying without issue in 1772, appointed as his successor, the son of his younger brother Moodhajee, whom he had adopted. This appointment occasioned a contention between

the brothers, Sabajee and Moodhajee. The former claiming the government in right of priority of birth, and the latter, as father and guardian of the adopted child. They were accordingly engaged in perpetual war until the death of Sabajee, who was killed in an engagement with that brother on the 27th of January, 1775. From that period the government of Berar was holden by Moodhajee Boonsla, who died at an advanced age in 1788, and was succeeded by his son Ragojee, the adopted child of Janojee, the present Rajah of Berar.*

To this summary abridgment of Mahratta history, it may be proper to add a short account, from the same respectable author, of certain celebrated chiefs among them, who amidst the perpetual contests for dominion, usual in all feudal states, have risen to power and eminence on the declining authority of the early usurpers.

The first of these in rank and extent of domain is the family of SCINDIAH. Ranojee Scindia, the founder of this family, rose to notice in the service of Bajerow, the first Paishwah, whom having attended in a successful invasion of the province of Malwa, he was rewarded with a considerable portion of the districts conquered in that province. The grant thus made to him was confirmed in Jaghire to his descendants, by the Rajah of Sattarah. On the death of Ranojee Scindia, Madhajee, his fifth son succeeded to the patrimonial inheritance, of which Oujein was the capital; but by these limits he was not to be confined. Extending his conquests every way, he gradually made himself master of the greatest part of Malwa, of the Rajpout states, and of Agra and Delhi, by which he became possessed of the person and nominal authority of the Mogul, of whom he was the ostensible minister. This ambitious and turbulent chief died in 1794, and

* Marquis Wellesley's Mahratta War, Appendix, p. 22, ubi supra.

was succeeded by his nephew and adopted son, Dowlet Rao Scindia, of whom much will occur hereafter.

The second feudatory chief of consequence, among the Mahrattas, is Holkar. The founder of this family, also, rose to eminence under the first Paishwah, and obtained the reward of his services, like Scindiah, in a large division of the province of Malwa, in Jaghire.* The capital of Holkar is Indore, a city situate about 30 miles south east of Oujein. His income is supposed to be about 80 lacs of rupees, or one million sterling per annum. Holkar has also a considerable part of Candeish, which province is, like Malwa, divided between himself, the Paishwah, and Scindia. He was succeeded by his nephew Tuckojee Holkar, who not being an ambitious man, and having ever shewn great attachment to the reigning Brahmin family at Poonah, was considered as a proper check on the ambition of the other great chiefs of Nagpour and Oujein. He died in 1797, and was succeeded by his illegitimate son Jeswunt, a man of a widely different stamp, politic in the cabinet, and enterprizing in the field, the determined opponent of Scindiah, but not unsuspected of designs on the musnud of Poonah itself, though prevented from carrying those designs into execution† by the vigour and vigilance of the British government.

The third considerable chieftain, or Jaghiredar, is Futtey Sing, known by the family name of Gwickar, who divides with the Paishwah the largest and finest part of Guzzurat; his particular share chiefly lies in its northern districts. The fourth is, or rather was, for he was killed in 1799, fighting against his old enemy, the Rajah of Colapore, Purseram Bhow, who to the dignity of

* Jaghire, or Jagheer, means a grant of land from a sovereign to a subject, revokable at pleasure; but generally, or almost always, for a life rent.

† Lord Wellesley, Appendix, p. 18.

belonging to the Brahmin class, added the advantage of great riches and military authority. His son, Appah Saheb, inherits his estate, and his hatred of the aforesaid Rajah, with whom he wages continual war. The fifth is the Rastia family, also Brahmins, long settled in the Concan, and possessed of great power and distinction in the state of Poonah. The present chief is named Maderow Rastia, has a revenue of about 20 lacs of rupees, and commands a force of about 4000 horse, and as many peons.* These are among the principal feudatories of the Mahratta state, which, in the course of a century and an half, from a few wandering bands of robbers, has arisen to the proud distinction of being the first native power of India. As their names, which may sound not a little uncouth to an English ear, will frequently occur in the subsequent pages of this work, the above concise account of them may be useful towards understanding their relative situation hereafter in that empire, which their ambitious projects convulsed.

In concluding our account of this singular race of men, a few reflections present themselves, to which a view of their extraordinary character and manners naturally give birth in the mind of every intelligent reader.

The Mahrattas, whether considered as a nation or as individuals, constitute a peculiar phænomenon in the history of human society. Superstitiously addicted to the mild rites of the Brahmin religion; never eating of any thing that has life, and by their belief in the metempsychosis, restrained from killing even the most noxious reptile that molests them, yet barbarously mutilating, and in their sanguinary warfare putting to death thousands of their fellow-creatures, and that often with aggravated tortures, they exhibit a contrast of character wholly unparalleled.

* Ibid, p. 28.

The engines of that torture which they are said to carry with them to force confession of concealed treasure, are of a terrible description. The iron chair in which, heated red hot, the offender is placed, and the envelope of the same metal also heated red hot to encircle his head, are among a few of them. These are particularly mentioned by the missionaries who resided in the Carnatic at the time of their grand irruption there in 1740, and, in fact, for one of them, Pere Madeira, after having been first severely flogged, and exposed several days naked to a vertical sun, to make him discover hidden treasure, the chair and that envelope were heated red hot; but by the interposition of one of the generals he was respited.* Their more lenient punishments are slitting the nose, and cutting off the ears; but Bernier, who was an eye witness of their cruelties during the plunder of Surat in 1664, says, that to make the rich inhabitants discover their wealth, they were guilty of more horrid cruelties, cutting off the legs and arms of those who were suspected of secreting it.†

If it were only against the Moors, the ferocious invaders of their country, the despoilers of the Hindoo temples, and the remorseless murderers of the priests of Brahma, that these cruelties were directed, it would be less a subject of wonder, since Sevajee publicly announced himself the avenger of the Gods of Hindostan against the sanguinary violators of their shrines, meaning Aurungzeb and the Moguls; but their rage is indiscriminating, and Hindoos and Mahommedans are alike the victims of their unrelenting barbarities. How astonishing must this conduct appear to every reflecting mind! Scrupulous minutely to observe all the prescribed duties of their cast, with respect to diet and ablutions, even amidst the tumult of war, and often to the

* See Lettres édifiantes, tom. xvi. p. 264.

† See his Memoir of the Mogul Empire, part 2d, p. 151.

obstruction of the business of a campaign, yet practising every species of brutal inhumanity: how strange the transition from the meekness of prayer to the rage of plunder, from ablution in the purifying wave that washes away sin, to bathe in torrents of human blood. From all this pollution, however, the Brahmins, who share in the plunder, have the effrontery to tell them they are purified by the sacrifice of a buffalo, accompanied with many mysterious ceremonies, and with this wretched salvo their consciences are appeased.

This whole account will render less incredible what on good authority I had long ago intimated in the Indian Antiquities, when detailing the ancient sanguinary rites of Hindostan, that, even at this day, certain tribes of the ferocious race of Mahrattas are more than suspected of secretly cherishing a number of human victims, the most remarkable for personal beauty that can possibly be obtained, and generally in the full vigour and bloom of youth, for the rites of the ALTAR; of fattening them like the stall-fed oxen for slaughter; and on grand solemnities of festivity or grief, of actually offering up those unhappy victims to their gloomy goddess CALI, in all the pomp of that tremendous sacrifice.*

Making war their sole profession, and letting themselves out to the best bidder, they are to be found in all quarters, and are alternately engaged by all parties. It is dangerous, however, to employ them, for the offer of better terms generally induces them to change sides, and, plunder being their grand object, they often devastate the very country which they were hired to defend. Their principal strength lies in their numerous cavalry, which they cherish with the greatest care, and their horses, like themselves, being inured to privations and

* Indian Antiquities, vol. v. p. 79.

perpetually in exercise, are of a hardier nature, and more capable of bearing fatigue, than any brought into the field by the princes of India. Rapid in their movements, and unincumbered with baggage, they render themselves formidable to the Mogul armies, by harassing their rear, by ravaging the country, and by cutting off their supplies. They avoid as much as possible a general engagement, but when it takes place they combat with resolution; and in the use of the sabre are dreadfully dexterous. If however their arms are crowned with victory, their principal attention is instantly directed to plundering the camp of the vanquished, instead of pursuing them to extermination. Were they firmly united under one able commanding chief, as under Sevajee, they would be formidable indeed, and must soon be the sovereigns of Hindostan; but their government being feudal, divided among many chiefs, mostly at variance with each other, their power is weakened in proportion, and it is only from their devastations that Hindostan has to fear.*

Besides the authors above referred to, Fryer and Thevenot, who were both in India when Sevajee flourished, may be consulted; and in Mr. Cambridge's "War in India" will be found, dispersed, many interesting particulars respecting this singular nation, their manners and habits. Mr. C. justly observes "that it is owing to their arms alone, that the Mahommedans have been prevented from the usurpation of the whole peninsula of India," p. 157, second oct. edit.

CHAPTER V.

Transactions in Bengal.—Jaffier Khan made Soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; oppresses the English at Calcutta.—Succeeded in 1725 by Sujah Khan.—Promotion of ALLAVERDY, *and his Tartar Brother, to the first Authority in the Government—they intrigue against the Nabob, who dies in 1739.—Succeeded by his son Suffraze Khan, a Monster of Depravity—invaded and killed by Allaverdy, who usurps the Supreme Power.—The* MAHRATTAS, *in 1742, in two vast bodies make an Irruption into Bengal, and commit horrible Devastations.—Allaverdy contrives to sow jealousy between the two Commanders.—The Poonah Chief, bribed by two millions of Rupees, retires.—The Chief of Nagpour defeated and driven beyond the western Limits.—The Court of Delhi confirms Allaverdy in the Soubahship, and he finally makes Peace with the Mahrattas.—Appoints his Successor, and dies.—The situation of the English under Allaverdy's Government.—*SURAJAH DOWLAH.—*His character, and bitter hatred of the English.—Makes War upon them.—Besieges and takes Calcutta.—The* BLACK HOLE *Disaster.—Arrival in Bengal of Clive and Watson.—Calcutta retaken.—Battle of Plassey, 1757.—Meer Jaffier ascends the Musnud.—Death of Surajah Dowlah.*

AT the period when the English, settled at Calcutta, sent an embassy to the emperor Furrukseer at Delhi, as hath been already related, Bengal was governed by a viceroy from the court of Delhi, named Jaffier Khan, a rapacious and sanguinary tyrant, whose repeated exactions, as before intimated, had compelled them to make that appeal to the justice and liberality of

the emperor. He was himself, at the time, by his envoy, a supplicant at the court of Delhi, soliciting that the large provinces of Bahar and Orissa might be annexed to his government of Bengal, which request was granted, together with the reversion of the whole to Sujah Khan, an Omrah of distinction, who had married his daughter, and who he intended should be his successor. With the increase of his power his tyranny and extortions kept pace; but the Company's agents thought it more prudent to soothe him with presents than provoke him to open hostility, by opposition; especially as there appeared little probability of redress from any application to the court, at that period distracted by rival factions. In 1725, death released them from his oppressive yoke; and he was succeeded in the government of the three provinces by that Sujah Khan, whose appointment, we before observed, had been confirmed by the Mogul.

Sujah acted at that time as viceroy for his father-in-law, in the province of Orissa. On receiving intelligence of his death he removed to Muxadavad, the capital of Bengal, where he was invested with the insignia of the authority of Nabob, or rather Soubahdar. He was accompanied thither by two Omrahs, brothers, whose history, as being of considerable importance in the transactions of this period, must be summarily related. These Omrahs were of Tartar origin, and had come to his court at Cattack, the capital of Orissa, with strong recommendations from Delhi. The elder, Hodgee Hamed, was cool, cautious, and cunning, but not endowed with any great portion of natural courage; the younger, Allaverdy, possessed a brave, active, vigorous, independent, mind. Brothers by blood, they were also bound to each other by the ties of inviolable friendship. Steadily pursuing one object, aggrandizement, these favoured foreigners gradually rose to the highest employments in the court and the camp. Hodgee became his prime minister, and

Allaverdy commander in chief of his army. With their master's elevation they also ascended, and continued to occupy the same high stations in the Soubahship, as those which they had filled in the inferior government of Orissa.

In 1729, Allaverdy was appointed to govern Bahar, a province which being perpetually harassed by the contentions of petty chiefs, not yet wholly subjugated by the Mogul arms, demanded a viceroy of his vigorous and military character, to restore and sustain order within its limits. This desirable event, after a considerable period and several severe conflicts with the chiefs in arms, he happily accomplished, and in 1736, forgetting his innumerable obligations to Sultan Sujah, under whom he then acted, solicited as his reward from Delhi, the government of Bahar, free from any dependence on that of Bengal. To his own well-founded claims for this boon, immense bribes were added by his brother Hodgee, the probable plunder of the Bengal treasury, and the grant was obtained; though the public promulgation of it was prudently delayed till that minister could be placed in safety beyond the justly-apprehended vengeance of Sultan Sujah. It was impossible, however, that a public grant of this nature should long remain concealed from the knowledge of the Soubah. He heard of it, and meditated a deep revenge on the perfidious brothers. Before, however, any measure of vengeance could be resorted to, the invasion of India by Nadir Shah took place, and the thunder of the storm that rolled over Delhi was heard in the distant provinces; it appalled the terrified governors, and paralyzed alike the arm raised to inflict vengeance, or to extend conquest. While however revenge only slept in his breast, he was assailed by a more dreadful foe, incurable disease! and before the departure of Nadir Shah from India, Sujah expired.

His only surviving son, Suffraze Khan, ascended the vacant throne, inheriting with it his father's inveterate hatred against the two brothers, which the dictates of prudence alone restrained from bursting forth into some act of decisive vengeance. But revenge in the soul of Suffraze was only *one* of many dreadful passions that agitated it; he was from his youth the victim of unbounded lust, and was sunk in perpetual inebriety. With the increase of his power his rage for women, intoxication, and every other criminal indulgence kept pace. His intellects, never very strong, at length became impaired by this long course of debauchery, which afforded an opportunity to his disaffected minister to join with other Omrahs of the court, equally disaffected, to attempt his removal from a throne which he had disgraced by his folly, and polluted by his crimes. By deep dissimulation and intrigue, after long solicitation, Hodgee obtained permission to resign his high employ, and depart the realm. When he appeared at the Durbar, at the usual audience of leave, instead of being treated with the respect due to a minister who had so long held the reins of government, he was the object of insult and mockery to the infatuated Sultan; and an honourable retirement was converted into a disgraceful banishment.

Affecting indignation at this treatment of his brother, Allaverdy immediately commenced his march for Bengal. Nothing could obstruct his impetuous career; and he was in the heart of the province before the Soubah had raised a man to oppose him. By exertions, however, of which from his voluptuous and indolent life he could scarcely have been deemed capable, he raised an army of 30,000 men, horse and foot, and met his enemy on the plain of Gheria, about five miles from Muxadavad. The army of his antagonist was not superior in numbers, but it was far superior in spirit. It consisted of a hardier class of soldiers than those

which Bengal produced, many of them being Patans, the most warlike race of Hindostan, nurtured in the mountains of the north, amid the storms and snows of Caucasus. With troops, like these, and which in the recent wars of Bahar had seen much service, it was impossible for Suffraze successfully to contend. Treachery too had deeply infected every part of his army; and large bodies of troops deserting to the enemy left their master wholly unsupported, except by a few squadrons of horse. In this extremity his elephant driver, at the forfeit of his head, offered to conduct him safely back to his capital. He spurned at the cowardly proposal, and ordering him to push forward amidst the thickest of the foe that crowded around the standard of Allaverdy, at the head of his few remaining troops renewed the fight with desperate valour, and died more gloriously than he had lived.

Allaverdy after the battle immediately marched to Muxadavad, and, with loud acclamations of the delighted populace, was proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. His high military character, together with the moderation which he used in this great change of fortune, endeared him to all, but rendered him formidable to Nizam-al-Muluck at the court of Delhi, who could bear no rival in arms, or power. By his incitement, therefore, the Mahratta bands again visited the districts round Delhi, and demanding the chout or tribute for Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were desired by the emperor to go and collect it themselves. Armed with this authority from the supreme power, and animated by the prospect of the immense booty to be obtained in those rich provinces hitherto sacred from their ravages, this mighty nation of marauders immediately began the preparations for the long-meditated irruption. They were proportionate to the magnitude of the *object*, and the extent of the *field* to be explored. After

harassing the frontiers with inferior detachments, the generals of that nation in its two divisions of Poonah and Berar, in 1743, each at the head of a body of not less than 80,000 horse, with their usual celerity, but in different directions, burst in upon that devoted region. The army of Poonah, commanded by Bajerow; that of Berar, by Ragojee Boonsla; the same, who, in 1740, invaded the Carnatic. The two armies, sweeping every thing before them, met at Burdwan, where it was agreed that the war should be carried on in conjunction, and the plunder be equally divided.

Sensible of the dangers that surrounded him, but still undismayed, Allaverdy encamped near his capital, determined, while there existed such vast disparity of numbers, neither to give nor to accept battle. He permitted them, for a time, without opposition, to ravage the country, and glut themselves with plunder. Well skilled, though a foreigner, in Indian warfare, and all the wiles of Indian politics, he relied for eventual success on the more certain measures of intrigue and bribery. By emissaries retained at an high price in their respective camps, and of too distinguished a rank to create suspicion, he sowed between the generals the seeds of distrust and jealousy, insinuating to each that undue advantage had been taken, and a fair distribution had not been made of the provincial plunder. In discussing this subject a coolness was produced between them, and at length Allaverdy so far gained over the Poonah general as to induce him to agree that, on the consideration of two millions of rupees to be instantly paid, and three millions more, when they should have arrived in their own country, their troops should be immediately withdrawn. At a meeting holden for the purpose between the three commanders, these terms were ratified; but Bajerow alone kept firm to the compact, for having received the money he marched

off with the treasure and his men, while Ragojee, with the usual faith of a Mahratta, continued plundering and devastating, wheresoever plunder was to be obtained.

Allaverdy having now accomplished one of the two objects which he had in view, their separation or expulsion, began the most vigorous preparations to attack Ragojee, but that wily chieftain avoided a general battle, and spreading desolation in his progress, retired into Orissa, which he wholly subjugated in the space of three months. In the following year, 1744, the indefatigable Allaverdy marched into that province at the head of all his forces, by various stratagems brought the enemy still reluctant, to engage him, totally discomfited him, and finally compelled him to retreat beyond its western boundary. Thus terminated an irruption, one of the most dreadful in the Indian annals, an irruption, still remembered with horror by the terrified Bengallers; "and I myself," says Major Rennell, writing in 1788, "have beheld many of the objects of their wanton barbarity, mutilated and defaced."*

Although during this invasion the European factories remained unmolested, and the English, in particular, received no other detriment than the loss of about 300 bales of raw silk which, in its passage down the river from Cossimbuzar to Calcutta, were seized upon by the Mahrattas, yet the great obstruction given to commerce throughout the provinces by these disasters, greatly impaired their profits, and retarded their payments. At the same time it had this pernicious effect, that while it enhanced the price it debased the fabrics of all kinds of manufactures. The affrighted inhabitants, in dread of personal insult and mutilation, fled from their looms and their fields, to the woods, where they perished with hunger, or were the food of tigers; and not a few sought

* Rennell's Memoir, p. 85, of the Introduction.

refuge among their countrymen at Calcutta, to whom they imparted their terrors. Under these impressions, and dreading a visit from those unprincipled robbers, the Indian inhabitants of the colony solicited and obtained permission at their own expence to dig a ditch round the Company's bounds, an extent of seven miles, and in six months nearly one half of that extent was finished; but those terrors at length subsiding, they discontinued the work; which from the occasion was called the *Mahratta ditch*. Allaverdy by no means opposed this act of self defence, nor, though guilty of some exactions on the ground that they who enjoyed the protection, should contribute to the expence of his arms, had the English any particular reason for complaint under his long and turbulent government.*

That reign was indeed embittered by various and successive calamities; for not long after, in a successful irruption of the Patans into Bahar, his brother Hodgee, then governor there, and who had been instrumental to the destruction of Mustapha Khan, the Patan general, was seized, publicly scourged like a criminal, and then cruelly put to death. Great bodies of Mahrattas too, chiefly from Berar, lured by the vast plunder which their countrymen in their former excursion had brought away, and incited by the court of Delhi, year after year poured in upon the more exposed parts of the province, ravaging and slaughtering without mercy, and kept his harassed armies continually in the field. At length, having contrived to make his peace with the emperor, a firmaun was issued confirming him Soubah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on condition of his annually remitting the ancient tribute of *six millions* of rupees. Of the Mahrattas, also, he finally purchased peace, by ceding to them, in perpetuity, all Orissa, south of Cattack; and having thus settled the affairs of

* Orme, vol. ii. p. 45. Holwell's Indian Tracts, p. 86.

that government of which he was originally an usurper, but was now the legal sovereign, he hoped to pass the few remaining years of his life in repose and felicity. An injudicious choice of a successor, however, destroyed that pleasing hope, and involved it in the deepest gloom and misery.

Having no male issue, he adopted from the surviving remains of his brother Hodgee's family Mirza Mahmud, the eldest son of the brave but unfortunate Zaindee Hamed, his nephew, whom in the first instance he had designed for his successor, and whose virtues and abilities justified the choice. Neither those virtues nor those abilities descended to his son, now only seventeen years of age, but old in every species of depravity; by habit and nature inflexibly cruel, sullen, obstinate, and vindictive. Flattered by minions from his infancy his insolence was unbounded, and, indulged by the over-weening fondness of Allaverdy in every gratification, his passions were headstrong and ungovernable. To this monster of vice the Soubahship of Bengal descended in 1756, and among the earliest acts of his reign was one of avowed hostility to the English, whom he had long beheld with rancour and suspicion, and whom he had basely calumniated to the dying Allaverdy. The occasion of his rooted aversion to them is stated to have been, summarily, as follows.

Among the Hindoo merchants, resident at Calcutta, and employed in providing the investments of the Company, there was one named OMICHUND, a man reported to be worth four millions of rupees, and the splendour of whose establishment was adequate to his princely fortune. To this man's protection had fled another Hindoo of eminence, by name Kissidas, whose family had been hostilely engaged in designs against his succession, and whose person the Soubah was anxious to secure. A letter was therefore addressed by him to the President, demanding that

Kissidas and his treasures should be given up ; but from some doubts respecting the genuineness of the letter, in a country where forgery is practised without limit, for political as well as other purposes, no satisfactory answer having been returned, and the Nabob also being given to understand by his spies in Calcutta, that the English were busied in strengthening their fortifications in that city, a second letter was sent, ordering them immediately to desist, and threatening them with his vengeance if they did not destroy all the additional works already erected. It was in vain the Presidency now urged that those works were solely intended to resist the possible attacks of the French, with whom a war was immediately expected to break out, their persevering in constructing them was considered as an act of rebellion against his authority, and he immediately marched with his army to Cossimbuzar, where the English fort was invested, taken, and plundered. The army, said to have consisted of 50,000 men, then moved on towards Calcutta, and notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the rich merchants and bankers of the province interested in its trade, and the frequent arrival of letters of submission and humiliation, dispatched from Calcutta in hopes of mitigating his wrath, continued its course to Hoogley. This was done with such rapidity, that many of the troops died through excessive fatigue, and many by the intense heat of the sun darting its beams perpendicularly on their heads at the hottest season of the year, about the middle of June. The reason of this rapid progress was the tyrant's fear of losing by removal the immense plunder which he had been informed by his courtiers was to be found in the magazines of Calcutta, which they represented to him as one of the richest cities in the world, overflowing with the choicest productions of either hemisphere.

When, at length, the Presidency became convinced that they

must owe their safety to resistance alone, the most vigorous measures possible, in their situation, were resorted to. What works of defence in that short space could be added to the existing ones, were added: and every preparation practicable was made by the garrison to repel the threatened assault. The regular garrison, however, consisted of only 264 men; the inhabitants serving as militia, amounted to 250, in all 514 men; one half of whom had never seen any service whatever. What, however, they wanted in number they made amends for in spirit and resolution; and therefore having previously sent the ladies and children belonging to the garrison, together with such as were infirm or otherwise unfit for active exertion, on board the vessels, of which there were several lying in the river, they awaited the dreadful contest with the intrepidity of Britons.

The town and fort were invested by this vast army on the 15th of June; but before the Nabob commenced the attack, he is said to have proposed an accommodation with the Governor, provided he would pay him the duties due upon the trade of Calcutta for 15 years, defray the expenses of his army, and deliver up the Indian merchants, the avowed objects of his indignation and vengeance, who, on suspicion of treachery, had been secured in the fort. This, however, being considered only as the insidious proposal of a tyrant, equally avaricious and sanguinary, was not assented to, the attack immediately commenced on a strong redoubt at the entrance of the town, called *Perrings*, whence his troops were repulsed with considerable loss. On the next day the assault was vigorously renewed in many different quarters, but with no more success, the garrison, though reduced by desertion and slaughter, to one half their original number, undauntedly persevering in all the arduous duties assigned them. On the third day the enemy was more successful,

and their overwhelming battalions pouring into the city, on fire in many places, filled it with death and desolation. The barbarous rage of plunder was let loose upon the habitations and warehouses of unoffending merchants. What could not be plundered the devouring flames consumed; and the miserable remainder of the inhabitants, who had not already fled before the stern destroyer, now sought refuge on board a vessel that still lingered in the road. From the crowded deck with agonizing hearts they beheld the flames, and the yet more cruel foe, ravaging their property, while sorrowing, dejected, impoverished, they slowly descended that river which had so often witnessed their exultation and triumphs.

The garrison now found it necessary to retreat within the walls of the fort, weakened, but not dismayed; overpowered, but not vanquished. Unfortunately, at this critical juncture, Mr. Drake, together with the commanding officer on duty, forgetting the character of men and Britons, in the face of the astonished and indignant garrison, meanly fled from their posts, and escaped in a boat that accidentally lay at hand, leaving to Mr. Holwell the honour and the danger, at the head of about 190 brave men, to combat to the last extremity against a foe of such immense superiority. That extremity, it may be supposed, under such circumstances could not be far distant; and, in consequence, after opposing the advances of the enemy step by step with heroic bravery for three days longer, till a third even of this small band were either killed or dangerously wounded, on the morning of the 20th of June, a flag of truce was displayed on the ramparts, answered at noon, and in the evening the fort surrendered.

At five, the Nabob, inflated with his success, entered the fort, attended by his general, Meer Jaffier, and other great officers. There, seated in the principal apartment of the factory, he held

his durbar in state, and received the adulatory compliments of his courtiers on the success of his arms, who compared him for valour and wisdom to Timur and Akber. His first order was to explore the treasury, which, from a variety of causes, proved to be exceedingly deficient, scarcely containing 50,000 rupees. On receiving this intelligence he expressed extreme surprise and indignation, and sent in a rage for Mr. Holwell to know where the vast treasures of the factory were buried. He reproached him for his presumption in attempting to defend the fort against so valiant a hero as himself, at the head of such a powerful army, and insisted upon his discovering the hidden treasure; but, mingling promises with threats, assured him on the word of a soldier, that no harm should befall him. He then commanded Omichund and Kissidas to be brought before him, to whom he behaved with more moderation than was expected; but in Omichund's treasury were found 400,000 rupees, which operated forcibly on his avarice, and probably disarmed his vengeance. Before seven o'clock that evening Mr. Holwell was again, twice, sent for on the subject of the treasure, but as no violent measures were resorted to, it was evident he meant to obtain by artifice what it was presumed would, by English firmness, be refused to severity. He was remanded to his companions in affliction, and the tyrant, after refreshment, retired to his repose.

The night approached; a night of woe and horror indescribable! The miserable remainder of the garrison, amounting in all to 146 persons, including Mr. Holwell, were assembled together under a varanda, or open gallery, surrounded by a strong guard. The night was intensely sultry, such as may be supposed in Bengal at the hottest season of the year, but increased considerably beyond its usual fervour. A place

sufficiently large and secure for their confinement till the ensuing morning was sought for, or pretended to be sought for in vain. They were then ordered by the commanding officer to go into an apartment adjoining, whose dimensions were not 20 feet square, the common dungeon of the fort, and from its darkness and noisomeness, denominated by the garrison the BLACK HOLE. To the greater part of the prisoners the dimensions of this room were unknown; but some, to whom they were known, beginning to expostulate, the brutal chief ordered the first that hesitated to be cut down: the murmur ceased, and they were all with difficulty thrust in. The door, which opened inwards, was then locked upon them: upon far the greater part of them for ever. "Figure to yourself," says Mr. Holwell, one of the few who lived to tell the affecting tale, "figure to yourself, if possible, the situation of 146 wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of eighteen feet, in a close sultry night, in Bengal; shut up to the eastward and southward, *the only quarters whence air could come to us*, by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred within, through which we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air."* It is impossible for imagination to *figure* any thing half so tremendous as this untimely interment in a gloomy and fœtid cavern; this awful anticipation of the horrors of sepulchral darkness!

They had not been many minutes incarcerated in this terrible dungeon before it became evident to all, who were capable of serious reflection, that death by suffocation must inevitably be the doom of by far the greater part of them, unless immediate relief could be obtained. Violent efforts were therefore instantly made

* See Holwell's Narrative, in his Indian Tracts, p. 392.

to force open the door of their prison; but that door being very strong, and, as before observed, opening inward, all their exertions were ineffectual. In fact, those efforts only increased the rage of the fever that now began its dreadful work of devastation among them. In this state of awful suspense and perturbation, Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself near one of the windows, exhorted them, as the only means of preservation, to keep both body and mind as composed as possible. His remonstrances produced only a short interval of quiet, during which he applied to an old Jemautdar, who bore on his countenance some marks of humanity, promising him in the morning 1000 rupees, if he would separate the prisoners into two chambers. Apparently affected with their melancholy situation he went and used his efforts to accommodate them; but soon returned, and said it was impossible. A larger bribe was offered. He retired once more, and returned with the deathful intelligence that no relief could be afforded, for the *Nabob was asleep, and nobody dared to awake him.* Despair sate on the faces of all who heard it, and now crowding to the windows for *air*, distinction being forgot, and even friendship obliterated, each combated with ferocity against the other to obtain that invaluable blessing. In this tumultuous struggle, and closely wedged together in one compact mass, some, less robust of body, expired under the insupportable pressure; some fainting with the intolerable heat, sunk to rise no more! while others, parched with the ardors of a thirst never to be extinguished, filled the apartment with loud outcries for water. Indeed, *water! water!* soon became the universal cry, which when obtained by the kind offices of the good Jemautdar, only increased the fever which it was intended to assuage. The very sight of it threw them into convulsions, and occasioned a renewal of their dreadful conflicts, while in their eagerness to procure it,

half of the precious boon was lost. The inhuman guards were all this time making themselves merry with their sufferings, and held up lights to the bars to have the diabolical satisfaction of viewing their deplorable contentions.

The air of the dungeon now became in a high degree vitiated, being saturated with the effluvia of putrifying bodies, of which the stench was little less than mortal. Before midnight, all who were alive and had not partaken of the air at the window, were either seized with a lethargic stupefaction, or raving with delirium. Every kind of invective and abuse was uttered in hopes of provoking the guard to fire into the dungeon, and put an end to their miseries. Some frantic with their torments, were blaspheming their creator, and others imploring heaven with wild and incoherent prayers. Sometimes a dreadful silence ensued; and then again were renewed the shrieks of woe and the outcries of horror. At two o'clock only 50 remained alive, but even this number were too many to partake of the saving air; the contest for which and life continued until the morning, long implored, began to break, and with the hope of relief gave the few survivors a view of the dead. Agonizing at the sight of their deceased comrades, most of whom, a few days before, were in the bloom and vigour of life, those at the windows again renewed their earnest solicitations with the guard to open the door, but in vain. Thinking that Mr. Holwell, who, entirely overcome with the heat and pressure, had retired from the window to die amid the ghastly throng expiring around him, might, if yet alive, have more influence than themselves, a search that doubtless saved his life, was instantly made for him, and he was again placed in his painful state of pre-eminence, the window. Before, however, he was sufficiently recovered to become their orator, an officer sent by the Nabob came and enquired if the English chief yet

survived, and shortly after the same man returned with the thrice welcome mandate to open the prison. The dead were heaped in such piles against the door, and the survivors had so little strength remaining, that they were employed nearly half an hour in removing them before they could clear a passage sufficiently wide to go out, one at a time; when, horrible to relate! out of 146 who went in, no more than 23 came out alive! The Nabob's troops beheld the dreadful havock of death, and the deplorable state of the survivors, without commiseration, although the intolerable stench that issued from the dungeon caused them to remove to some distance. At length, from fear of infection, they were compelled to clear the dungeon, and afterwards dug a deep trench on the outside of the fort, into which all the dead bodies were promiscuously thrown. Such is the statement of this dreadful affair, unequalled in the annals of human misery! given for the most part in the words of the respectable chief himself, (quæque ipse miserrima vidit) who notwithstanding the shock which his constitution suffered on this occasion, returned to England, and lived till the advanced age of 90.

Although the guilt of this dreadful massacre is not wholly imputed by the writer to the Soubah, who had only issued general orders for the secure confinement of the prisoners during the night, but to the enraged soldiers on duty, in revenge for so many of their comrades slain in the siege; yet his subsequent conduct evinced the callous obduracy of his heart. When shortly after Mr. Holwell, unable from weakness to stand, was, at his command, carried before him, he shewed no symptoms of compassion for his condition, or remorse for the death of the other prisoners, but sternly demanded the *treasures*, and threatened him with still farther injuries, if he persisted in concealing them.

He was then, in that weak state, put into fetters, and with two other gentlemen of the council, supposed also to be conscious to the concealment of the treasure, sent in an open boat, under accumulated indignities, to Muxadavad. The rest of the prisoners were permitted to go where they pleased, and a few of them, by the utmost exertion of their remaining strength, were happy enough to reach the vessels that still lay in sight at Govindpore. The remainder having removed to the farthest distance possible from the scene of woe, crawled into some deserted huts in the vicinity, where the compassionate natives administered to their wants, and as far as they could, assuaged their maladies.*

Having fulfilled, as he thought, his menace of exterminating the English, and having collected together the plunder, (which, altogether, did not exceed the sum of 200,000l.) on the 2d of July the Nabob quitted Calcutta to return to his capital, leaving a garrison of 3000 men, and Monick-chund, one of his generals, in the command of the place. In passing by the French and Dutch settlements, he also threatened *them* with extirpation unless they paid him a large sum of money. In their dread of a similar catastrophe, the Dutch bought their peace with 450,000 rupees; the French, who are said to have supplied him, in his march to Calcutta, with 200 chests of gunpowder, paid the fine of only 100,000 rupees. In the mean time those who had honourably, as well as those who had ignominiously, taken refuge on board the ships had passed down the river under the fire of several pieces of cannon, mounted to obstruct their progress, till at length they reached Fulta, the station of all the Dutch shipping, where, on account of the southerly monsoon, it being impossible to quit the river, they resolved to remain; though inconveniently crowded together, exposed to all varieties of weather, without

* Mr Holwell's Letter, in his "Indian Tracts," p. 387.

change of raiment, and often without provision, they suffered hardships little inferior to those who had experienced the horrors of the infernal dungeon. Mutual altercations, and severe reproaches for what now could not be remedied, greatly added to the distress of their situation; till, at length, wearied out with ineffectual wrangling, they agreed to dispatch messengers to Madras to make known their deplorable situation, and to solicit those immediate and effectual succours which could alone save them from utter ruin.

The deputation arrived at Madras on the 5th of August, and nothing could exceed the horror and consternation into which the presidency was plunged by the fatal intelligence of which they were the bearers. Although occupied in preparing to send a detachment of 300 Europeans, solicited by Salabad-jing to assist him in getting rid of the French army under M. Bussy, an object under any other circumstances of the highest possible importance, the destination of that force was immediately altered to Bengal, to which 600 more European regulars were added, together with 1500 sepoys. Admiral Watson was fortunately at that time in the road with a squadron consisting of the Kent of 64, Cumberland of 70, Tyger of 60, Salisbury of 50, Bridgwater of 20 guns, and a fireship; to which were added, as transports, three of the Company's ships, and two smaller vessels. Colonel Clive was requested to take the command of the forces, and embarked in the Kent, the flag-ship of Admiral Watson; while Admiral Pocock hoisted his flag in the Cumberland. This formidable force sailed for the Ganges on the 10th of October, and after encountering much bad weather, from the violence of the northern monsoon, during which the Cumberland, the largest ship, and having on board 250 men, and the Marlborough, one of the Company's ships, loaded with the greatest part of the

field-artillery, were separated from the fleet, arrived at Fulta on the 15th of December. This misfortune proved a very considerable diminution of the force. The absence of the troops, however, the more fatal disaster of the two, was in part repaired by the recovering men of Captain Kilpatrick's detachment, which had previously arrived in the Ganges, but by encampment on its swampy shores had suffered severely, and by volunteers who enrolled themselves at Fulta.

At length, every thing being prepared for this important expedition, on the 27th of December all the ships and vessels of whatever denomination that had assembled at Fulta were put in motion, and the next afternoon anchored at Mayapore, a town ten miles below the fort of Buz-buzia, which Admiral Watson determined to attack on the following day. As there could be little doubt of success, and it was probable that the vanquished garrison would endeavour to make good their retreat to Calcutta, an ambuscade was planned to intercept that retreat. It was directed by Colonel Clive in person, and was the prelude to a more serious action than was expected; for Monick-chund, who has been mentioned as the general left in command at Calcutta, having marched down to Buz-buzia the day before, at the head of 1500 horse and 2000 foot, a general engagement took place, and was continued by the Moguls for some time with resolution, till a cannon ball passing very near the turban of Monick-chund checked his ardour for combat, and induced him to turn his elephant, the usual signal of retreat to an eastern army. That signal was obeyed with no reluctance by his troops, who immediately marched away to the north-east, and with their chief expeditiously returned to Calcutta. The success of his master in taking that fort had filled this hero with a vain confidence of superiority; and he made no doubt but that a similar triumph

would attend the march of his own army to Buz-buzia. The vigorous exertions of a Clive, though extremely cramped in the late engagement, had taught this presumptuous chief a very different lesson. So deep indeed was the impression, that he remained in Calcutta only a few hours, when, leaving 500 men to defend the fort, he hurried away with his fugitive bands to Hoogly, and thence to the terrified Nabob at Muxadavad. In the mean time, the Kent, which had outsailed the other ships, anchoring before Buz-buzia, with her guns alone silenced the cannon of that fort, but the troops having been extremely fatigued, it was resolved to delay the assault till the next morning. The garrison however saved them the trouble, for taking advantage of the darkness that concealed their motions, they decamped in the course of the night. The two intermediate forts of Tannah and Aligur were also, on the approach of the fleet deserted, and at 9 o'clock on the 2d of January, 1757, the Kent and Tiger anchored before the gates of Fort William, but for want of wind could not immediately present their broadsides, during which disadvantage the Mogul garrison with an unexpected vigour cannonaded them briskly. from the line of guns fronting the river, and killed several men. The encreasing fire from the ships, however, soon silenced them, and by 11 o'clock the fort was evacuated. A detachment under the command of Captain Coote (the troops with Colonel Clive having not yet arrived) immediately landed, retook possession of the fort, and with loud acclamations, once more, hoisted on the ramparts the colours of Britain.

The next day Admiral Watson solemnly re-instated Mr. Drake, and the former members of the council in the government. Their sensations, when again entering that fort from which some had been driven, and others had dishonourably fled, in the dark hour of peril, may be more easily conceived than

expressed. To their surprise they found the greatest part of the merchandize belonging to the Company remaining in the warehouses without detriment. It was the Nabob's portion of the plunder, and had not been removed. All other species of moveable property had been seized upon, and carried away. Many of the best houses in the settlement had been demolished, and a still greater number had suffered by the conflagration. About 50,000 of the Indian inhabitants had returned to their dwellings during the government of Monick-chund, but these were mostly of inferior rank: the superior classes knew and dreaded his insatiable rapacity.

The positive orders of Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive were, to obtain full reparation of all injuries, and, if necessary, to attack the tyrant in his capital. The national honour had received a deadly wound in his triumph over Calcutta, and the horrors of the dungeon cried aloud for exemplary vengeance. Impelled by these orders, and animated with these sentiments, on hearing that the town of Hoogly was in great consternation, they resolved to attack it while that impression remained. The fort was garrisoned with 2000 men, and 3000 more had been dispatched from Muxadavad for the defence of the town; but these latter retreated on receiving intelligence of the advance of the English. A portion of the fleet, and a competent number of military without difficulty soon effected the capture of a place, incapable of making any vigorous defence. Here they retaliated on the Nabob some of the evils inflicted on Calcutta, setting fire to the buildings and storehouses, and greatly distressed the enemy by destroying the large granaries of rice collected in the neighbourhood. Having done this service, and without any intention of keeping possession of the place, the expedition returned to Calcutta.

The Nabob, highly exasperated at this new insult, immediately

left his capital at the head of all his forces. The English were prevented by the want of their field artillery, and of bullocks to draw it, from immediately marching to meet him, but were not negligent in making the necessary preparations to receive him, should he a second time pay a visit to Calcutta. The army encamped about a mile northward of the town, in a situation extremely well chosen, where they waited his approach, and the arrival of their artillery. That approach was not long delayed; and, soon after, a partial action took place, in which he lost 22 officers of distinction, 600 men, and 500 horses. This somewhat damped the ardour of his courage, and he retired to some distance. In the mean time intelligence was brought to Calcutta that war had been declared between France and England. As the French were strong at Chandernagore, where they had a large body of Europeans and a train of field artillery, Colonel Clive apprehended that if they should join the Nabob, the English force, strong as it was, would scarcely be able to cope with them, and therefore, mingling prudence with valour, was willing to try the effect of negociation. A correspondence with the Nabob was, in consequence, opened by means of Omichund, who attended that prince, and was high in his favour. The Nabob, not without his apprehensions of the final result of the contest, consented, and among the terms demanded by the English were the full restitution of all plundered effects; a permission to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they might think proper; liberty to coin gold and silver in a mint of their own; exemption of their merchandize from all taxes; and in general a renewal of all the immunities granted the Company by the emperor FURRUKSEER. To these terms he assented, swore to abide by them, and re-commenced his march to the capital; but, evasion being suspected, and it being afterwards proved that he secretly abetted

the French, and had even sent the government of Chandernagore a present of 100,000 rupees, all confidence in him was lost, and revenge only slumbered to be poured upon his head in a tenfold proportion.

The Marlborough having at length arrived with the field artillery, and a fleet from Bombay having brought a large additional force, the English troops were thought powerful enough to attack the French and Moguls united. Accordingly, on the 7th of March, the camp formed near Calcutta broke up, and, as the French had acted a very perfidious part both on the present and on the former occasion, the march against Chandernagore was instantly commenced. The Nabob, by expostulation and direct menaces, endeavoured to retard the fate of that settlement, but in vain. It was too near, too formidable, and too malignant a rival to be longer endured. The French, pre-eminent in military tactics, had fortified Chandernagore in the strongest manner. The works were of the best masonry, and the cannon were of an unusual magnitude. The garrison consisted of 600 Europeans, and 300 sepoys. I must again, however, repeat the impossibility of going, in this work, into the details of battles and sieges, except on occasions of the highest interest and importance. Let it suffice to say, that the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury, being so stationed as to batter the fort, in front, with irresistable effect, the batteries erected on the land side, exerted their fire in other quarters with proportionate success; and, though the place was gallantly defended during the time of the assault, in a very few hours this fine settlement was completely in the possession of the English, never to be restored. The amount of the plunder, of various kinds, however, did not exceed 100,000l. sterling, with which the ships being loaded they returned in triumph to Calcutta.

The account of the surrender of Chandernagore reached the Nabob at the same juncture with intelligence of a still more disagreeable nature, that a vast army of Patans were in full march to invade Bahar, and that they had engaged Balajee Row, the general of the Mahrattas, to invade Bengal. Although a part of his army, intended to raise the siege of Chandernagore, had already advanced within 20 miles of Hoogley, the artful despot now changed his tone, and not only sent letters of congratulation to Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, expressing the strongest desire to remain in friendship and alliance with them, but offered the territory of Chandernagore to the English on the same terms as those by which the French Company had held it. Shortly afterwards, the intelligence of the invasion of the Patans proving untrue, he repented of his proffered generosity, and openly protected and patronized the French, furnishing Mr. Law, the chief of the French factory at Cossimbuzar, who had raised a body of men to act offensively, with money, arms, and ammunition. On hearing that Colonel Clive had sent a detachment in pursuit of this Mr. Law, he grew enraged, and declared publicly he would put Mr. Watts, the chief of the English factory at the same place, to death: at the same time he gave orders to the general of his army that had advanced towards Chandernagore, to remain at Plassey, in the island of Cossimbuzar, 30 miles to the south of Muxadavad, and consequently so far on its way to Calcutta. Clive, at length, finding that with a prince so perfidious no measures were to be kept, that the articles of the treaty remained still unfulfilled, that in short no restitution was made or ever intended to be made; having moreover been informed that it was the Nabob's avowed purpose, declared to his courtiers in some vain-glorious moment, that after having vanquished the Patans, he would return, and exterminate all the English in his

dominions, and that, to accomplish this purpose, he had actually invited M. Bussy to join him with all his army from Deccan.—Clive, I say, fully acquainted with these particulars, resolved on WAR. It was a war deeply interesting in its conduct and results both to Asia and Europe; it taught the inutility of myriads in the embattled field without a soul to animate, and a head to direct them; it tore an empire from the house of Timur, and gave it to the "merchant princes" of a remote island in the western ocean.

A variety of circumstances led to the conclusion that, notwithstanding the immense army and resources of the Nabob, the contest would be favourable to the English. His tyranny and cruelties had arrived at an intolerable height. He had imprisoned Monick-chund, and fined him a million of rupees on account of the effects which that officer had plundered at Calcutta. Every man at his court that had wealth trembled at his rapacity. Two brothers, named the SEATS, the richest men in the province, were in such a constant state of alarm that they found it necessary secretly to engage a large body of troops for the defence of themselves and their property; if necessary, even against the Nabob himself. Assassination by poison or the dagger were in such frequent use since his ascension of the musnud, that no omrah, who attended his durbar, went without apprehension that he should never return. The spirit of rebellion had long lurked among his courtiers, and now a conspiracy deeply laid, but cautiously conducted, was verging on maturity, at the head of which were Roydoolub, his Duan, or treasurer, and his principal general, Meer Jaffier, who, as himself declared to Mr. Watts, the resident at Cossimbuzar, was in perpetual danger of his life from the sanguinary bias and dreadful caprices of his master. Mr. Watts was instructed to fan this flame of general discontent, and to stipulate those conditions with Jaffier, upon which Colonel

Clive promised to raise him to the musnud in case of success. The principal conditions stipulated were, "A full restitution in money for the losses sustained by the Company and individuals; a re-imbursement of the charges of the military and naval force in the expedition; the total expulsion of the French from Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and a large additional grant of territory round Calcutta." A treaty to this effect having been mutually agreed to, and signed, and all the necessary preparations previously made, the troops intended for the attack on the tyrant's capital were put in motion. Into the particulars of this expedition, and the consequent battle of Plassey, on account of its great importance, I shall enter with more than usual detail. I must here remark that my business is faithfully to record historical facts; but neither on this, nor on any other occasion of our interference with the princes of Hindostan, have I room, or inclination, to engage in political discussion.

On the 13th of June, 1757, the whole army moved forward from Chandernagore, to which place they had previously advanced; the Europeans, with the artillery, stores, and ammunition, in 200 boats, towed by the Indian rowers; the sepoys, in sight, along the high road, made by the Mogul government from Hoogley to Patna. At Hoogley the new governor threatened to oppose the passage of the boats, but a twenty-gun ship that attended them, coming up and anchoring before the fort, together with a menacing letter from Clive, prevented his putting that threat in execution. The commander had already dispatched letters to the Nabob, upbraiding him with his multiplied perfidies, and announcing his approach. A rumour of the conspiracy to dethrone him, with Jaffier at its head, had reached his ears, and after some angry messages had passed between them, he was preparing to attack the latter in his palace. The sudden

flight of Mr. Watts, the envoy, and the other gentlemen of the factory at Cossimbuzar, convinced him of the reality of that conspiracy; and now filled with consternation, and well aware of the great influence as well as military abilities of his general, he laid aside his hostile intentions towards him, and endeavoured by every means in his power to mollify his anger, and separate him from his English connection. The meditated assault was, therefore, converted into a friendly negociation, and Jaffier put on the appearance of being reconciled to his master. When solicited, however, to attend the durbar, being apprehensive of some violence, he declined the honour. The stake was great, a kingdom! and no time was to be lost. The Nabob, therefore, relinquishing his state, condescended to visit Jaffier, carrying with him but a slender guard. This visit, and the explanation that followed, produced a reconciliation; but only sincere on the part of the Nabob; though sanctioned by mutual oaths on the Koran. The confidence with which this interview inspired the Nabob, induced him immediately to write a letter full of invective and breathing defiance to Colonel Clive; at the same time he ordered his whole army, in which were now included the troops of Jaffier, without delay, to commence their march to Plassey.

In the mean time the English army had advanced to Cutwah, on the western shore of the Ganges, opposite the island of Cossimbuzar, and after some little resistance, had taken possession of the fort which commanded the passage of the river. Here Clive received letters from Jaffier, stating the circumstance of his pretended reconciliation with the Nabob, but in spite of his oath solemnly taken on the Koran, avowed his determination of abiding by his prior contract with the English commander; he also informed him that on the moment of writing he was preparing to quit the city for the camp, but as he proposed no plan of

operations, Clive remained for some time in a state of the greatest perplexity what plan to pursue, especially as the English had no horse, and the principal strength of the enemy lay in his very formidable body of cavalry. In this dilemma he summoned a council of war, and the majority, under the existing circumstances, were against immediate action. In this opinion Clive at first coincided; but the dread of imputations which might be dishonourable to the English name and character among the princes of Hindostan, who might impute his inactivity to timidity, determined him, at length, to pursue that line of conduct which valour dictated, and glory approved. Taking, therefore, all the risque upon himself, and resolved to brave every difficulty, he issued orders that the army should cross the river the next morning. With the first beam of the rising sun those orders were carried into execution, and, by four o'clock in the afternoon, the whole army was landed on the opposite shore, impatient to be led against the enemy. Here other letters arrived from Jaffier with information that the Nabob had halted at Muncarra, a village six miles to the south of the city of Cossimbuzar; that he was entrenching himself, and intended there to wait the event; and he recommended that the English army should attack him by surprise, marching round by the inland part of the island. No junction, or co-operation of forces being even now intimated, Colonel Clive returned this decided answer; that he should immediately march to Plassey, and the next day advance six miles farther to the village of Daudpoor, where, if Meer Jaffier did not join him, he would make peace with the Nabob. Before sun-set the troops were again in motion; but the immense labour of towing the boats against a stream uncommonly rapid prevented their proceeding with expedition, and it was one o'clock in the morning when they reached Plassey.

A grove of mango trees, of considerable extent, adjoined to Plassey, and of this grove the army took immediate possession. They had scarcely done this, before their ears were assailed with the sound of martial music, such as generally accompanies the night-watches of an Indian camp; by this they were convinced that a hostile army was encamped at no great distance, and, on cautious enquiry, it was found to be the Nabob's. On finding the English slower in their progress than his startled imagination had suggested, he had altered his intention of remaining at Malcurra, and arrived at Plassey twelve hours before them. The proper guards and centinels being stationed, the wearied soldiers were permitted to take repose; the crisis was too awful, from the vast disparity between the two armies, to allow the eyes of the general and his chief officers to be closed in slumber. The whole of the English force consisted of a body of 900 Europeans, 100 topasses, and 2000 sepoys; in all 3000 men, with eight field pieces, all six-pounders, and two howitzers. To these the advancing morning would see opposed the formidable army of 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and 50 pieces of cannon, for the most part of the largest calibres, 24 and 32 pounders. The cavalry, too, which Clive chiefly dreaded, both men and horses, drawn from the northern regions, were of a more robust class than any he had been accustomed to encounter in the armies of Coromandel. Near the grove, and on the banks of the river, stood a hunting-house of the Nabob, the summit of which Clive with the break of dawn ascended to take a comprehensive view of the numerous battalions already alarmed and in motion, with which his small but resolute army had to contend. He was struck with the splendor of their battle array, and the exulting confidence which they displayed, as they quitted their entrenchments, and marched into the plain on which so many were that day doomed to perish. They ad-

vanced towards the grove in large columns of horse and foot, and in the openings between the columns were interspersed the artillery, mounted on huge machines, raised six feet from the ground, and drawn by 40 or 50 yoke of white oxen of the largest size, while behind each cannon walked an elephant, trained to assist at difficult tugs, by shoving with his forehead against the hinder part of the carriage. Against this immense unwieldy army the English general had now to oppose the efforts of genius, and the energies of disciplined valour.

The first display of that genius was shewn in his instantly ordering the army which he commanded to quit the GROVE, as their longer continuance beneath its gloomy covert might, by the enemy, be imputed to timidity, and his boldly drawing them up in a line with the hunting-house, in the very front of the advancing foe. The European battalion, with three pieces on their *right*, and the same number on their left, occupied the centre of that line; the sepoys, in two equal divisions, were stationed one on the right hand, and the other on the left, of the battalion. The two remaining field-pieces and the howitzers were advanced 200 yards in front of the left division of sepoys, and posted behind two brick-kilns, whence in the course of the day they did effectual execution. Thus every thing being arranged by the wisdom and prudence of their accomplished general, the army waited, in awful silence, the attack which was to decide the fate of the English in Bengal.

On the plain of Plassey were two tanks, or public reservoirs of water, the one much larger than the other, and considerably nearer to the grove. These tanks are generally surrounded with a mound of earth, at some distance from the margin of the water. On the mound of the latter of these tanks, that nearest the grove, a body of about 40 Frenchmen, fugitives from Chandernagore,

and in the pay of the Nabob, under the command of one Sinfray, had advantageously taken their station with four pieces of light cannon. In a line with this tank, also, close to the banks of the river, two larger pieces of ordnance were stationed. Behind these posts 5000 horse and 7000 foot were drawn up under the command of Meer Murden, the Nabob's favourite general. Meer Jaffier and the confederate generals were in a distant part of the field, determined, as it should seem, to preserve his oath to God and his fidelity to the Colonel, by standing neuter in this arduous contest.

The first shot was fired by the party at the tank, which seemed to be the signal for commencing the fire through the whole line of the artillery of the Nabob. The shot from the French detachment did some execution; but that from the Mogul artillery, being unskilfully pointed, flew too high. The two advanced field pieces in front answered the fire from the tank; the dreadful fire of the European battalion was directed against the heavy artillery on the plain, but from the distance they kept could not reach the guns. Every shot however took effect either in one or other of the numerous bodies of infantry or cavalry opposed to them; and dreadful was the slaughter, horses and men rolled promiscuously together over the bloody plain. In order to induce the enemy to advance their heavy artillery nearer, a stratagem was devised and practised; the troops were ordered to retire into the grove. Elated by this retreat, the imagined effect of their prowess, the Moguls moved forward, and fired with increased vivacity, but their shot only struck the trees, for the men were ordered to sit down, all but the cannoneers, who now poured the destructive fire of their artillery upon them with the effect desired; silencing the guns, and exterminating those who worked them. Explosions of powder were now heard frequently among

their artillery; and this seemed the moment for rushing on the disheartened and confounded enemy; but in a council holden at the drum head it was determined to continue the cannonade during the rest of the day, and at midnight to attack the Nabob's camp. To add to their misfortune, about noon, a very severe shower of rain fell, and so materially damaged the enemy's powder that their fire slackened considerably; while the English ammunition continued uninjured, and their fire unabated.

All this time the Nabob, justly apprehensive that no superiority of numbers would ultimately prevail against British skill and valour, remained in his tent, far from the reach of danger, and deeply agitated with terror. Notwithstanding this, his attendants, one half of whom were engaged in the conspiracy, flattered him with the assurance of decisive victory. Intelligence being, at length, brought him that his favourite general Meer Murdeen was killed by a cannon-ball, that terror became excessive, and in an agony of conflicting passion he sent in haste for Meer Jaffier. As soon as the general entered the tent, he tore his turban from his head, and throwing it on the ground, exclaimed; "Jaffier, that turban you must defend." He promised to do so at every risque, but immediately on quitting the tent wrote word of what had passed to Colonel Clive, and urged him either to press forward that instant, or to attack the Nabob's camp at three the next morning. The incessant firing operating on the messenger's fears, prevented his immediate advance, and in the mean time, the Nabob's terrors continually increasing, he consulted his courtiers as to what in this extremity was best to be done. Roydoolub, the treasurer, taking advantage of them, recommended his immediate return to his capital. The Nabob acquiesced, and ordered the army to retreat into the intrenchments. No time was lost in making these orders known; the cannonade ceased on the part

of the enemy; the trains of oxen were perceived yoking to the artillery, and the whole army was soon in full retreat. The French party at the tank, alone remained firm in their station, and continued the firing; till Clive, in person advancing with a strong detachment drove them away, and planting the English artillery upon the mound, cannonaded from it the fugitive Moguls.

The main body of the English army now advanced towards the camp of the enemy. On their march a considerable portion of their army was observed to linger in the rear, and by their motions towards the north-east angle of the grove it was supposed that the baggage and boats were intended objects of their attack: a detachment with cannon was therefore sent to oppose their progress. They proved eventually to be the troops of Jaffier; but their signals were not understood, and the fire of the artillery soon stopped the approach of the supposed enemy. Advancing still nearer to the intrenchments of the enemy, a more vigorous cannonade than ever was now commenced by the English. Galled by the fire, some regiments of horse came out of the intrenchments, threatening to charge sword in hand, and several pieces of their artillery were again put in motion; but the former were constantly repulsed by the well-directed fire of the cannon, and the havock made by the shot among the bullocks rendered the latter absolutely unmanageable. At length the troops of Jaffier being recognized, and their desertion of the Nabob's standard being evident, Clive resolved to take advantage of this circumstance, and the panic universally prevailing through the Mogul army, by storming their camp. After a most judicious disposition of his little force, it pressed forward in three divisions; the works, principally defended by the French, were soon carried, and the astonished foe fled with precipitation; their terrified

monarch leading the way, mounted on a camel urged to its utmost speed, and accompanied by about 2000 of his fleetest horse. Although immense spoil was spread around them, the English soldiers, being promised ample compensations in money, suffered not their ardour to cool, nor their progress to be impeded by the plunder of it; but received, with acclamation the orders of their general, to march on, that evening, to Daudpore, where by a note written hastily on the field of victory, he requested Jaffier to meet him the next morning.

To that conference Meer Jaffier, attended by his son Meerum, was punctual, but approached the Colonel under evident apprehensions of his displeasure for not having joined the British army, conformably to his promises. Clive, though, not wholly satisfied with the efforts he had made, was too magnanimous to reproach him, and accepted his apologies for his conduct. He then embraced him, and aloud saluted him Soubah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. He advised him not to delay an instant his march to Muxadavad, in order to prevent the escape of Surajah Dowlah, and the plunder of his treasures: promised that he himself would follow with all possible celerity; and by him dispatched letters to the other confederated chiefs, particularly to Monick-chund, promising him that no enquiry should be made concerning the plunder of Calcutta.

With respect to Surajah Dowlah himself, with such rapidity was his flight effected that he arrived at his capital before the midnight after the battle, attended by some of his principal omrahs, equally well mounted. These, quickly assembled in council, began to deliberate what was best to be done in the present calamity. Their opinions were various and opposite: some recommended his throwing himself wholly upon the generous clemency of the English; but this was rejected, as springing

from treachery. Others were for a liberal advance of pay to the army, and the Soubah's again appearing at their head the next morning. Out of the sound and the reach of the English cannon, this advice appeared the most plausible, and three months pay to the troops was immediately ordered. The morning, however, found the Soubah engaged in an employ widely different from that of commanding armies; he was preparing with the utmost precipitation for flight, and had already sent away his women, with 50 elephants laden with treasure, and necessaries, meaning himself to follow under the covert of the ensuing night. At ten that night, taking with him a casket of his most valuable jewels, disguised in mean attire, and shuddering at the quivering of a leaf, the conqueror of Calcutta secretly went out of a window of his palace, and attended only by his favourite concubine, and the eunuch who governed his seraglio, got undiscovered into a boat prepared for the purpose by the eunuch, and rowed away to the northward, meaning to go to Patna, where the governor was the faithful friend of his family.

Meer Jaffier, on his arrival, having been informed of the Sultan's flight, immediately dispatched various parties in pursuit of him. Many of his infamous parasites were taken in endeavouring to effect their escape, and intelligence soon arrived that the women, and elephants with the treasure, were stopped by a party of Jaffier's troops at a town on the Ganges, 15 miles north-east of Muxadavad. On the 29th of June Colonel Clive, at the head of a large proportion of his army, the main body of which lay encamped in the neighbourhood, made his public entry into Muxadavad, and was lodged in a magnificent palace, called MORAUDBAUG. Here he was immediately attended by Meerum, the son of Jaffier, with whom in a short time he returned to the palace of the late Nabob, of which Jaffier had taken possession. In the great hall

of audience, where the musnud was fixed, on which enthroned Surajah Dowlah sate on public days, Jaffier, with the great officers in the city, was waiting to receive him. The first salutations having mutually taken place, Clive led him towards the musnud, and, placing him upon it, made obeisance to him as lord of the three provinces, and presented a plate with gold rupees; in the same manner all the Omrahs present, likewise, paid their homage, and presented gold. Afterwards he was publicly proclaimed Nabob, and the general rejoicings proved how welcome was the change to an oppressed and irritated people.

The awful hour of retribution for so many extortions and murders as Surajah Dowlah had committed was at hand; and the vengeance of heaven was directed by one of the objects of his cruelty. So many parties were sent in pursuit of him, that it was scarcely possible for him to escape. The rowers of his boat had by very great exertions reached Rajamal, a town 70 miles north of Muxadavad. Here, overcome with excessive fatigue, they were compelled in the night to stop. Close by the river spread a deserted garden, under whose umbrageous covert the Nabob and his concubine were happy to procure shelter. At break of day he was recognized by a man of mean condition, who had however good reason to remember him, for on a former sanguinary expedition that way, for some slight offence he had ordered the poor fellow's ears to be cut off. The injured man immediately communicated the intelligence to a brother of Meer Jaffier who resided in Rajamal. He was instantly secured, and delivered to the soldiers who were in quest of him to be conveyed to Muxadavad, which was done with every mark of studied insult and indignity. At midnight, bound and covered with bruises, he was brought, as a common felon, into that palace of which a few days before he had been the despotic lord. Meer Jaffier is said

to have relented at the piteous spectacle, and as he lay prostrate before him, overwhelmed with the dread of death, and with tears imploring *life alone*, wished to preserve a prince who had been so highly his benefactor. But Meerum, his son, a youth not seventeen, to the last degree fierce and barbarous, insisted on instant death, in which decision joined many of the courtiers, who saw the impolicy of preserving the possible source of so much future contention. Others, however, induced by respect for Allaverdy's family, inclined to mercy, among whom apparently Jaffier. His committing him, however, to the care of Meerum, his decided enemy, for the night, argues little in favour of his sincerity; for Meerum, when his father had retired to his seraglio, by a confidential servant sent an immediate mandate for his execution. So eager were the executioners to perform their dreadful office, that when the agonizing Sultan requested time only sufficient to make his ablutions, and say his prayers, that he might die a true mussulman, a pot of water, which accidentally stood in the chamber, was hastily thrown over his head, and he was dispatched with repeated stabs of swords and poniards. The next morning his mangled remains were exposed on an elephant through the city, and then consigned to the tomb of Allaverdy.

The important work of the restitutions was now seriously entered upon; but the sum which Jaffier had engaged to pay on that score was found far to exceed all the treasures left in coined money and jewels by the deceased Nabob. The sum originally stipulated amounted to 22,000,000 of sicca rupees, equal to 2,750,000 pounds sterling, including donations to the squadron, the army, and the committee. Of this vast aggregate, upon the strong and repeated representation of Roydoolub, the treasurer, of the absolute inefficiency of the exchequer at once to discharge it, one half was agreed to be paid immediately down; the other

half to be paid in three years, at three equal payments. On the 6th of July was received the sum, in coined silver, of 7,271,666 rupees, which, being packed up in 700 chests, and laden in 100 boats, was, under a strong escort, conveyed down the river to Calcutta, the boats of the whole fleet attending with banners displayed, and music sounding, in the manner of a triumphal procession. In August following, the remainder was paid in gold and jewels; and caused not only the public but the private treasuries of individuals in Calcutta once more to overflow with wealth. Nothing could exceed the transport into which the whole city was thrown by this great change in their affairs, from despair and poverty to exultation, and affluence—commerce revived and protected, their ancient privileges restored, and the limits of their territory greatly enlarged. The praises of Clive, of Watson, and the brave army and squadron, whose unequalled exertions had redeemed them from that state of despondency and penury, glowed in every heart, and resounded on every tongue.

That exultation, and those praises, however, only the first of those commanders survived to witness; Admiral Watson, after a few days illness, having fallen a victim, on the 16th of August, to the attacks of a malignant fever peculiar to the climate. Colonel Clive, at length, having settled affairs at Muxadavad, and firmly seated the new Nabob on his throne, began to descend the river with the army on the 14th of September following, and was received at Calcutta with all the honours due to so distinguished a general. He freely lent the aid of his genius to every plan adopted for improving the settlement in its military and its civil departments; and for the defence and ornament of the city which his protecting arm had saved. From that æra Calcutta, now become the capital of an extensive district, daily increased in splendour and population. To guard

against the recurrence of any similar calamity, under Clive's inspection, the foundations of a vast fort, the future wonder and terror of the East! were immediately laid; immense magazines were constructed; and the banks of the Ganges were lined with the magnificent palaces of its merchants, who began to vie in splendour with the princes of Asia.*

The great importance of these transactions just recorded in Bengal, not only with respect to the Company's affairs, but eventually to ALL INDIA, which has since, through its utmost limits, felt the decided superiority of the British nation, both in the *cabinet* and the *field*, rendered necessary the ample details above given. Having now brought the history of the European establishments, and more particularly, that of the Company in Bengal, down to the close of the year 1757, we shall in the next book resume, and uninterruptedly pursue the regular Mogul history to its termination, that is, to the last visit of Abdollah to Delhi, when its authority virtually expired. In an additional book, the history of the European establishments, or rather that of our East-India Company, in which they were ultimately absorbed, will again be continued, and the work conclude with a summary statement of the different powers among which that once mighty empire is at present divided.

* My authorities for the preceding statements are nearly the same (except a few references, already correctly exhibited in the pages where they occur) as those referred to at the close of the last chapter; Orme, Cambridge, Holwell, the accounts published from the India House, and in the London Gazettes of the period.

BOOK VI.

IN WHICH THE HISTORY OF THE MOGUL EMPERORS IS CONCLUDED.

CHAPTER I.

SHAH JEHAN, *after crushing his rival, Shehriar, and murdering his Uncle Daniel's surviving Progeny, ascends the Throne.—Account of the Children of the Emperor.—Preliminary Observations, and Review of his Character and past Conduct.—In the subordinate Capacity of Prince deeply criminal; as a Sovereign, endowed with many excellent Qualities.—Flight and Rebellion of Lodi.—War in Deccan.—Defeat of the confederated Princes.—Death of Lodi.—Renewed War in Deccan.—Dowlatabad taken, and the Nizam made Prisoner.—The Emperor returns to Agra.—The astonishing Magnificence of his Court.—The Peacock Throne.—Aurungzeb begins to distinguish himself.—The Emperor visits the Northern Provinces of his Empire.—Rebuilds Delhi; and denominates the new City after himself,* JEHAUNABAD.

FROM the petty conflicts of rival Soubahs, and their feudal dependencies, we at length return to the more dignified contests of imperial ambition. A considerable portion of the early military achievements of Shah Jehan (or rather Jehaun) have already engaged our attention, during the reign of his father Jehanguire; first, in the wars waged with Rajah Ranna, the most powerful of the native princes in Malva; * secondly in the partial subjugation

* See of this Volume, p. 198 and 199; see, also, Gladwin's History of Jehanguire, p. 30 and 39.

of the kingdoms of the peninsula; and lastly in his nefarious but unsuccessful attempts to dethrone that father. The hand of all-conquering death had now removed the great bar to his ambition; but he mounted not the vacant throne without some obstruction, and the shedding of that kindred blood, which, in Eastern climes, too generally bathes the steps by which it is ascended.

So entirely enslaved, in his latter days, was the deceased emperor by the charms and artifices of his beloved NOURMAHAL, and so unbounded was her influence in the empire from that monarch's devotion to her, and the power of her brother, Asoph Khan, the Vizier, that scarcely was the breath out of his body, when she attempted to realize the daring project, formed in her mind, of raising her son-in-law Sultan SHEHRIAR to the imperial dignity; a project to which she had, in the unguarded moments of blind devotion, gained the consent of the doating emperor. For this purpose a sum amounting to 90 lacs of rupees was lavishly distributed among the soldiery by the young candidate for sovereignty; and the great distance of Shah Jehan in the south, seemed to render practicable the meditated usurpation. Asoph, together with the principal courtiers, however, entertained different sentiments, and, firm to the interests of Jehan, not only confined his sister to the palace, but took up arms against Shehriar, who in vain opposed them with a purchased army of 20,000 horse. To prevent the tumults usual during an interregnum, and to crush for ever the claim of Shehriar, they placed the crown on the head of Sultan Bolaki, the son of Khosro, the eldest son of Shah Jehan, who certainly possessed the prior claim. His actual elevation to the throne, however, was by no means intended, nor did Sultan Bolaki without reluctance receive a boon pregnant with so much danger. Letters were immediately

dispatched to Shah Jehan, explaining their conduct, and recommending expedition in his progress to take possession of the hereditary diadem. In the mean time, precipitately hurried on by ambition to his ruin, though deserted by his mercenary generals, and the greater part of his hired army, who fled to Bolaki, Sultan Shehriar attempted to fortify himself in Lahore against the imperial troops; but Asoph Khan with superior forces storming its castle, he was taken prisoner, and blinded by a red-hot iron, which fatal operation, throughout Asia, excludes the prince for ever from the imperial dignity.

Shah Jehan wanted no incentive to expedition; and his right to the throne being indisputable from the death of his elder brothers, Sultans Parveiz and Khosro, he was joined in his march by all the principal Rajahs, and governors of provinces, with armies fully adequate to support that right. Still, however, accustomed to, as well as practised in, the perfidies of eastern courts, there appeared to him no safety while Shehriar, Bolaki, and the three sons of Sultan Daniel, the deceased brother of Jehanguire, who were all confined in the castle of Lahore, remained alive. Haunted by these phantoms, and the terrors of a guilty mind, he sent without delay, by an officer in his confidence, an order for the murder of those unfortunate princes; and Asoph the governor, too obedient to his new sovereign, and too well versed in the state-policy that dictated the sanguinary measure, delivered them over to the ruthless assassins. Sultans Shehriar and Bolaki were executed as rebels and traitors, for having assumed the imperial purple, though in fact it was cruelly forced upon the latter. But hard indeed was the fate of the innocent progeny of Sultan Daniel who had been confined during the whole reign of Jehanguire, and from whom no plots could be feared, being alike imbecile in mind and body, from long

confinement. But what can allay the awakened fears of a tyrant? At midnight the blood-hounds of despotism were let into their apartments, and strangled them in their beds. Their bodies were then secretly conveyed away, and buried in a garden near the tomb of the deceased monarch. In this manner, either by the dagger or the bow-string, were dispatched all the males of the house of Timur, so that he himself and his children alone remained of the posterity of Baber the conqueror of India. Of those children, at least the sons, doomed at a future period to be the scourge of their father, and the avengers of the blood thus inhumanly shed, it is necessary to present a short account to the reader.

They were four in number: DARA, the eldest, was at his father's accession, only thirteen years old; he was a prince, as far as his mental qualities had yet dawned, of an open, noble, and generous disposition. SUJAH, the second in order, was in his twelfth year, a youth of great shrewdness, penetration, and bravery. AURUNGZEB, the third, was in his tenth year, and had already displayed evident symptoms of that cautious reserve and deep dissimulation which marked his riper years. Of the fourth, MURAD, being only four years old, no opinion indicative of his future conduct in life could yet be formed. Shah Jehan had also three daughters, Jehanara Begum, Roxanara Begum, and Banu Begum, all highly accomplished, and beautiful; and all more or less conspicuous in the changeful scenes of this eventful reign.

These obstacles removed, and the empire being in profound peace, Shah Jehan was crowned at Agra, with circumstances of unusual pomp and splendour, according to Fraser,* on the 1st of February, 1628, in the 37th year of his age; having been born on the 5th of January, 1592. He immediately appointed Asoph

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 24.

his Vizier, and the famous Mohabet Khan captain-general of his armies. The first was the father of his favourite Sultana, had secured to him the possession of the empire, and was, moreover, endeared to him by the tender care which he had taken of his children, who were hostages for the good behaviour of the father at the court of Jehanguire, when that monarch died. The second, although once his declared enemy, had found means by assisting him in his recent misfortunes with large supplies of men and money to regain his forfeited regard. Their salaries were ample beyond all former precedent; proportionate to the great services rendered by both to the empire, and suitable to the magnificent mind of Shah Jehan. As the reader may possibly revolt at the term *magnificent* applied to the man so lately criminated as the unfeeling murderer of innocence and virtue, it becomes necessary to premise a few introductory remarks, before we enter on the events of this diversified reign.

It has been already observed that the lofty title of SHAH JEHAN, or *king of the world*, was given him by his father after his conquest of Rajah Ranna, and the province of Malva; an injudicious mark of over-weening affection! since the title of Shah, or king, had been hitherto solely confined to the EMPERORS of the house of Timur; and this doubtless fanned the flame of his ambition to be what that title implied. The reader will be pleased to pardon my bringing again before his view the portrait then drawn of this monarch, and the subsequent reflections, as they are necessary to the complete developement of a character, one of the most singular, in many respects, of all that occur in the varied page of this history; and not less eminent for his greatness than his misfortunes.

"From the moment in which Sultan Khorum was dignified with the title of Shah Jehan, he seems to have discarded from his

mind filial obedience, fraternal affection, and every other restraint on an insatiable ambition. He saw with equal indignation and contempt a woman (Nourmahal) swaying the sceptre of Hindostan, and every high post of honour and emolument bestowed upon her own relations. He determined to break the charm by which his father and the empire was bound, and risk every thing to obtain a throne for which he esteemed himself so much better qualified. There was no tie so sacred, no consideration so valuable, which he was not eager to sacrifice for the darling object that now engrossed all the powers of his soul, and influenced all the actions of his future life. The unfortunate Khosro had been committed to his custody, as to the custody of a brother who would naturally mingle pity with necessary restriction, and mitigate by tender assiduities the hardships of confinement. But Khosro was not wholly incapacitated for reigning, being very partially blinded, and *might* be an obstacle to his ascending the throne: he was therefore destined to destruction; and the better to prevent suspicion, the inhuman deed was perpetrated while he himself was absent on a hunting party. At midnight some hired assassins rushed into the chamber of the devoted prince, and strangling him, for ever annihilated from that quarter, the fears of a jealous and obdurate brother.

"If power alone could have satisfied this enterprising prince, he possessed already an ample share of it. The whole southern army was at his disposal; and he united under the extensive government, to which by the liberal indulgence, or perhaps the forced consent, of Jehanguire, he was appointed, the provinces of Deccan, Candeish, Berar, and Guzzurat; over which he ruled with unlimited authority. He assumed every attribute of royalty; appointed governors to the several provinces and cities under his jurisdiction; and affected on all occasions the state and splendour

of a KING. But nothing less than an imperial diadem would fully satisfy Shah Jehan.——"*

That diadem was at length obtained; that empire was now his own; and it must be owned that, could his previous assassinations be forgotten, no prince ever conducted himself in many respects more worthy of the imperial dignity, till that dark, that fatal moment arrived, when his sons, impatient for the sceptre of their sire, began to pursue towards *him* the same iniquitous line of policy with which he had acted towards Jehanguire; following with too scrupulous exactness the pernicious example which in his youth that sire had set them. For the greater part of this interesting piece of history we are indebted to the learned and philosophic Bernier, who resided at the court of this prince for eight years, in quality of his physician, enjoyed a great share of his confidence, and attended him in several of his journeys, particularly to Cashmere, of which beautiful province he has favoured us with a correct and animated description. Since we can no longer have the advantage of Mr. Gladwin's *almost literal* version of a respectable Persian author, as in the life of Jehanguire, Bernier will be our surest guide, though as Mr. Dow professes to translate the SHAH JEHAN NAMMA, or history of Shah Jehan, by Mirza Casim, private secretary to Aurungzeb, considerable advantage will accrue from that, certainly not *literal*, but very *liberal* version.†

* See of this Volume, Part 1. p. 200; and indeed an attentive perusal of the whole of what relates to Shah Jehan in the former reign, is necessary to the full understanding of his conduct in this.

† Sir William Jones early cautioned me, on this account, against too great a reliance upon Dow. His letter runs thus: "I was acquainted with Dow; he understood Hindostanee, but knew little of Persian, and his translation of Ferishta is said to have been made through the medium of his Moonshee." The Moonshee, however, doubtless understood the original; and, if Dow reported

In the first year of the reign of Shah Jehan a strong body of Uzbek Tartars made an irruption into Cabul, of which province, during the distractions immediately consequent on the death of Jehanguire, they had meditated the entire conquest; but the speedy restoration of tranquillity enabled him to send a superior army into that quarter, by which they were repelled and routed.* To obliterate the memory of his sanguinary cruelties to those of his own house, he the same year opened the gates of the state-prison, GUALIOR, to all the criminals in that fortress, many of whom had languished in confinement there during the whole of the former reign. The Persian monarch, Shah Abbas, soon after sent a splendid embassy to Agra to congratulate the new monarch on his accession to the throne; but scarcely had the ambassador made his public entrance, when intelligence arrived of the death of that powerful prince, who in the last reign, had wrested Candahar from the Mogul. He was succeeded by Shah SEFI; a monster of cruelty, skilled to use the dagger and the bowl, but not formidable in the field. Shah Jehan, now sedulously applied himself to rectify the numerous abuses which, during the indolent reign of his father, had pervaded every department of the government. With inflexible severity he punished all well-founded complaints against his officers whether civil or military; and established an active and vigorous police throughout his vast dominions. By great rewards he encouraged agriculture, and by great immunities he promoted commerce. Midnight robbery† and assassination, before so

faithfully, the work must be considered as valuable. Notwithstanding, in consequence of that caution, I have throughout this work, when citing that author, always endeavoured to obtain collateral authorities.

* De Laet, India Vera, p. 288.

† In proof of this we are told by Bernier that the warehouses of the Dutch factory at Surat having been broken open by night and plundered of goods to a great amount,

frequent, were no longer heard of; and the Viceroys in their respective provinces being compelled to refund, out of their private fortunes, the money extorted by depredators on the public roads, took such vigorous measures for the extermination of those banditti, that the traveller, in pursuit of business or pleasure, journeyed in safety through the most inhospitable and unfrequented districts.

From these pacific and laudable pursuits the attention of Shah Jehan was suddenly diverted by the necessity of taking up arms to crush a formidable insurrection brooding in the south. Previous to his assumption of the crown, and while yet his success was doubtful, he had received a gross insult from Lodi, the general of the imperial troops in Deccan, who, gained over by Nourmahal, had not only openly espoused the cause of Shehriar, but had opposed his march through that province to Agra. Lodi was an Omrah of the highest distinction, and boasted his descent from the dynasty of that name which governed India, prior to the Moguls. Shah Jehan, aware of his power and great military talents, when, established on the throne, he sent an army to reduce him, sent also by his general terms on which pardon and reconciliation might be obtained. In those terms Lodi prudently acquiesced, consented to resign his station in Deccan, and was made governor of Malva. On the emperor's solicitation, he afterwards repaired to Court, where a series of indignities convinced him that the reconciliation of Shah Jehan was not sincere. In daily dread of assassination, he fled with his two sons towards Malva, and in their flight, being pursued by the imperial troops, the eldest was slain bravely fighting in his father's defence. Having reached Malva, he endeavoured to collect an army

on complaint to the emperor he obliged the governor from his salary to remunerate them for their loss. Bernier's Mogul Empire, tom. ii. p. 168.

sufficient to oppose the imperialists, but the pursuit was so warm and vigorous, that he could make no effectual stand against them, and therefore he continued his flight with his few valiant comrades in arms to Bundela, in the mountainous defiles and almost impregnable fortresses of which country he defended himself with such resolute bravery, that the army was at length wearied out by incessant fatigue, and gave over the pursuit. To Lodi, also, some repose was necessary; and after remaining a short time in Bundela, he traversed the provinces of Berar and Oudipore, in his way to Golconda, nor relaxed his speed till he reached Dowlatabad, where his friend, the Nizam, received the exhausted fugitive with open arms. His relation of the unmerited insults which he had met with at the court of Agra, and the sufferings he had since undergone, excited alike the compassion and the resentment of the Nizam, and he promised him protection, at the risque of his kingdom.

In the mean time the emperor, to whom the darling project of conquering the Deccan, had descended from his predecessors, Akber and Jehanguire, determined to make this friendly reception of a rebel to his authority an excuse for renewing those efforts for its complete subjugation which had hitherto been only crowned with partial success. Its princes were tributaries indeed to the empire; but were far from being wholly subdued. The principal of them were Adil, sovereign of Beejapour, or Visiapour, Cuttub, king of Hydrabad and Tellingana, and the Nizam, king of Deccan proper. At the courts of each of these princes Lodi was hospitably received, and his cause espoused with ardour. The crisis seemed favourable to their views of bursting those shackles which the Delhian sovereigns during two reigns, had attempted to impose on the princes of the Deccan! Lodi, equally brave and eloquent, in a strain of glowing oratory, inflamed their hopes;

and promised, if they would unite their forces, to lead them to certain victory. Combating singly they would, as before, fall an easy prey to the Mogul; united they would be invincible. After some hesitation, the effect of mutual jealousies, they complied with his advice. Under so consummate a general they thought they had nothing to fear, and preparations for the worst that might happen were accordingly commenced with the utmost promptitude and vigour. Shah Jehan, to the rage of disappointed vengeance adding that of ambition and conquest, lost no time in executing the resolutions he had formed. His project of conquering the Deccan forms one grand feature of his reign; and as it is only those grand features of the reigns of the Mogul dynasty, that this history attempts to display, we shall dwell more largely upon it than usual.

Early in the year 1631 he moved southward at the head of 100,000 horse, and arriving at Brampour, the capital of Candeish, fixed his encampment in the vicinity of that city. Thence he dispatched messengers to the confederated princes, commanding them to appear personally before him; to disband their armies, and to deliver up Lodi, his rebellious subject: otherwise he would pour destruction upon them, and make their country a desert. The princes returned an evasive answer; and, with increased vigour, continued the preparations for war.

Thinking it beneath his dignity in person to lead his troops against a rebel in arms, Shah Jehan dispatched Eradit Khan, the governor of Candeish, with 25,000 horse, assisted by two other Omrahs, with 14,000 each, making in the whole a body of 53,000 men, to ravage the territories of the Nizam, who having first received Lodi under his protection, became the first object of his resentment. Lodi with an inferior army, but with superior military abilities, immediately advanced to oppose these forces, and,

taking possession of the difficult passes of the mountains on the frontier, so completely obstructed their line of march, and so harrassed them with partial attacks, without risking a general engagement, that Eradit with all his exertions was unable to penetrate into Golconda. The Emperor, who knew the abilities of Lodi, and by no means expected an easy conquest, yet after some months was stung with disappointment that no farther progress was made, and distrusting Eradit's ability to cope with Lodi, immediately sent his Vizier Asoph, with ten thousand additional horse, to supersede that Omrah. The very name of Asoph, a man equally illustrious in the field and in the cabinet, carried terror with it. The war assumed a new aspect, the confederates were panic-struck, and in spite of the most heroic bravery displayed on the part of Lodi, were defeated. They were compelled to sue for peace, but the Emperor would listen to no terms that did not include the surrender of Lodi. That brave man, however, suspecting treachery, had fled beyound the bounds of Golconda, but not beyond the vengeance of the Emperor. Numerous parties were sent every way in pursuit of him, and, at length, with about thirty of his faithful adherents, he was overtaken, surrounded, and cut to pieces; after having made dreadful havoc among his assailants.

The confederates had lost their general, and had suffered a defeat: they had even solicited peace in hopes that the conditions would be reasonable at least, if not favourable. The demands of Shah Jehan however being too exorbitant to be complied with, the negociations were broken off. The Vizier's presence being necessary at court for the transaction of public business, Eradit was again intrusted with the command of the army. The confederates had after their defeat retired from the field into their strong holds, and the war was converted into a succession of

sieges. The fortresses were strong, the garrisons determined, and the imperialists not over skilful; still the Emperor would not relax from the severity of his demands; great numbers of his troops perished by famine, disease, and the sword, but little progress was made in the subjugation of Deccan. Thus matters continued for a great length of time; all the open country was ravaged with fire and sword; whole cities were depopulated, and fertile provinces converted into deserts. Armies were sent on armies in fruitless and destructive expeditions; and a succession of great generals was employed with no other ultimate success than the capture of a few insignificant forts. At length in 1633, the fortress of Dowlatabad, deemed impregnable, in which the Nizam had shut himself up, was taken by the most experienced of those generals, Mohabet; who after all owed his success to a large bribe bestowed on the governor. During the protracted siege the aged Nizam had died, but the young Nizam, his grandson, was delivered up; sent prisoner to Gualior, and his dominions were annexed to the empire. Beejapour and Tellingana still remained to be subdued; but the Emperor, gratified with this partial success of his arms, leaving Mohabit in the command of the country which he had conquered, returned to Agra. It was his fixed determination however at no distant period to return with all the forces of the empire, and undertake in person the accomplishment of his favourite object.

Engaged in detailing the more important events of the Portugueze government in Malabar, and at their presidency of Goa, I neglected to notice the misfortune that befel them in the present year (1633) at their factory at Hoogley, where from their imprudent conduct having drawn down upon them the displeasure of the Emperor, they were by his command attacked by Casim, the Soubah, at the head of the provincial troops, their property

plundered, and many of them put to death. Shah Jehan is said, in Dow's life of him, to have harboured resentment against this nation for refusing to assist him in his distresses, when, after the battle of the Nerbudda in the former reign, he took refuge in Bengal; and it is there added that these were the first hostilities against Europeans, recorded in the histories of the East.*

The revolt of the Rajah of Bundela (Bundelcund), which also happened this year, would, from its inferior importance, have remained unnoticed in these pages, had it not proved the means of introducing, for the first time, on the theatre of Indian warfare, the young prince, AURUNGZEB, to whom, under the tuition of Nuserit, governor of Malva, the reduction of that rebel was intrusted. Though then only thirteen years old, he on all occasions manifested the most undaunted intrepidity; was foremost in every assault of danger and difficulty; and eminently displayed those talents for military command which afterwards distinguished the conqueror of the peninsula. After a long and obstinate contest the Rajah was subdued, slain, and his head carried to Agra, where, soon after, Aurungzeb also appeared the welcome bearer of about three millions in silver coin, gold, and jewels, found in the vaults of his palace, which he laid at the feet of his transported father, as the first fruits of his victories.†

Shah Jehan had from his early youth a taste for splendour and magnificence. The sumptuous throne which he caused to be built in the former reign, when contending for the empire, out of the spoils of plundered provinces, ornamented with a profusion of the richest jewels, evinced that to be one of his ruling passions.‡ He now began a more superb one, the famous TUKT TAÔUS, or *peacock throne*, of which the body was formed of solid

* Dow, vol. iii. p. 145. † Ibid, p. 147. ‡ See of this volume, p. 203.

gold, incrusted over with diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds. This throne, in finishing, and the expence of the jewels alone, amounted to twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling! It was called the peacock throne, from having the figure of *two peacocks* standing behind it, with their tails expanded, which were studded with various jewels to represent the life. Between the peacocks stood a parrot of the ordinary size, cut out of one emerald. The finest jewel was a RUBY, which had fallen into the hands of Timur when he plundered Delhi in the year 1398.* This is Dow's account, and it is corroborated, with some little variety of description, by Tavernier, a merchant in diamonds, who travelled in India, in Shah Jehan's reign, and who declares that monarch to have been the most skilful in jewels of any man in his own dominions. After such lengthened and disgusting details of blood and slaughter, I am not afraid of offending the reader by inserting Tavernier's more circumstantial account of the peacock throne; it is evident, from the variation in the accounts,† that some alteration must have taken place in this splendid pageant, between the period when it was first exhibited (1635) and about twenty years after, when Tavernier surveyed it at Delhi.

"The Great Mogul has seven thrones, some set all over with diamonds; others, with rubies, emeralds, and pearls. This (the peacock) is the largest throne, and is set up in the hall of the first court of the palace; it is, in form, like one of our field-beds, six foot long and four broad. The cushion, at the back, is round

* Ibid, p. 155.

† I had it engraved for the Indian Antiquities from a drawing by a Venetian artist who visited India in the suite of Manouchi, chief physician to Aurungzebe during forty years. It forms the frontispiece of the final volume of that work. It answers to the first of these descriptions, and has *two peacocks*.

like a bolster; the cushions on the sides are flat. I counted about a hundred and eight pale rubies in collets about this throne, the least whereof weighed a hundred carats; but there are some that weigh two hundred. Emeralds, I counted about a hundred and forty, that weighed some threescore, some thirty, carats.

"The under part of the canopy is all embroidered with pearls and diamonds, with a fringe of pearls round about. Upon the top of the canopy, which is made like an arch with four panes, stands a peacock, with his tail spread, consisting entirely of sapphirs and other proper coloured stones: the body is of beaten gold enchased with several jewels; and a great RUBY upon his breast, to which hangs a pearl that weighs fifty carats. On each side of the peacock stand two nosegays, as high as the bird, consisting of various sorts of flowers, all of beaten gold enamelled. When the king seats himself upon the throne, there is a transparent jewel, with a diamond appendant of eighty or ninety carats weight, encompassed with rubies and emeralds, so hung that it is always in his eye. The twelve pillars also, that uphold the canopy, are set with rows of fair pearl, round, and of an excellent water, that weigh from six to ten carats apiece. At the distance of four feet, upon each side of the throne, are placed two umbrellas, the handles of which are about eight feet high, covered with diamonds; the umbrellas themselves being of crimson velvet, embroidered and fringed with pearl. This is the famous throne (he adds) which Tamerlane began and Shah Jehan finished; and is really reported to have cost a hundred and sixty millions and five hundred thousand livres of our money. Besides this stately and magnificent throne, there is another less, of an oval form, seven foot long and five broad. The outside of it shines all over with diamonds and pearls, but there is no canopy over it.

The five other thrones are erected in another magnificent hall, in a different court, entirely covered with diamonds without any coloured stone."*

As another instance of that ostentatious magnificence in which the soul of Jehan delighted, the same traveller mentions the sumptuous gallery built by that monarch, which he had purposed to cover entirely over with a kind of lattice-work of emeralds and rubies, that should have represented to the life grapes when they are green, and when they begin to grow red. But this design, which made such a noise in the world, and required more riches than all the world could afford to perfect, still remains unfinished, there being only three stocks of a vine in gold, with their leaves, as the rest ought to have been, enamelled according to their natural colours, with emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones, wrought into the fashion of grapes.† To this account Manouchi, also an eye witness, adds, that the opposite side of the gallery, in which are the windows, is adorned with looking-glasses of considerable magnitude whose borders are set with the largest oriental pearl. The clusters of precious stones, multiplied in the looking-glasses, reflect an inconceivable splendor, which dazzles by day, and enlightens the whole gallery by night.‡

This costly pageant of Jehan, was not wholly without parallel amidst the magnificence of Eastern courts; for we are told by Herodotus, that Pithius, the wealthy Bythinian, made Darius a present of a plane-tree and a vine of gold. This vine, according to Athenæus,‖ was adorned with jewels hanging in clusters, in

* See Tavernier's Indian Travels, part 2. book ii. chap viii.

† Tavernier's Indian Travels, book I. chap. vii.

‡ Manouchi's Mogul History, p. 218. edit. oct. 1709.

‖ See Herodot. Lib. VII. and also Athenæus, Lib. XII.

form and colour resembling grapes, and spread like a rich canopy over the golden bed of that monarch. But, without going to Persia, we find in Curtius,* amidst that luxuriant description, in his eighth book, of the state and pageantry of an Indian monarch, particular mention made of the golden vines that twined round those ornamented columns of the same metal which supported his palace, amidst whose branches artificial birds of silver, in imitation of those most esteemed in India, were disposed with the nicest art by the curious designer.†

Independently of the innate love of regal pomp, Shah Jehan thought that a public display of magnificence raised awe in his subjects, and gave weight to his authority. With this view he selected a hundred youths from among the sons of the nobility who were of the most distinguished merit, and made them omrahs in one day. He gave to each a golden mace, and they always attended the presence. They were all uniformly dressed in clothes richly embroidered, with golden helmets, swords inlaid with precious stones, and shields studded with gold. When the Emperor went abroad these constantly attended him with drawn sabres, all mounted on the fleetest Arabian horses, and from these he chose his officers of state. His vanity, however, was principally gratified in the splendour of his Haram. Early in his reign he had the misfortune to lose, in child-bed, his favourite Sultana, the daughter of the Vizier, and mother of all his surviving children. For a time he was inconsolable, and raised at Agra a magnificent tomb to her memory, which cost, in building, no less a sum than 750,000l. sterling. While she survived he was very constant to her; but, after her decease, he indulged his licentious passions to great excess, and his seraglio was crowded with the

* Quintus Curtius, Lib. VIII. cap. IX.

† Indian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 213.

finest women of Asia. Most of our Eastern travellers who have attempted to describe the œconomy of the seraglio, have doubtless, from the sacredness of that recess, imposed upon their readers a heap of gross falsehoods. Manouchi, so long physician at the court of Agra, may be supposed to write from better information than most of them, and his account of what concerns the external decoration of the fair incarcerated inhabitants is in substance as follows.

Their hair, perfumed with the finest essences, and braided with pearls, falls down in graceful tresses. Some, on the crown of the head, wear turbans adorned with plumes of feathers, glittering with precious stones, while long scarves of gold tissue fastened to them behind, hang down, and reach to the very ground. Others wear a kind of diadem, formed of pearl, on the front part of the head, in the centre of which is fixed a glorious jewel resembling in its figure the sun, a crescent, a star, or some beautiful flower. Their necklaces, too, are of the finest oriental pearl, intermixed with diamonds, rubies, and sapphires. The climate obliging them to wear only the slightest covering, there is, he tells us, a silk made on purpose for them, so very fine that a whole suit of it does not weigh above an ounce. These dresses are never worn a second time, but every returning day supplies a new suit of a different colour from the former. While, however, these delicate females shrink from this slight incumbrance of clothing, they wear, he adds, so many jewels that they are in a manner burdened with them. The neck and bosom are covered with interwoven pearl and diamonds, suspended crosswise in brilliant rows. Their pendants and bracelets are of a surprising magnificence. Their fingers and their toes, which are always uncovered, as they only wear sandals, are alike adorned with the richest rings. On the right thumb they wear a small looking-

glass, in the form of a signet, set round with pearl, in which they are for ever admiring themselves. The ornament most becoming these princesses (for we must suppose Manouchi only speaking of the highest order of females in the seraglio) is a gold girdle of about two fingers breadth garnished with variegated stones. Labels of the same metal hang down from it with clusters of orient pearl at the extremities. What is most astonishing is that each Sultana has, at least, six or eight changes of these jewels. The reader will doubtless here fancy that he has been travelling in *fairy land*, where all is pearl and diamonds; but the description just given falls very far short of the truth.

Here I should finish this gaudy picture; but what our author has remarked concerning the *sources* of this vast accumulation of precious stones at the Mogul court is too deserving of notice to be omitted, and I hope to render it more so by additional remarks of my own.

The court of the Mogul, he observes, is richer in jewels than can well be conceived in Europe. Timur, the founder of the empire, had enriched himself with the plunder of the palaces of the greatest part of the sovereigns of Asia. In the Indian Antiquities the reader will find an account of the great feast which that conqueror made after his conquest of Asia, on the plain of CANAGHA, in which all his immense treasures in gold and jewels were displayed; treasures compared with which, as I have there truly observed, the riches of Xerxes and Darius were trifling.* The delight of the Tartar monarchs who succeeded was to hoard up inconceivable masses of precious stones. Baber carried with him from Samarcand to the Indies a great part of the treasures

* Indian Antiquities, vol. vii. p. 98. in an express dissertation on the wealth of the ancient world, which for the most part centred in India in the purchase of her rare and valuable commodities.

of Gengis and Timur. The long reigns of Akber and Jehanguire, enriched with the plunder of the Rajapouts and the Deccan, gave time for the imperial treasures to accumulate. To the latter no present was so acceptable as a rare and costly jewel, of which the vanquished Rajahs, among whom remained the ancient stores in that way of the ancient Hindoo empire, were aware, and availed themselves.* Aurungzeb, by his conquest of the kingdom of Golcondah, became master of the diamond mines; and every year, besides the tribute paid him out of Golconda in precious stones, bought up the fairest and most perfect for the use of his wives and daughters. These jewels are never alienated, for at the death of the Sultanas, the emperor being their only heir, they revert to the crown. It may be farther observed, that the jewels of the seraglio are rendered unfit for sale by being perforated. In proof of this it is observed that Akber, being in want of money to carry on the war in Guzzurat, sent some rubies to be sold at

* See in Gladwin's Life of Jehanguire a great variety of instances. Thus, when the Ranna of Oudipour, after his defeat, was first introduced to the prince, his victor, he made him a present of a "RUBY, a valuable family jewel," p. 30. When the prince and his captive the Ranna had their audience of Jehanguire, his nuzzir among other things was "*a chrystal casket full of jewels*, and the RUBY which had been presented to him by the Ranna, valued at 60,000 rupees," p. 31. "Rajah Bickermajeet laid out two lacks of rupees (24,000l.) at Goa in the purchase of a RUBY, which he presented to Shah Jehan," p. 39. The *peishcush*, or present, at one time offered by Shah Jehan to his father was as follows: "the above RUBY, weighing 17 miskals; an AMETHYST, valued at a lack of rupees (12,000l.); a DIAMOND, valued at 40,000 rupees; another, of the same value; another, valued at 30,000 rupees; a pearl worth 25,000 rupees; two other pearls of the same price," p. 40. When the Emperor was last at Agra, Shah Abbass sent him a RUBY which had descended from Ulug Beg to the Seffi family. The name of Ulug Beg was engraved upon it, and Jehanguire ordered his own name to be added to it," p. 52. This is the great ruby, before mentioned, as being the noblest ornament of the peacock throne. Rubies, therefore, seem to have been the jewel most valued by these princes; the finest are found in Pegu.

Goa. They were very beautiful to the eye, but their being perforated spoiled the sale of them. With respect to that superior class of precious stones which adorn the person of the emperor, they are the master-pieces of nature, and are all distinguished by peculiar high-sounding names. One is called the Sun, another the Moon, a third Aldebaran, a fourth Sirius, and a fifth the Bear-star. By these names the Mogul distinguishes them, and calls for them when he wants them on days of national festivity.*

About this time the marriages of Sultans Dara and Sujah were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence at Agra: no less a sum than 875,000l. was expended by the emperor on this occasion; and the nobles vied with each other in the most expensive entertainments and shews. Aurungzeb, now in his fifteenth year, became so expert in his martial exercises, and evinced such a superior understanding, as greatly to increase in favour with his father. His fortitude at those years was such as amazed the Emperor and the whole court, before whom he publicly fought on horse-back against an elephant, and by his dexterity killed that enormous animal. On this occasion appeared the first symptoms of that unhappy jealousy, which afterwards broke out among the princes; the two elder burned with envy at the preference given to Aurungzeb, and ever after bore the young prince a secret enmity. To prevent any ill effects from this rising spirit of animosity, Sujah was sent into Deccan to govern that province, assisted by the councils of the sage Mohabet, whose control, however, his lofty spirit could not brook. He was, therefore, recalled, and shortly after made viceroy of Bengal, which province he governed nearly all the remainder of Shah Jehan's reign. With respect to Sultan Dara, the eldest,

* Manouchi's Mogul History, p. 331.

being the imperial prince, his father kept him near himself at court, much against the Sultan's consent, who murmured greatly at the distinguished honours conferred on Sujah, while he himself had neither province nor command. His father endeavoured to pacify him by representing to him, that it arose solely from his tender affection towards the heir of the throne that he did not permit him to take the field; and that, in the palace, there was no need of the parade of a military command. With these representations, however, Sujah was by no means satisfied; and the emperor, to appease him, appointed him to the command of six thousand horse. Jehan, for this guarded conduct towards Dara, had doubtless other motives besides affection: he had marked the young scyon of ambition shooting up and expanding in his mind, and viewed him with the same jealous eye with which the prince himself regarded his brother Sujah.

The vast preparations making for the Emperor's intended conquest of Deccan were, in the mean time, advancing towards completion. The greater part of the year 1634 was spent in visiting the northern provinces of the empire. He moved but slowly; a considerable army, and the whole court attending his progress. Being an excellent sportsman, he hunted in all the forests on the way, and is said with his own hand to have shot *forty deer* before he reached Delhi. After staying some time at Delhi, he proceeded to Lahore, and with great pomp and affected piety went to visit the tomb of that father whose life he had so much embittered. He made magnificent presents to some learned men of that city, and to the fakeers who kept up the perpetual lamp burning in the tomb of his father; he then hastened on to Cashmere, where he arrived about the middle of June. There, during the tropical heats, he relaxed from the fatigues of public business, and amused himself with viewing the curious springs, the cascades,

the hanging woods, and the ample lakes which diversify the face of that romantic and beautiful region.

Shah Jehan, during his stay at Delhi, had formed the resolution of rebuilding that ancient capital after a magnificent manner. The two kings, his predecessors, had set him an example in this respect, Akber having rebuilt Agra, and Jehanguire having repaired and beautified Lahore. On the Emperor's return southward, this important undertaking was ordered to be immediately carried into execution, and the most skilful architects and masons were procured from the greatest distances to forward its accomplishment. He drew the outlines of his new city on a large plain on the western banks of the Jumna, and, in constructing it, made use of the same sort of red stone, of the hardness and colour of jasper, brought from the quarries of Fettipore, which Akber employed in building the castle of Agra. The city was fortified with twelve lofty towers, and had as many magnificent gates; the principal, that fronting the palace, of uncommon magnitude and grandeur. The palace itself surpassed every thing of the kind in India, the walls of the principal apartments being lined with marble, and the cielings of many of them overlaid with plates of silver. The grand mosque, or JAMA MUSJED, was also without its rival, being incrusted within and without with marble of various colours. The great Omrahs, too, of Shah Jehan's court, to gain their master's applause, vied with each other in raising splendid palaces within the limits of his new city; and besides the JAMA MUSJED, there were many other mosques inferior in magnitude, but of exquisite beauty. The bazars, or public market places, were surrounded by arches, which at the same time that they gave a perpetual shade below, supported noble terraces above, while the shops themselves were stored with the richest merchandize of Asia, encouraged by high immunities to

centre in this new and beautiful metropolis. The city was about seven miles in circumference, and was surrounded on three sides by a wall of brick and stone, the Jumna itself forming its defence on the fourth, while Shah Jehan's principal care was to make two gardens of inconceivable magnificence, called the gardens of Shalimar, which alone cost him a million sterling. Here were grottos of great extent and depth, where the beams of the sun never penetrated, canals of the fairest water filled with gold and silver fishes, fountains that for ever playing diffused a refreshing coolness around, while the choicest flowers and fruits of Asia, by their fragrance and flavour, on every side administered to the gratification of the delighted senses.

Lest the reader, not accustomed to the extravagance of Eastern magnificence, should think the above account exaggerated, I shall conclude this chapter with inserting Mr. Franklin's description of a part of this palace, as it was seen by him in its ruined state, on his visit to Delhi in 1793, from which some judgment may be formed of what it was in the meridian glory of the empire, when adorned with the peacock throne, and the other sumptuous regalia of Mogul splendour. This description, it will be observed, only concerns the great and lesser hall of audience, and the royal baths.

"The PALACE of the royal family of *Timur*, was erected by the Emperor SHAH JEHAN at the time he finished the new city. It is situated on the western bank of the *Jumna*, and is surrounded on three sides by a wall of red stone. I suppose the circumference of the whole to be about a mile. The first object that attracts attention after entering the palace, is the *Dewaun Aum*, or public hall of audience, for all descriptions of people. It is situated at the upper end of a spacious square, and is a noble building, but at present much in decay. On each side of the *Dewaun Aum*,

and all round this square, are apartments of two stories high, the walls and front of which in the times of the splendour of the empire, were adorned with a profusion of the richest tapestry, velvets, and silks; the nobles vying with each other in rendering them the most magnificent, especially on festivals, and days of public rejoicings, when they presented a grand sight. These decorations have however been long since laid aside, and nothing but the bare walls remain. From the *Dewaun Aum*, we proceeded through another handsome gateway to the *Dewaun Khass* beforementioned. This building is also situated at the upper end of a spacious square, and elevated upon a marble terrace about four feet high. The *Dewaun Khass* in former times has been adorned with excessive magnificence,* and though stripped and plundered by various invaders, still retains sufficient beauty to render it admired. I judge the building to be a hundred and fifty feet in length by forty in breadth. The roof is flat, supported by a great many columns of fine white marble, which have been richly adorned with inlaid flower-work of beautiful stones: the cornices and borders have been decorated with a great quantity of frieze and sculptured work. The cieling was formerly incrusted with a work of rich foliage of silver throughout the whole extent, which has been long since taken off and carried away. The delicacy of the inlaying in the compartments of the walls is much to be admired, and it is matter of heartfelt regret to see the barbarous ravages that have been made in picking out the different cornelians, and breaking the marble by violence. Around the interior of the *Dewaun Khass*, in the cornice, are the following lines in Persian engraved in letters of gold, upon a white marble ground.

"If there be a paradise upon earth, this is it—'tis this, 'tis this."

* Within this the peacock imperial throne was erected.

The terrace on which the *Dewaun Khanah* is built is composed of large beautiful slabs of white marble, and the building is crowned at top with four pavilions or cupolas of the same materials.

"The ROYAL BATHS built by SHAH JEHAN, are situated a little to the northward of the *Dewaun Khass*, and consist of three very large apartments surmounted by white marble domes. The inside of the baths is lined, about two thirds of the way up, with marble, having a beautiful border of flower-worked cornelians and other precious stones, executed with taste. The floors are paved throughout with marble in large slabs, and there is a fountain in the centre of each with many pipes: large reservoirs of marble, about four feet deep, are placed in different parts of the walls; the light is admitted from the roof by windows of particoloured glasses; and capacious stones with iron gratings are placed underneath each separate apartment. There is a noble mosque adjoining, entirely of white marble, and made after the fashion described above. A great part of this noble palace has suffered very much by the destructive ravages of the late invaders. The *Rohillas* in particular, who were introduced by GHOLAUM KAUDER, have stripped many of the rooms of their marble ornaments and pavements, and have even picked out the stones from the borders of many of the floorings."*

* Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 431.

CHAPTER II.

Third Expedition of the Emperor to Deccan, the Result of Ambition and Avarice united.—Conquest of the Kings of Bejapour, and Tellingana.—Aurungzeb made Governor of Deccan.—His Marriage.—Candahar restored to the Moguls.—Incursions of the Uzbek Tartars; defeated by Aurungzeb.—Candahar retaken by the Persians.—The Emperor grows jealous of his Sons, and they of each other.—Consequent dreadful Distractions of the Empire.—Their Contests for the Sovereign Power.—Aurungzeb finally prevails, imprisons his Father, and ascends the Throne.

It was near the close of the year 1636 before Shah Jehan commenced his long-meditated expedition for the purpose of reducing the Mahommedan governments of the Deccan, not yet conquered. Mohabet, the greatest of his generals, was dead; and from that event the progressive march of his armies in that quarter had ceased. The kings of Bejapour and Tellingana, in modern geography Visiapour and Golconda, having retreated into the strong fortresses in which those kingdoms abounded, defied the utmost efforts of his generals to bring them under the Mogul yoke. They had laid waste, but had not subdued, the country; and the task of their complete subjugation was left to the emperor, and his son Aurungzeb.

Ambition had doubtless a very decided influence over the emperor's mind in making this attack, but the vast sums which Shah Jehan was at this moment expending in rebuilding Delhi, and improving Agra, and in the unequalled splendour of a most luxurious court, render the supposition of his eastern biographer

extremely probable, viz. that AVARICE had also no small share in exciting him to this undertaking. In the different assaults already made on that devoted country, much of its hoarded treasure in coined money, and very considerable quantities of the finest jewels of Golconda, had found their way to Agra. For this species of wealth we have seen the insatiable avidity of this monarch, as well as the mode of its application. That kingdom was a mine of jewels, rich in itself, and rich in the wealth of its dependent kingdom of Bisnagar, as yet only partially plundered. Both Tavernier and Thevenot were at Golconda in this reign; and the latter, a traveller of great veracity, gives the following account of the king's splendid personal appearance, from which an idea may be formed of the riches and magnificence of his court and kingdom. I cite it verbatim from the English edition of 1687. "This prince wears on the crown of his head a jewel almost a foot long, which is said to be of inestimable value. It is a rose of great diamonds, three or four inches in diameter. On the top of that rose there is a little crown out of which issues a branch resembling that of a palm tree, but it is round; and that palm tree branch is a good inch in diameter, and about half a foot long. It is made up of several sprigs which are (as it were) the leaves of it, each of them having at their extremities a lovely long pearl, in shape like a pear. At the foot of this posie there are two bands of gold in the fashion of table bracelets, in which are enchased large diamonds, set round with rubies, which with great pearls that hang dangling on all sides make an exceeding rare shew: these bands are fastened to the head with clasps of diamonds. In short, this king doubtless surpasses all the kings of the Indies in precious stones," &c. &c.* Tavernier's account of the wealth of Golconda is still more particular and surprising;

* Thevenot's Indian Travels, book 2d. chap. 7. p. 102. folio edit. 1687.

but the above specimen is fully sufficient to support the conjecture that it was not *ambition alone* that led this ostentatious monarch to invade the Deccan.*

From political motives the march of the army was slow and circuitous. He had given orders to the governors of the provinces to join him with their forces, as he advanced, and many of them, being at a considerable distance from the intended scene of action, required time for the junction. Aurungzeb, now in high favour, and ardent to distinguish himself, accompanied the emperor. At his request the army passed through Bundelcund, which was the scene of the first campaign of that prince, and where he pointed out to his delighted father the spots on which he had encountered the greatest difficulties, and the forts that had longest held out in that protracted contest. By premeditated delays, and by excursions of hunting, in which exercise the emperor greatly delighted, nearly a year was consumed before he entered the borders of the Deccan. When, at length, he reached Dowlatabad,† and had been joined by all the troops, his force was so prodigious, as almost to exceed calculation, while it promised to annihilate resistance on the part of the enemy.

Twelve different armies were immediately formed, and dispatched, under as many experienced generals, by different routs, into the kingdoms of Bejapour and Tellingana. The amazed inhabitants were attacked at once and from so many different

* In his chapter on Golconda Tavernier informs us that the two largest diamonds in the world, that is, *cut diamonds*, belong, the one to the Great Mogul, weighing 279 carats; and the other, weighing 139 carats, to the Duke of Tuscany.

† The names of Eastern capitals and provinces are perpetually varying, which causes much inevitable confusion. Thus to the province called Ahmednagar, in Ferishta's History of Deccan, a later age has given the name of Dowlatabad, in that writer's time its capital; at a still later period, Aurungabad, built by Aurungzeb, became its capital; at present the Nizam's capital is Hydrabad.

quarters that they knew not whither to retreat, and no quarter was given to any that resisted. "Towns and cities," says the Persian historian, "were seen in flames on every side; the hills were shaken with the continual roar of artillery, and the tigers of the desert fled from the more ferocious fury of man." One hundred and fifteen towns and castles were taken and destroyed in the course of a year, while from the lofty citadel of Dowlatabad the relentless emperor looked down with savage pleasure on a country in flames, and an expiring people. Shut up in their strong fortresses, and unable to assist their suffering subjects, the kings of Bejapour and Tellingana at length became convinced that universal ruin and depopulation must be the consequence of longer resistance in this war of dreadful devastation. In supplicating terms they therefore solicited peace; and Shah Jehan took advantage of their necessities, to impose such severe terms upon them as virtually amounted to the loss of their kingdoms. Though their crowns were forfeited, however, they were established hereditary governors of their own dominions, on condition of acknowledging the emperor, and his successors, to be LORDS PARAMOUNT of the Deccan, and of paying a large annual tribute, of which the first payment was to take place immediately. Although no particular sum is specified, and the task of completely ransacking Golconda was left to Aurungzeb at a future period, yet we may depend upon it that the ransom and tribute paid by these princes in gold and jewels were of no inferior kind; but sufficient at once to re-imburse Shah Jehan the expense of the expedition, and greatly to augment the lustre of his inestimable THRONE.

His grand project being now fully accomplished, the emperor commenced his march for Ajmere, leaving Aurungzeb with a large force, under the tuition of Khan Zeman to govern the

conquered provinces. For some time past a treaty of marriage had been negociated between that prince, now in his twentieth year, and a grand daughter of the famous Asoph Khan, the Visier, which the present cessation from hostilities gave leisure to complete. The most splendid preparations were accordingly made, and in the course of a few months the marriage was celebrated with the utmost pomp at Ajmere; the venerable Visier himself coming from Agra to attend the ceremony. Shortly after Khan Zeman died, when he had the sole command of the imperial army, and the undivided government of the Deccan intrusted to his charge; an important charge to so young a prince. He had however given proofs of wisdom and experience adequate to it, and had already formed in his mind the plan of his distinguished triumphs on this wide theatre of his future glory.

Candahar, to which the Persian sovereigns had long laid claim, and which had been taken from the Moguls by Shah Abbas, during the distractions that prevailed in the reign of Jehanguire, was, about this time, restored to Shah Jehan by its Persian governor, Ali Murdan, who, disgusted at the innumerable cruelties practised in Persia without bound and without remorse by the tyrant SHAH SEFI, from the highest Omrah to the lowest peasant, and fully aware of his own precarious existence, resolved to change masters; and only stipulating for his personal safety, delivered up that citadel to the governor of Cabul. Nothing could exceed the joy of the emperor at the recovery of this important fortress, the source of perpetual contentions between the two kingdoms; and he not only immediately conferred the most ample pecuniary rewards on Ali Murdan, but, finding him worthy of his esteem and confidence, afterwards exalted him to offices of very high trust and dignity in the empire. On the other hand, enraged equally at the treachery of his governor, and the loss of

the fortress, the Persian Shah ordered an army of 7000 horse to advance from Chorasan to retake it. The Indian commander, however, marched out with an inferior force, and totally defeated those troops, who possibly fought with no great ardour in the cause of their sanguinary master.

The Emperor continued his rout from Ajmeer to Lahore, in his progress correcting abuses, hearing complaints, and removing cruel or venal governors. His sons, Sultans Dara and Sujah, were about this time dignified with higher rank in the army, the former being made an Omrah of 10,000 horse and as many foot, and the latter of 7000 horse and an equal number of foot. Sultan Murad too, the fourth son of the Emperor, now in his seventeenth year, having in a late instance, in the province of Marwar, given decisive proofs of his martial fire and talents, had a considerable command given him, and was, shortly after, under proper tuition, made governor of Multan. It is, in this place, necessary to observe that Shah Jehan, having frequently declared his intention of leaving the throne to Dara, he always appointed him to the first place in dignity and power, and wished to habituate his sons to regard him as their future sovereign; although he is said by Bernier* to have ever harboured a latent jealousy of this prince, and secretly to have encouraged the ambition of Aurungzeb, whose abilities for governing he thought superior. This writer also informs us that on this account, while the other sons had distant and affluent governments assigned them, he retained Dara at court, where he had a throne placed for him, in the hall of audience, a little lower than his own, and whereon he sate as a second emperor, forgetting an old eastern adage, that *two suns never yet shone in one hemisphere.* This imprudent, irresolute conduct in Shah Jehan, who had acted so summary a part by his own

* Bernier's Mogul Empire, p. 29, et seq.

brothers, and who might have crushed the evil in time, by sending all the suspected to Gualior, is rather astonishing, and certainly *was* the cause of all his succeeding calamities.

Amidst events of more important consideration in an empire, the death of a great and good man, who, when acting from himself, was the model of upright ministers, may surely be enumerated. Such was Asoph Jah, brother of NOURMAHAL, and father of the favourite Sultana, the mother of so many princes and princesses, who died this year, 1641, in the 72d year of her age. Although he left several sons and daughters, yet for political reasons he constituted his grandson, Dara, heir to his immense fortune, amounting in coined money, jewels, and plate, to four millions sterling. He bequeathed his children to that empire which he had more than once, together with its sovereign, preserved from destruction. The beautiful TAJEMAHAL, his daughter, had died in child-bed in 1631, and was honoured with a marble mausoleum at Agra, now called by her name, that had scarcely its rival in India, and cost Shah Jehan no less a sum than 750,000*l.* sterling. His sister, NOURMAHAL, died in 1645, in her palace at Lahore, in dignified seclusion from that world in which she had, by her beauty, borne so unbounded a sway. Such was the concluding scene of the three most distinguished personages of their day!

One method which Shah Jehan, in his strict administration of justice, took to prevent that undue influence which the Soubahs were too apt to acquire in their governments, was to remove them every third year. Tirbiet Khan was in this year complained of for his unrelenting severity in exacting the revenues from the poor oppressed inhabitants of Cabul. He was superseded, deprived of his honours, and confined; for during this reign, even of the once sanguinary Jehan, the punishment of death was seldom inflicted, and justice and clemency seemed to go hand in hand.

Ali Murdan was appointed in his room Soubah of Cabul. Even Aurungzeb himself, when complaints were once made against him for mal-administration in Deccan, was ordered to the presence to answer to the charge. That prince readily obeyed the summons, completely exculpated himself, and was re-instated in his government.

In laudable occupations of this kind, occasionally intermixed with the pleasures of the chase and the delights of an overflowing haram, sometimes at one capital and sometimes at another, as either caprice or the varying season dictated, elapsed several years of Shah Jehan's reign. Nothing was now wanting to fill up the measure of his greatness, or the plenitude of his power. Excepting the occasional insurrection of a discontented Rajah, and an accidental irruption on the frontier of some daring Patan, or Tartar chief easily crushed by neighbouring Soubahs, the empire remained in profound tranquillity. Rebellion suppressed in the provinces, and order and subordination happily established among all classes of his subjects, the will of the Emperor was received as law through all its vast extent. An immense revenue, the result of commerce duly encouraged, and property effectually protected, under the code of the great Akber, poured from every quarter into the royal coffers. The new capital honoured with his name, and by which that name was to descend to latest ages, as well as himself to be considered as the patron of architecture and every nobler science, was now nearly finished, and about to open its gates to admit the most splendid court of Asia. The domestic irresolution of a monarch, whose conduct in every other respect was marked by the utmost vigour and decision, ruined this fair prospect of dawning felicity, and cast a dreadful gloom over his closing life.

In 1642 Shah Sefi who had inundated Persia with the blood

of his subjects, having quelled those intestine commotions which his cruelties excited, directed his arms towards Candahar, with a determination to recover that city and fortress. As this was a favourite acquisition of Shah Jehan, he made the most formidable preparations for resisting the attack, and Sultan Dara at the head of an army of 50,000 men, to be joined at Cabul by 30,000 more, was soon on his march for that citadel. Sultan Murad, too, whose character was now become eminent for invincible bravery, was dispatched with twenty thousand horse, with orders to take post behind the Nilab, and re-inforce his brother if requisite. All these mighty preparations, however, proved in the end unnecessary. Shah Sefi, breathing war and vengeance, had not advanced far in his march towards Candahar, before he was suddenly taken ill, and died, it was thought by poison, amidst the execrations of his remaining subjects. His army was disbanded, and as Abbas the Second manifested at that time no inclination to follow up the military projects of his predecessor, the two princes returned with their forces to their father at Lahore.

Awed by the reputation of Shah Jehan and his valiant sons, the Uzbek Tartars had long refrained from committing depredations on the Indian frontier; but in 1643 they recommenced their barbarous incursions. Ali Murdan, however, the governor of Cabul, repulsed them with great slaughter, and, in return, ravaged their country as far as Balkh. In the following year he renewed the attack upon those northern hordes, the descendants of the ancient Massagetæ, and took several towns and forts in Badakshan. His daring courage hurrying him on too far into that inhospitable region, the enemy were enabled to cut off his supplies and his communication with Hindostan; they had also retaken several forts which had fallen into his hands when he advanced. A retreat, therefore, was deemed prudent by that commander, who

extricated himself with great ability from the difficulties that surrounded him; reconquered the captured forts; and having established a chain of posts along the skirts of Badakshan, returned with honour to Cabul. This however did not satisfy Shah Jehan; any thing short of the absolute subjugation of so presumptuous a foe his soul disdained, and, therefore, on a renewal of their incursions, more vigorous and decisive measures were taken for that purpose, during which the military talents of both Aurungzeb and Murad were successively called forth. Their complete reduction was at length accomplished in 1647, but not without several obstinate battles, and a very great expenditure of blood and treasure.*

It was not until the commencement of the year 1648, according to his Persian biographer, that his new city of Jehanabad, was completely fitted for the reception of his numerous court, and the immense population that, encouraged by the promises held out to the new settlers, flocked to it from every quarter of India. From Agra alone were exported thither by his order and at his expence, no less than 500,000 of its inhabitants, and that great city was left almost a desert. On this occasion no bounds were placed to the generosity and hospitality of the Emperor, and when in all his glory he mounted the throne in that city on the festival of the NAURUZ, or *new year's day*, which in India falls at the vernal equinox, no end to the presents that were offered by the high nobility to himself, and by their ladies to the Sultanas. That festival, ever magnificent, was sumptuous beyond all conception, and continued *nine* days, a favourite number of the Moguls, during which period the whole city as well as the court

* Compare Abulghazi's History of the Uzbek Khans with what occurs in Dow, vol. iii. p. 190, and in Bernier, tom. ii. p. 1, who met the Uzbek ambassadors at Delhi, A. D. 1656.

was treated at the public expence, and all classes dissolved in boundless dissipation.

In the life of Jehanguire I have given Sir Thomas Roe's description of the celebration of this great Persian and Tartar feast at Agra. Bernier was at this new capital, of which he has favoured us with an elaborate description, in 1663, about fifteen years after this first ascension of its throne by Shah Jehan, when its lustre was probably rather increased than abated by fresh importations from Golconda, and saw Aurungzeb, (Shah Jehan still living) sitting upon it, and celebrating the same great annual festivity. The eastern narratives may appear extravagant and inflated to our cold northern conceptions, but credit ought surely to be given to so authentic a writer as Bernier. I may add, that Mr. Franklin's and his account of the palace will be found mutually illustrative of each other, due allowance being made for the great distance of time, at which they respectively saw it, the one in its full splendor, the other in ruins. With respect to the grand pageant, the THRONE itself, he agrees in most points with Tavernier, and he is very particular in enumerating the *sources* of the wealth of the Mogul. He computes the actual treasures of Shah Jehan at six crore of rupees, about seven millions and an half sterling; but he adds, "In this sum I by no means comprehend that great abundance of goldsmith's work, so variously wrought in gold and silver, nor that vast store of precious stones and pearls in his possession, of a very high value. The throne alone covered with them is valued, at the least, at three crore. It is however, to be considered that they are the spoils of those ancient princes, the Patans and Rajahs, accumulated from immemorial times, and still increasing from one king to another by the presents which the Omrahs are obliged yearly on certain festivals to make him, especially on his *birthday*. These are esteemed

the jewels of the crown, which it would be criminal to touch, and upon which a king of India, in case of necessity, would find it very difficult to raise the least sum."*

After introducing us through those great gates, where the stone elephants *were* at that time standing, and through the two outer courts, full of guards and living elephants, he leads us to the Am-kass, or hall of audience, where "The king appeared sitting upon his throne, in the bottom of the great hall of audience, splendidly apparelled. His vest was of white satin flowered, and raised with a very fine embroidery of gold and silk. His turban was of cloth of gold, having a bird wrought upon it like an heron, whose foot was covered with diamonds of an extraordinary bigness and price, with a great oriental topaz, which may be said to be matchless, shining like a little sun. A collar of big pearls hung about his neck down to his stomach, after the manner that some heathens wear their great beads. His throne was supported by six high pillars, said to be of massy gold, and set with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. I am not able to tell you aright, neither the number nor the price of this heap of precious stones, because it is not permitted to come near enough to count them, and to judge of their water and purity. Only this I can say, that the great diamonds are there in profusion, and that the throne is estimated to be worth four crores of rupees. Shah Jehan, the father of Aurungzeb, is the prince who caused it to be made, to shew so many precious stones as successively had been amassed in the treasury, of the spoils of those ancient *Patans* and *Rajahs*, and of the presents which the *Omrahs* are obliged to make yearly upon certain festival days. The art and workmanship of this throne is not answerable to the matter: that which I find upon it best devised, are two peacocks covered

* See Bernier's Mogul Empire, vol. i. p. 165. English 12mo. edit. 1676.

with precious stones and pearls, which are the work of a Frenchman, that was an admirable workman. Beneath this throne there appeared all the *Omrahs* in splendid apparel, upon a raised ground covered with a great canopy of purfled gold with great golden fringes, and inclosed by a silver balustrade. The pillars of the hall were hung with tapestries of purfled gold, having the ground of gold; and for the roof of the hall, there was nothing but great canopies of flowered satin, fastened with red silken cords, that had big tufts of silk mixt with threads of gold hanging on them. Below there was nothing to be seen but great silken tapestries very rich, of an extraordinary length and breadth. In the court there was set abroad a certain tent they call the *Aspex*, as long and large as the hall and more. It was joined to the hall by the upper part, and reached almost as far as to the middle of the court; mean time it was all inclosed by a great balustrade covered with plates of silver. It was supported by three pillars, being of the thickness and height of a barge-mast, and by some lesser ones, and they all were covered with plates of silver. It was red from without, and lined within with those fine *Chittes*, or cloth painted by a pencil of *Masulipatan*, purposely wrought and contrived with such vivid colours, and flowers so natural drawn of an hundred several fashions and shapes, that one would have said, it were an hanging parterre. Thus was the great hall of the *Am-kass* adorned and set out.

As to those *arched galleries*, which I have spoken of, that surround the court; each *Omrah* had received order to dress one of them at his own charges. And they now striving who should make his own most stately, there was seen nothing but purfled gold above and beneath, and rich tapestries under foot.

The third day of the feast, the king caused himself to be weighed with great ceremony, and after him divers *Omrahs*, in

great scales, and with weights said to be of massy gold. I remember that all the Omrahs expressed great joy, that the king weighed two pounds more than the year preceding.

Every year there are held such kinds of festivals, but never any was celebrated with so much splendour and charge. It is said, that what induced Aurungzeb to celebrate this splendid feast, was nothing else but to make the merchants of purfled gold recover themselves, who had whole magazines full of it, much spoiled in these four or five years of war, wherein they could not sell them. These expenses of the Omrahs were great; but the simple cavaliers paid their share of it, because that the Omrahs after the feast made them take off that commodity to make vests thereof.

There is an ancient custom accompanying these feasts, which little pleaseth the Omrahs: and it is this, that then they are by respect obliged to make some fair presents to the king in proportion of their pay. There are some, that to appear generous, or for fear of being searched for the rapines by them committed in their offices and governments; or to purchase the favour of the king, in the hopes of having their pensions augmented, make him presents that are extraordinary. Some present fine vessels of gold set with precious stones; others present fair pearls, diamonds, emeralds, or rubies; others give him, without other ceremony, a quantity of those pieces of gold, that are worth about a pistole and an half. I remember, that Aurungzeb, having gone to visit (during this great festival) his Visier Jafer-kan, not as Visier, but as a kinsman, and under the pretence of desiring to see a piece of building, which he had caused to be raised anew, Jafer-kan presented him in these pieces of gold, with the value of an hundred thousand crowns, some good pearls, and one ruby valued at forty thousand crowns.*

* Ibid, vol. iii. p. 57.

From the bower of indolence, and the banquet of intemperance, the emperor was roused before the close of the year, by intelligence that Shah Abbas, at the head of a great army was rapidly advancing to besiege Candahar. He immediately commenced his march for Lahore, and the Visier Sadulla and Aurungzeb were dispatched with 50,000 men, to cover that fortress. Before their arrival, however, in the spring of 1639, it had surrendered by capitulation, and the Persian sovereign, leaving ten thousand men to garrison the place, had retreated with the remainder of his army. The great strength of the citadel enabled the besieged for a long time to resist all the efforts of this formidable force to retake it, and the valour of the garrison, when a practicable breach was made, to repel the assailants, with great loss. On the presumption that the place could not hold out till winter against such an army, commanded by such leaders, neither provisions nor warlike stores had been provided in sufficient abundance for their support. The intenseness of the cold, also, in that high and mountainous region, began to be severely felt by troops accustomed to milder latitudes. In consequence of this, but determined under more auspicious circumstances to renew the attack, Shah Jehan ordered the siege to be raised, and Aurungzeb for the first time was on his return to his father, unadorned with the laurels of victory. But that disgrace was prevented by the guardian genius which seemed to preside over all the actions of his fortunate life.

The imperialists had not advanced far on their retrogressive march, when Ali, governor of Candahar, aided by the army of observation that guarded the Persian frontier, fell furiously upon the rear of the retreating army. Aurungzeb, who was at the head of the cavalry in the van, immediately and with rapidity wheeling round, attacked the assailing army in flank, threw them into confusion, and then following up the blow, completely routed

them. Having however been reinforced by a strong detachment from Candahar, the enemy shortly after renewed the contest against an army thinned by famine, and exhausted by fatigue. The imperialists turned upon them with the heroic courage of men determined to conquer, or die; and now the contest and the carnage became alike dreadful. The shock was along the whole line from wing to wing; every Indian soldier was strenuously engaged in warfare with his Persian antagonist. Victory seemed inclined to favour the unimpaired vigour of the Persians, and to be already within their grasp, when, Rustam, one of Aurungzeb's generals, who commanded the reserve, consisting of 2000 horse, undauntedly leading up his battalions, charged the Persians with such irresistible impetuosity, as greatly contributed to turn the fortune of the day. Aurungzeb, both by his voice and his actions, animated his troops; the combat was renewed with redoubled fury, and the enemy were not only a second time routed, but pursued twenty miles beyond the field of battle. Crowned with unexpected but well-earned glory; the prince returned to his father at Lahore, was received with rapturous gratulation, and loaded with distinguished honours.

In the mean time Shah Abbas, undiscouraged by this defeat of his army, greatly increased the number of the garrison in Candahar, and so strengthened the works as to render that fortress almost impregnable. In vain therefore, did Aurungzeb, after immense preparations, and with a still greater army, in 1642, again appear before that fatal obstacle to the repose of two great empires. To retake it baffled his utmost efforts, as well as those of his brother Dara, and Candahar, till its seizure by Abdollah, remained an appendage to the Persian empire.

The smothered flame of rancour and jealousy that had long secretly burned in the bosoms of these rival brothers was now on

the point of breaking out, not a little increased, in that of Aurungzeb, by the Emperor's solemn public appointment about this period, of Dara to the succession. He went even farther than this; he permitted him to enjoy a large portion of the imperial power, gave him a signet of equal authority with his own, and settled upon him an annual allowance of nearly two millions sterling, for the expences of his household. The passions of Shah Jehan had by no means diminished with his advancing years, but having devolved on Dara and the Visier the burthen of public business, he passed the greatest part of his time in the pleasures of the haram, and the varied delights of the gardens of Shahlimar. There, forgetting the martial exercises of his youth, he gave himself up to enjoyments unworthy of so great a monarch. Music, dancing, and comic entertainments engrossed, in succession, the hours of his voluptuous day. He was not content with that multitude of women which the Mahommedan law allows to the gratification of a grovelling passion, but ranged among his courtiers for forbidden beauty, and stained the hallowed purity of the nuptial bed. To his favourite women he was generous and magnificent beyond conception, but sometimes not very nice in his choice of them. The gallery adorned with jewels is said by Manouchi to have been made to gratify a female dancer of the very lowest class; and to the wife of Calil Khan, one of his principal officers, he presented a pair of slippers of inestimable value.

By a transition not very unusual, the passions of this prince, in his old age, became greatly altered, and boundless prodigality was exchanged for insatiable avarice. He grew intolerably severe in exacting the tribute from the governors; and those were highest in honours and most in favour who remitted the largest sums to court. For the better security of the immense treasures

which he had thus accumulated, we are told by Manouchi that he caused two deep and capacious vaults to be excavated under the palace of Delhi, supported by marble pillars, in one of which, in mighty heaps, was piled up his gold, in the other his silver. He tells us farther, that to prevent these precious metals from being carried away, he had the precaution to form them into vast ingots, unfit to be used in commerce, and that these vaults were the favourite resort of the emperor, who under the pretence of enjoying the cool of that subterraneous gloom, spent a great part of the day in these caverns, feasting his eyes on the enormous wealth contained in them.*

No very important national occurrence arose to interrupt the domestic repose of Shah Jehan till 1656, when new disturbances broke out in Deccan, owing, as was alleged by Aurungzeb, in his representations to his father, to the dilatoriness of Cuttub Shah, in remitting the annual tribute due to the empire. On this account he professed to have put the troops under his command in motion, and requested farther assistance from the Emperor to enable him to compel the obedience of its refractory sovereign. His request was granted, though in direct opposition to the advice of Dara, who beheld with indignation the growing power of his brother in that quarter, and dreaded its increase, if an army adequate to the conquest of so wealthy a kingdom as Golconda were sent him from Agra. Aurungzeb, however, had taken the precaution to dispatch a messenger, armed with irresistable arguments, to convince Shah Jehan of the necessity of this new war; it was his friend and comrade in arms, Emir Jemla, a most important personage in the dreadful drama about to be acted, and whom we must therefore, in a particular manner, introduce to the notice of the reader.

* Manouchi, p. 233, et seq.

Emir Jemla was born near Ispahan in Persia, of parents in an inferior rank in life; but able to give their son a tolerable education. His abilities recommended him to the employ of a merchant who traded to Golconda for diamonds, whither he usually accompanied him, and where, finally settling, and by commerce growing affluent, he purchased a considerable place about the court. In this situation, the same abilities rendering him conspicuous, he attracted the notice of the reigning sovereign CUTTUB Shah (a name common to the kings of this dynasty, as ADIL is to that of Visiapour) who assigned him a military post of consequence, and gradually advanced him to the chief command of the army of Tellingana. He carried on the war in Karnāta, or the Carnatic, for that prince; and brought it to a successful termination. His conquests in that rich country enabled him to transmit immense treasures to the court, but he likewise retained incalculable wealth for himself, which, when called upon, he refused to divide with his sovereign. In consequence, being compelled to fly from Golconda, he sought and found a ready asylum with Aurungzeb, who promised to revenge his cause and to procure the restoration of his family, and treasures, on a great part of which Cuttub had seized. Aurungzeb, who dived deep into the human heart, exulted in his good fortune in having found, as he thought, in Emir Jemla, a proper instrument to promote his ambitious projects, and exerted all his interest for his promotion at the court of his father. Of these projects at various conferences he gradually unfolded to him the depth and extent, and in these consultations were laid the first solid foundations of his future sovereignty.

Fully acquainted with all his views, and fully resolved to support him in them, no more proper ambassador could have been selected than Emir Jemla to impress on Shah Jehan the necessity

of renewing the war with the king of Golconda, nor any argument more powerful than a bulse of the finest diamonds, recently delved from its mines, one absolutely unparalleled for its lustre and magnitude, which he now displayed to his delighted view. The doom of its monarch was instantly sealed, and an army of twenty thousand horse, which, to avoid increasing the envy of Dara, Aurungzeb deputed his eldest son Mahommed to command, was in a short time before the gates of its capital, Hydrabad. Cuttub, wholly unprepared to resist so formidable a force, prepared by submission to ward off the blow; he offered immediately to pay down the arrears of the tribute, he released the son and family of Emir Jemla from their confinement, and endeavoured to soothe Mahommed by presents of great value; but that prince, stern, haughty, intractable, refused every overture of accommodation till the treasures of Emir Jemla should be returned. A few chests of money, and some caskets of jewels were now sent to the camp, as the property of Emir Jemla, but his son, then with Mahommed, declaring *that* to be but a small portion of the immense treasures of his father, and, in fact, the object being conquest and plunder rather than restitution, the dreadful work of desolation and slaughter immediately commenced.

Than the sack of this rich city, according to various writers before me, Thevenot, Tavernier, Dow, De Faria, nothing can be conceived more terrible from the united rage and avarice of the assailants. The pavement of the principal street and square is said to have been died with the blood of the miserable inhabitants, and the spoil taken was beyond all calculation; there being in it whole streets full of shops of jewellers and bankers, in which the finest diamonds were wrought, and disposed of. It was not only in diamonds that this superb city abounded; it was crowded with merchandize brought to the shores of Coromandel from the

farthest parts of Asia in exchange for those valued articles, but much of this was consumed by the flames which their fury had kindled in different parts. What was incombustible, the gold, the silver, and the jewels alone, remained uninjured to the conquerors, but of that the amount was enormous, for Thevenot in particular informs us that the very floors of the state-apartments in the palace were covered with plates of gold.* In the mean time the king had escaped out of a private gate, and fled to the castle of Golconda, two leagues distant, a castle which in the usual style of the Indian writers was called impregnable. The hill on which it stands, like that of Dowlatabad, rises like a sugar-loaf to a vast height, fortified with walls and bastions, mounted with cannons of a great size, to its very summit. At its base, and round its sides, stand the palace and the town. Mahommed invested this formidable retreat; Cuttub drawing courage from despair marched out at the head of 6000 horse and 12,000 foot, and gave battle to the imperial troops. He was defeated with great slaughter, and together with his recreant troops those of Mahommed rushed into the castle. Cuttub now threw himself at the victor's feet, imploring mercy and peace. Mahommed was relentless, till Rizia, his beautiful daughter appeared in a supplicating posture. Electrified, vanquished by her charms, he sheathed his sword. A treaty favourable to Cuttub was concluded, by which half of his wealth became the conqueror's. He granted him, also, his daughter in marriage, with a kingdom in reversion for a dowry. The shouts of mirth and the shrieks of sorrow were heard rising together on this memorable occcasion; and the palms of victory were seen blended with the funereal cypress.

Aurungzeb received with transport his son doubly triumphant

* Thevenot's Indian Travels, part 3, chap. vii. p. 101.

in the field of war and love. He sent a pompous account of his exploits to the Emperor, who raised him to the rank of eleven thousand horse. Emir Jemla was charged with these dispatches to Shah Jehan, and so ingratiated himself with that monarch that, contrary to all the remonstrances of Dara, he conferred on him the high office of Visier, vacant by the recent death of Sadulla. The Emperor is said to have been not wholly uninterested on this occasion, but, relinquishing the more rigid maxims of his early government, to have received from Jemla a *peishcush* of six lacks of rupees. While Jemla remained at Agra information was received of the death of Adil, king of Visiapour, with the additional intelligence that the principal officers of his court had, without asking permission of the Emperor, raised his son to the sovereignty. Shah Jehan, who considered the dominions of Visiapour, after the last compact, as an appendage to the empire, took fire at this neglect. The new Visier was immediately ordered with 20,000 men into that kingdom, to depose the son of Adil, at least till he should make his submission at the court of his lord paramount, the Emperor. On his arrival at Brampour he was joined by Aurungzeb with all his forces, and the march was continued with all the expedition possible for so numerous an army. In the mean time, Ali, the Visier of the deceased and the existing sovereign, had foreseen the impending storm, and had in some degree guarded against its fury by levying troops, and fortifying again the dismantled castles and towns on the frontier. His army, however, consisting for the most part of raw recruits, were unable to stand the shock of veteran troops, and though numerous, were every where routed. Bider, one of the strongest fortresses in the country, and indeed deemed impregnable, was taken by storm after a siege of twenty-seven days, and the garrison put to the sword. In Bider, Ali had deposited

all the wealth of the young sovereign, which consequently became the spoil of the captor. Kilburga, with a more numerous garrison, held out longer, but was at length taken in a similar manner on the 11th of June, 1657. Callian, near the coast, was next invested, and met with the same fate. At length, utterly discomfited both in the open field, and the fortified redoubt, Adil, led by his minister Ali, threw himself at the feet of the conqueror, and was pardoned on condition of paying down a great sum, the amount of the expence of the war, of putting his strongest forts into the hands of Aurungzeb, and of remitting to court, as the future tribute of Visiapour, what in our money would be equal to one million, eight hundred, and seventy-five thousand pounds.*

The strict bonds of friendship that subsisted between Aurungzeb and the Visier were still more closely cemented by these splendid successes in the field, while their projects of ambition were greatly promoted by the additional force which had attended the latter into Deccan. The hour was now arrived when those projects were to be carried into execution, for in September of the same year Shah Jehan was seized with that dangerous illness, the result of intemperance in his seraglio, which was the signal for his four sons to rush to war, and desolate the empire with their sanguinary contests. The better to conceal those views of ambition which were only known, in their full extent, to Jemla, and extinguish the jealousy of his brothers, Aurungzeb

* The reader will find the substance of the above in Manouchi's History, p. 249, in Bernier, Thevenot, and Tavernier, at the places before cited; in Dow, vol. iii. from p. 116 to p. 205, and all for the most part confirmed in the account of the Nizam, Cuttub, and Adil Shah dynasties in Scott's valuable but summary history of the Deccan. In Fryer's Travels, and in the Portugueze Historians, De Faria and Maffæus many allusions are also made to these facts; the above is the result of all. From this period to the end of the chapter we shall principally be obliged to the entertaining Bernier.

on all occasions, whether in the palace or the field, affected the rigid austerity of a Fakeer, or Mahommedan devotee. Being only the third son, and Dara having been not only publicly proclaimed heir to the throne, but already invested with a great share of the imperial authority, he saw in deep dissimulation alone the secure means of attaining his ends. Absorbed in the rigid routine practice of the prescribed duties of the Koran, in fasting, prayer, and ablutions, he avowed an utter contempt for the magnificence of courts, and in the lofty pride of spiritual elevation, looked down on the pageantry of thrones. The wars in which he had engaged were by no means contrary to the spirit of a religion that delights in blood; those wars were waged with infidel Hindoos, or those who were equally detestable to a true Islamite, against the Deccan kings, who were from Persia and of the sect of Ali, and termed in contempt Schiites, heretics; but even amid the rage of war enthusiastic devotion prevailed, and on *Friday*, the Mahommedan sabbath, the operations of the field were constantly suspended. By nature of a severe, reserved, saturnine disposition, he was well adapted for the character which he assumed. His exterior was through life accommodated to his professions; for, even when a monarch, except on high festival days, he seldom appeared arrayed in cloth of gold, or decorated with jewels, nor was his table loaded with Eastern delicacies and profusion. His affectation of religion, however, had never the effect to veil his real views from his father, or his elder brothers, but they deceived, as they were principally intended to deceive, his younger brother Morad, whose open, generous, unsuspecting nature rendered him an easy dupe to his designs.

The artful and deep policy of Aurungzeb in thus appearing the zealous champion of religion is farther evinced by the

circumstance that Dara was known to be a great latitudinarian in religious principles, or rather that he was, as Aurungzeb frequently called him, an absolute KAFIR, an infidel; while Sujah was known, for interested purposes, to favour the heretic sect of ALI, of which sect were most of the great Persian lords about the court, and to be very partial also to the Hindoo Rajahs and their religion. This conduct in the two brothers, and in general the laxity of the descendants of Timur in those religious maxims which they brought into Hindostan, had given great offence to all true Mussulmen, of which our pretended *Fakeer* knew well how to take the proper advantage. This summary sketch of the leading feature in the character of Aurungzeb was thought necessary to the full developement of that character; the current of history now leads us back to events at Delhi.

The disease of the emperor was at first thought mortal, and he remained for several days in a state of utter insensibility. By copious bleeding, however, after some time, he recovered his senses, but was wholly unable to attend to public business, and it was thought would ever remain so. Dara of his own accord instantly mounted that throne in the splendour of which he had before so largely participated. The violence with which he acted, on seizing the imperial sceptre, betrayed, at once, his hatred and his suspicions of his brothers, and hurried on that catastrophe to which, otherwise, affairs were unhappily, but only gradually, advancing. He forbade all persons on pain of death, from holding any correspondence of a political kind with his brothers. Their known agents in the capital, together with their papers, were seized and imprisoned, and all the money in their hands confiscated. In a public assembly of the nobles he expatiated on the insatiable ambition of his brothers, from intercepted letters unfolded their designs, and deprecated the horrors of a civil

war. He declared his firm resolution not to abandon a throne which heaven and his father had assigned him. He called upon his own friends for their active support; from the friends of his brothers, those who had received favours from them, or had estates in the provinces commanded by them, he disdained to ask aid, but he commanded the strictest neutrality. An army proportionate to the emergency was immediately assembled, and he seemed anxious to risque the fate of a great empire on a single battle.

Under the plea of improving his father's health, but doubtless with a political view, that he might be more in the centre of the empire, and nearer the threatened field of war, Dara caused the infirm monarch to be conveyed in a barge down the Jumna from Delhi to Agra. The army and court accompanied him, moving slowly along the bank of the river, under his immediate command. Most part of the day was spent with his father; but his night was invariably passed on shore. As the recovery of the king's health was exceedingly slow, and his relapses were frequent, various and even contradictory reports were circulated on that subject, which were eagerly carried, by their partizans, to the princes in the provinces. Some of these affirmed him to be actually dead of his disorder; others, that he was only confined to the palace by Dara; others that he was poisoned by him. Sultan Sujah, who had accumulated vast wealth in Bengal, during his long government of that rich province, was the first who appeared in the field, and he justified his conduct by the violence of Dara. He had attached to himself most of the great Omrahs about the court; his resources were vast, and his army was formidable. He issued a manifesto, declaring that he was marching to revenge the death of his father, and to dethrone the parricide. It was in vain that letters were dispatched to Sujah, even by the

Emperor himself, announcing his gradual recovery, and commanding his return to his capital. He professed to treat them as a daring forgery of the usurper; and advanced with his army to Benares. He had gone too far to retreat; his object was a diadem, and that the richest of Asia. At Benares for the present we must leave him, and return to observe the motions of the politic Aurungzeb.

From the immense preparations making on all sides, the war was likely to prove of the most obstinate and sanguinary complexion. It may here be remarked that the conflicts of the younger princes of Asia are in general of this cast. The contest between them is not only for victory, but for life. A throne, perpetual imprisonment, or a grave, are the dreadful alternatives. The unsettled succession to the crown, especially among the Moguls, where primogeniture confers no absolute right to the empire, is the cause of this sanguinary warfare. That magnificent boon by the Tartar code depends solely on the will of the reigning Emperor; but even that will is not always implicitly obeyed, of which Dara in the present case is a glaring proof. Each brother is, in consequence, to the other equally the object of terror and envy, till success or the scymeter shall have decided his fate. On this principle, which has led to the extermination of so many illustrious Asiatic dynasties, are the inextinguishable hatred and jealousy that raged between the sons, and we may add the grandsons, of Shah Jehan to be accounted for. Inflamed with no inconsiderable portion of those passions, Aurungzeb determined to oppose the claims to the empire on the part of Sultans Dara and Sujah on the embattled plain; of Sultan Morad he hoped to unite the army, the valour, and the resources with his own. In consequence he immediately dispatched to that young prince, in Guzzurat, letters at once the most importunate

and affectionate, informing him that as he himself from religious motives declined being a candidate for imperial honours, and as he wholly disapproved of the accession of either of their elder brothers to the throne of India—of the first, from his incapacity for government and his utter indifference about all religion; of the second, from his being little superior in ability to Dara, and from his being a heretic—he was resolved to throw all the weight of his influence and authority into the scale of Morad, who from his bravery, ability, and principles, was alone worthy to sit on the throne of their great ancestor, Timur. That with respect to himself, the utmost he solicited of him was, when, by their mutual exertions, the crown should be secured to Morad, that he would grant him in some corner of the empire a secure and quiet retreat, where he might pass in acts of piety the remainder of his days. He conjured him to lose not a moment in urging those just claims, but, joining the forces of Guzzurat with those commanded by himself in Deccan, immediately to commence the march for Agra. He accompanied his letters with a present of 100,000 rupees, apologizing for the smallness of the sum, but advised him, without delay, to seize on the castle of Surat, where he knew the imperial treasure was deposited, to employ that treasure in raising troops to reinforce his army, and to meet him, with the whole force he might thus be able to raise, at Ujein, in their way to the capital.

Morad, blinded by ambition, and the splendour of a crown, neither perceived nor suspected the artifices of the writer. On the contrary he was transported with joy at the proposal, seized Surat and the imperial treasure, levied a great army, and having caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of Hindostan, hastened to meet his brother at the appointed place. On the junction of the two armies, which took place on the banks of the Nerbudda,

the troops sent by Dara to oppose his march having taken possession of Ujein, Aurungzeb's solemn renunciation of all pretensions to the crown, and his determination to live and die a *Fakeer* were renewed; at the same time he never addressed the deluded prince without the title of *majesty*. During these transactions, Emir Jemla, whose family were at Agra, in the power of Dara, did not dare openly to appear in the field against the court. He continued extending his conquests in the south, but his heart, and the flower of his army, were with Aurungzeb. One of the first acts of Dara's assumed power had been to discard him from the Visirat, as the sworn friend of Aurungzeb; and the destruction of his whole family he had reason to think would be the immediate consequence of his openly espousing the cause of his patron. The confederated princes, however, had too often triumphed in the bannered field to fear the result of a contest with the troops of Dara, even without the counsels of that experienced warrior.

The imperial army, for thus we must denominate that of Dara, was commanded by Kassim Khan, a general of distinguished reputation, and Jesswunt Sing, who had married a daughter of the famous Rajah Ranna, and succeeded him as well in the title of Maha Rajah, as in the command of the Rajapouts of Marwar, of which province Ujein is the capital. Previous to hostilities, these commanders had obeyed the injunctions of Shah Jehan, anxious to preserve the lives of his children, by announcing to them that monarch's recovery, and his positive orders contained in letters from the Emperor himself for their return to their Soubahs. The messengers were detained, and the letters treated only as a forgery of Dara. The result was a battle, into the particulars of which, as well as of many inferior ones in this contest I cannot enter, fought on the banks of the Nerbudda, in which the princes were completely victorious over their antagonists, although they

fought with heroic bravery, in particular Jesswunt and his Rajapouts, of whom after the engagement, out of 8000 only five or six hundred remained alive. Aurungzeb and Morad, after this signal victory, entered Ujein in triumph, whence the latter, in the pride of his exultation, insisted on immediately proceeding to Agra. Aurungzeb, however, convinced him of the absolute necessity of staying there some days, both to refresh the army, exhausted by a long march and a battle, and to obtain intelligence from their friends of affairs at Agra.

In Bengal the imperial army had been more fortunate. On the first intelligence of the taking up arms by Sujah, Soliman Shekoh, the eldest son of Dara, was dispatched into that province with a large body of horse under the control of Rajah Jessing, a venerable and cautious general, who had secret orders from Shah Jehan to avoid coming to an engagement with his rebellious son till the last necessity. These orders Jessing would gladly have carried into execution, but Soliman being full of the fire of youth, and that ardour for glory, which distinguished his family, and Sujah being impatient to become master of the capital before his competitors from Deccan should arrive there, he found it impossible to prevent an engagement. The two armies appeared in battle-array on the two opposite banks of the Ganges, and Sujah was preparing a bridge of boats to cross the river with all possible expedition, and make that assault which he too vainly confided would secure him the empire. Till that bridge should be completed he imagined himself safe from attack, and considered the Ganges as an insuperable barrier. The discipline of his army was in consequence rather relaxed, and his camp less strictly guarded than it ought. The active enterprising spirit of Soliman could not brook this delay. He changed his ground; he had the river explored; and some miles higher up, owing to a remarkable

drought which occurred that year, it was found fordable for cavalry. He passed it with all his horse at the dead of night; and the instant day-light appeared rushed furiously on the enemy, buried in profound slumber, and totally unprepared for resistance. Sujah himself, roused by the clashing of swords, and the cries of the wounded, started from his bed in wild surprise. He was soon armed, and on horseback, at the head of the few guards whom the universal consternation had not driven to precipitate flight; but it was too late to rally the dispersed and terrified battalions, who, in the utmost confusion, were flying on every side before the impetuous assault of Soliman's cavalry, or lay trampled beneath their feet.

At length having succeeded in collecting together a small but resolute body of men, principally officers, he charged the enemy with retorted fury; but their courage was unavailing: they were defeated with great slaughter, and driven into the river, and the prince himself with difficulty made his escape in a canoe, nor stopped till he reached the strong fortress of Mongeer. Soliman continued for some time in Bengal, and, after pursuing to destruction the routed army, closely invested the fugitive prince in Mongeer. The critical situation, however, of his father and grandfather at Agra imperiously commanding his presence and that of his troops there, he was compelled suddenly to raise the siege, and making the best terms which the urgency of the times would admit of with Sujah, among which was an express stipulation that he should no longer oppose the claim of Dara to the throne, he returned by forced marches to that capital.

When the intelligence of the defeat at the Nerbudda reached Agra, the whole court was thrown into the greatest consternation. Dara was filled with rage at the perfidious or cowardly conduct of the Moguls, who, if they had fought like the brave

Rajapouts, must inevitably have secured the victory. Shah Jehan, now perfectly recovered, with apparent liberty, but in reality a prisoner at the disposal of his son, viewed the distractions in his family with the agonizing feelings of a dethroned king, and a neglected father. To whomsoever victory inclined, he was convinced that no benefit would result to himself; he was a prisoner for life, and his sceptre was gone for ever. Still, however, as Dara treated him with great external respect, and consulted him in all public transactions; as he had fanned his ambition and had prematurely exalted him to that throne of which he was now so tenacious; he submitted with the best grace possible to his altered condition. Too justly suspecting, also, that a change of masters might be for the worse, he exerted in favour of Dara all his remaining authority, summoned his oldest generals, unlocked his buried treasures, and even intimated his resolution to take the field with him against that prince's rebellious brothers. From his resolution he was imprudently dissuaded by Dara, who, elated with the success of the army in Bengal, panted for a day of victory, in the glory of which none should participate. For this reason it probably was that he refused to follow Shah Jehan's earnest recommendation to wait the junction of the army under his son Soliman, though composed of the best troops in the army, in the same vain confidence telling his more experienced sire that in three days he would bring both Aurungzeb and Morad, bound hand and foot, before him to suffer for their nefarious conduct what his justice should determine. The old emperor, whose ideas and whose practice of carrying on war were widely different from his son's, heard him with a dejected aspect, again cautioned him not to be precipitate, and by no means to hazard a battle till reinforced by the troops of Soliman. With the farewell embrace he gave him his blessing, and said, "Go, my son; but

beware of returning to my presence unadorned with the laurels of victory!" Vehement by nature, and inflamed with all the ardour of hope, Dara passed like lightning through the capital, and was soon at the head of an army more formidable than any that had issued out of its gates since Shah Jehan marched to conquer the Deccan: it consisted of 100,000 horse, and 1000 pieces of ordnance. He advanced rapidly to the banks of the river Chambul, distant about twenty miles from Agra, and there occupying a position, strong by nature, but made doubly strong by art, he awaited with impatience the approach of the enemy.

In the mean time the confederate princes, after some days repose at Ujein, and having obtained all the information desired from their spies about the court, commenced their march towards Agra, and gained the banks of the Chambul on the 1st of June. They encamped on an eminence directly opposite to the principal army, whence the extent and the strength of their lines could with ease be discerned, and they appeared to Aurungzeb, who the following morning more closely reconnoitred them, too formidable to be forced by an army of such inferior magnitude as theirs, scarcely amounting to 40,000 men. The depth of the river too at that place was an additional obstacle; and though Morad was for trampling on every difficulty, the prudence of his brother again restrained his impetuosity. A momentary gloom overcast the aspect of both, but genius is fertile of expedients, and perfidy accomplished what force could not. Prevailed on by large bribes, a neighbouring Rajah undertook to conduct his army by secret paths over the mountains that stretch between that spot and Agra. Leaving, therefore, their tents, baggage, and part of their artillery, under a strong guard, to amuse the enemy, that very night the army decamped, performed with rapidity a fatiguing journey of thirty miles, and the next day were discovered by

the scouts of Dara in full march towards the capital. Dara, equally confounded and astonished, with precipitation broke up his camp, and leaving, also, part of his cannon behind him, by forced marches pushed between the enemy and the capital. On the fourth he presented himself in front of the confederates, and on the fifth ordered his army to be formed in battle array.

His artillery was placed in the front, joined together with chains, to prevent the passage of the cavalry of the enemy. Behind the artillery were ranged light camels, mounted with a small swivel, with a man behind to manage it. In the rear were drawn up the musqueteers in three lines, and the two wings were formed of the cavalry, armed with bows and arrows, together with sabres, in the use of which the Indian cavalry are expert. Dara, mounted on a lofty elephant of Ceylon, whence he could command a view of the field, was in the centre, surrounded by his body-guard. Shaista, son of Asoph Jah, had the command of the right wing; that of the left was entrusted to Rustam, a Persian Omrah, and the greatest general of his time. Of the confederate army Morad was requested by Aurungzeb to take the command of the centre; as the post of honour due to the sovereign. The artillery was ranged in the front, opposite to that of the enemy, and, among the engineers who served it, were several Portugueze and other Europeans, lured into his service by high rewards. He took upon himself the command of the right wing, and appointed his son Mahommed to that of the left. According to a recent fashion introduced with effect by Emir Jemla, some concealed field pieces were intermixed among the troops of the Omrahs, a sort of masqued battery; and here and there were stationed persons armed with *Bannes*, a sort of grenado fastened to a stick, which may be hurled among

cavalry to a great distance, while the explosion greatly terrifies the horses, and often kills them.

The firing of Dara's artillery along the whole line announced the battle commenced. It was answered by vollies of shot, and a shower of arrows from the confederates. At this moment a sudden storm of rain poured down, and checked the fury of the combatants. The tempest subsiding, the artillery again began to play, and now was seen Dara aloft on his elephant, resolutely advancing in the centre of the cavalry, and in the very face of the enemy's cannon. Aurungzeb's artillery being much better served than that prince's, did infinite execution among the great bodies of horse that attended his banners, and they were soon thrown into confusion. However Dara, undaunted, continued to advance, animating his troops both by his voice and his actions. Repulsed by repeated vollies they again and again rallied, and at length rushing forward in one vast phalanx, they forced the enemy's artillery, broke the chains that linked them together, and coming up with the central cavalry, commanded by Morad, a mutual and dreadful slaughter commenced. Morad, from his elephant, dealt the arrows of death thick around him, and his troops, though out-numbered three to one, for a long time fought like lions by his side. At length overpowered by multitudes, they were broken, and compelled to retreat. The prince himself, though covered with wounds, disdained to retreat, and ordered his elephant to be urged forward among the thickest of the foe, in hopes of animating his troops to renew the combat, and rally around the standard of their chief. This bold measure had the desired effect. His squadron seeing the enemy surrounding their prince, were ashamed of their terror, and collecting around him, fought with renovated vigour. A daring Indian chief, unable from the height of the elephant to reach Morad with

his sword, cut the pillars that supported the roof of the *Amari*, or castle, in which he sate, and that falling upon him encumbered him in such a manner as for a time to prevent his exertions. He soon, however, disengaged himself, pierced with an arrow the bold assailant, and the dreadful work of death was renewed. At this instant Mahommed, sent to his assistance by Aurungzeb, though himself severely pressed, coming up with fresh troops, the battle was renewed with redoubled fury, and the imperial squadrons were in their turn repulsed.

Dara himself in the ardour of heated valour had advanced into the heart of the enemy, and was eager to terminate the contest by a personal combat with Aurungzeb. On hearing however of the retreat of his troops before the united exertions of the two princes, he returned, accompanied by a strong body of cavalry, to the support of his repulsed battalions, and re-conducted them against the enemy with such decided success as appeared eventually to promise certain victory. Aurungzeb, in the mean time, attacked on one side by the Moguls, and on the other by the dauntless bands of Rajapouts, who were ever his implacable enemies, from his hostility to their religion, could scarcely keep his troops together by the example of actions the most heroic, and of words the most animating. Seeing them gradually decreasing in number, he called aloud—"Courage, my friends, advance; what hope can there be in flight?" To shew that he himself was determined to perish on the spot rather than fly, called for chains to be fastened to the feet of his elephant: his troops, abashed at these words, once more rallied around his standard, swore to live and die with him, and the contest and the carnage were renewed.

In the field of Indian warfare it has before been observed that every eye is fixed on the general, who, seated conspicuous on

his elephant, from that lofty station beholds and directs the motions of his army. The retreat of that elephant, or the disappearance of that general, is the signal of flight to his troops. While Dara was engaged in thus directing his troops, Shaista the general of his right wing, who having received a grievous outrage from Dara, secretly favoured the cause of Aurungzeb, and had remained inactive during the whole fight, rode rapidly up to the former prince; congratulated him upon his success, assured him that the contest was decided, that the day was his, and advised him to descend from the *Amari*, and mount a horse in pursuit of the routed foe. Dara not suspecting treachery incautiously followed this advice. His troops, no longer seeing him on his elephant, but that animal retreating—supposing he was slain, and that in fact the object for which they were fighting no longer existed, were struck with a sudden panic, and fled tumultuously from the scene of action. Aurungzeb having routed his assailants in another part of the field, now coming up, and joining his forces to those of Morad, fell with fury on the astonished foe, and a complete victory was unexpectedly obtained over an enemy on the very verge of being triumphant. By that fatal step was a great empire lost to Dara, and his military renown for ever tarnished.

Shaista Khan, called Khalil Khan in Bernier, by whose artful manœuvre the battle had been gained, after its termination, received the warmest acknowledgments from the confederate princes, to whose banners their own dispersed army immediately returned, and, soon after, the greatest part of the enemy's crowded with their commanders at their head. No pursuit was attempted beyond the field of battle: near that field they encamped: and Dara, continuing his flight towards Agra, sixteen miles distant, reached that capital in safety. He was overwhelmed with too

much confusion and shame to visit his father; and, fearful of being taken prisoner, at the head of a small party, about midnight, commenced his march for Delhi. The Emperor on hearing of his defeat and flight was penetrated with the deepest affliction, and finding that he had departed without his treasure, sent after him fifty-seven mules laden with gold coin, with an order for all the money in the treasury of Delhi, together with all the horses and elephants in the royal stables. The money sent by the mules was seized, on its way, by banditti. With the help of the treasures collected at Delhi a tolerable army was raised, with which it was the Emperor's recommendation that he should advance along the northern banks of the Ganges, and form a junction with the prince Soliman his son; for to that prince he had dispatched the earliest intelligence of the calamity, with orders for him for that purpose to enter the *Douab*, or interamnian country, watered by the Ganges, and the Jumna.

Soliman, however, was too near and too formidable an object of jealousy to be neglected by Aurungzeb, and, in consequence, soon after the engagement he had dispatched confidential messengers to the two generals of that prince, Rajah Jessing, and Delil Khan, with the information that Dara was utterly defeated; that most of the great Omrahs had deserted his cause and joined the victorious army; that, to say the truth, Shah Jehan from age and infirmities was no longer fit to govern a great empire; that a successor should be appointed, and that Morad was the most proper person; that to prolong the contest would be a fruitless waste of blood; and he concluded by adding, that if they would seize on Soliman and join him with their army, they should not only keep their commands, but be rewarded with the highest honours of the empire. The two generals on consultation were not averse to joining the confederate princes; but the measure

of seizing Soliman seemed to them too bold and dangerous. They, however, went together and represented to him the desperate state of his affairs; displayed the great power which their recent victory had necessarily given to his uncles; that opposition would, under the present circumstances, prove fruitless; and they recommended him to retire to Serinagur, the Rajah of which country was his friend, and among the mountains of which he would be safe, till an opportunity should occur for descending those mountains, and commencing hostilities with better hopes of success. The prince, absorbed by anxiety for the fate of his father, earnestly solicited them to march to Delhi, and make, at least, one effort for his deliverance; but this they positively refused. Seeing himself surrounded with foes and traitors, he followed the advice of his generals, and ordering his baggage to be packed up, with a few chosen troops commenced his march for the mountains. Those faithless generals had the baseness afterwards to send a considerable body of troops to plunder the baggage of this unfortunate prince. The robbers also brought back an elephant loaded with gold rupees, by which he was driven to the greatest distress in his long and toilsome march. At length he reached the mountains, and found in that desert region a safe asylum from the perfidy and ingratitude of man.

Fully informed by his spies, who were among the first lords of the court, for every body now looked upon Aurungzeb as the sovereign of India, of all the transactions at Agra, on the fourth day after the battle the confederate princes commenced the march for Agra. The capital was in no condition to sustain a siege, and the gates were left open; those of the citadel, which was a place of great strength, were ordered to be kept shut. Aurungzeb, affecting respect for Shah Jehan, declined entering the city, but with Morad encamped in a garden without the

walls. The latter lay ill of his wounds, and the political field was, therefore, not inopportunely left open for his more artful and enterprizing brother. His father was now as perfectly restored to health as his advanced years would admit of. Still considered, therefore, by all but rebels as the only lawful emperor, it might be dangerous, as it was indecent, to force open the gates of the citadel: he determined, therefore, to make use of fraud, where he thought force might fail. His hoary sire, however, was no inapt scholar in that science of stratagem which his son practised so extensively, and was prepared to repel art by art.

In conformity with this plan of deception, when, soon after his arrival, Aurungzeb dispatched to Shah Jehan a confidential messenger to make his respectful submission, he was desired to touch the ground, in his name, with his forehead, and in the strongest terms possible to assure him both of his affection as a son, and his duty as a subject. He was ordered farther to express his extreme sorrow for what had past, which was solely imputable to the ambition of Dara, whose violent and imperious character had forced both Morad and himself into those extremities; finally, that he rejoiced exceedingly at his recovery, and respectfully waited without the city the commands of his father and his sovereign. To this strain of affected attachment and loyalty Shah Jehan with equal sincerity, replied by his favourite daughter, Jehanara Begum, whom he sent on purpose to give weight and veracity to his answer, that he was fully convinced of his zeal and loyalty, as a son and a subject; that he supposed him to have been misled by designing villains, and as he doubted not the contrition he had expressed was sincere, he freely pardoned him. He added, that he could not think thus favourably of Morad, who was an obstinate determined rebel, and had actually proclaimed himself emperor in Guzzurat; but that if he would

desert Morad, he should not only be received with open arms, but whatever he could desire in the empire beneath the throne of his father should be at his command. The artful Fakeer affected to be won over by these words. For himself he declared he had no other ambition than to continue to live as a derveish, retired from man, and devoted to God; that in taking Morad's part against Dara he acted from principle, and under the conviction that the generous and open nature of the former, who was also a good Mussulman, rendered him better calculated for governing a kingdom than the licentious and arbitrary disposition of the latter; that if the Emperor was determined not to revoke his decision in favour of Dara, nobody had a right to control him; and he solemnly promised within two days to wait upon him in person, in order to discuss that important question.

Jehanara, deceived by her brother's vows and his tears, which he could shed at will, hastened to the Emperor with the joyful intelligence, that his gray hairs were not to descend in sorrow to the grave; that Aurungzeb would come in two days and make his submissions; and that their beloved Dara might yet enjoy the throne decreed to him by heaven and his father. But the Emperor had too long and too well known the Fakeer to be himself deceived. Never indeed was a deeper game of duplicity ever before played, or by more experienced masters in the art; for while Aurungzeb was determined that neither Dara nor Morad should sway the imperial sceptre, Shah Jehan was as fully resolved that Aurungzeb, if he entered the gates of the palace, should never go out of them alive. Aurungzeb, in fact, had no real intention of visiting his father. He had ever an active spy in the palace, Roxanara Begum, who was as devoted to his interests as Jehanara was to those of Dara, and she had secretly warned him to beware of treachery, for that as soon as he should

enter the more secluded apartments he would be seized upon by a number of robust Tartar women usually employed in the seraglio, whom he had armed with daggers, and who from the spirit of their country were fit for any desperate measure. After the two days had elapsed, message after message arrived soliciting the promised interview, and stating that his aged sire wished only to embrace his repentant son, and restore him to favour and distinction. That aged sire, however, had at the same time dispatched letters to Dara of a very different stamp, which were intercepted and brought to Aurungzeb. Those letters evinced the unrelenting disposition of his father towards Aurungzeb, and pointed out the necessity of the most active and immediate exertions. At length a day for his coming to the palace was appointed, and Aurungzeb sent his eldest son Mahommed to announce his approach, but confessed, as reports hostile to his safety were in circulation, that unless a small guard were allowed for the protection of his person he could not enter the palace. The request seemed too reasonable to be denied: while a refusal might excite suspicion. A guard, therefore, consisting of a limited number of men, and commanded by his son in person, was permitted previously to enter the gates. The prince, on entering, examined all the avenues with caution, and finding in one of the courts a body of men concealed, complained to the Emperor of an intention to seize his father's person, and declared that unless those men were sent away he would dispatch a messenger to prevent that father from entering the citadel. Shah Jehan, depending probably upon his armed Tartar women, consented to dismiss them. The royal Fakeer had actually set out, and his near approach was announced; when on a sudden, as if seized with a fit of devotion, he ordered the cavalcade to change their course, and move towards the tomb of Akber, where he professed his

intention of offering up his prayers to heaven. This was the signal for action. The prince's party was composed of picked men, inured to danger, whom nothing dismayed. They rushed furiously on the imperial troops that guarded the gates, and overpowered them, though infinitely superior in number. They then opened them to a far greater number of their armed comrades, who were stationed for the purpose without; and these bursting into the fortress soon made themselves masters of the walls and ramparts, while Mahommed with his chosen band took possession of the whole interior of the palace. The Emperor finding himself a prisoner, and fallen into the very snare which he had spread for another, immediately began to vent his rage against Aurungzeb and his perfidious grandson in a torrent of bitter invective. The prince replied not, but, making the usual obeisance, respectfully retired.

Not long after, when the rage of passion had subsided, Shah Jehan sent again for his grandson. The prince obeyed the summons, and found the venerable king sitting in a desponding attitude, with his hand resting on the Koran, and his eye raised upward to the imperial crown, suspended over his head. Pointing to the crown, and firmly grasping the Mahommedan code, he exclaimed, "Mahommed, by these sacred objects I swear, that if, taking compassion on my age and sufferings, you will release me from this prison, I will make you Emperor of Hindostan." The prince, by nature sufficiently ambitious, yet either doubting the emperor's *sincerity*, or his *power* to accomplish what he proposed, or rather, perhaps, fearing the vengeance of an incensed father, remained silent. With many urgent expostulations, he repeated the proposal; and Mahommed appeared agitated by contending passions; at length suddenly starting, as from a reverie, he rushed out of the apartment without uttering a word.

He presently however in his father's name dispatched a messenger to the Emperor desiring him to deliver up the keys of all the gates of the fortress. Shah Jehan, at first, refused compliance; but, after two days delay, surrendered them: at the same time, bidding him acquaint Aurungzeb that he might now, in full security, visit his imprisoned father and sovereign. Aurungzeb, whose insatiable ambition had rendered him callous to the ties of nature, sent an apology, accompanied with hints relative to the recent duplicity which had marked his father's conduct, but added that when he had annihilated the power of his rival Dara, he would himself come and open to him the gates of his prison. He appointed Etbar Khan governor of the fortress; who shut up the emperor together with Begum Saheb and all his women, causing several gates through which there was a possibility of escape to be walled up. Day and night a vigilant guard was placed over him, that he might neither write, nor speak to any body, nor, without permission, quit his apartment.

While Aurungzeb thus audaciously trampled upon the fallen Emperor, he behaved to Morad with that servile adulation which every person but the prince himself perceived to be affected. The better to delude him, and cover his nefarious purposes, he pretended a vehement desire to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was with difficulty persuaded to delay that meritorious journey, till Morad should be firmly seated on the throne by the conquest of Dara. On all occasions he addressed him as the actual Emperor, and the great Omrahs, too obedient to his commands, addressed him in a similar manner; although there were not wanting some among them who cautioned Morad against placing too firm a reliance on his specious pretensions to superior sanctity, the usual mask of the blackest designs. Blinded by ambition and vanity, Morad rejected every friendly hint of

this kind, and being now fully recovered of his wounds prepared to set out with him in pursuit of Dara. Aurungzeb having appointed his uncle Shah Hest Khan, governor of Agra, and taken out of the royal treasury what sums he wanted, the confederate princes proceeded on their march to Delhi. On their arrival at Muttra a grand banquet was provided by Aurungzeb, to which Morad was pressingly invited; and though earnestly solicited by Shabas, master of his household, and other Omrahs, who had now certain proofs of his brother's designs against his life, to refrain from going, the magnanimous prince again rejected the council of his faithful friends, and repaired about the close of eve to his brother's tent. Morad was a voluptuous prince, and whatever could provoke, or gratify, appetite was provided in abundance. After the entertainment some Shiraz wine, of delicious flavour was introduced, and Morad invited to indulge freely in the sparkling beverage, though the rigid Fakeer refused to pollute his lips with the forbidden draught. Ample portions of the same generous and potent liquor were also allowed to the Omrahs his attendants, who were no better Mussulmen than their master. On pretence of business Aurungzeb left the apartment, and the prince soon sunk into a profound sleep. In this situation his sabre and poniard were taken from him. Every previous precaution had been used for the success of the enterprize. Confidential guards had been appointed, and a band of sturdy ruffians waited without. At this moment of slumbering ambition and disarmed fortitude, entered in haste the MAN in whose breast those qualities abounded, mixed with the basest cruelties, and the blackest ingratitude. He spurned with his foot the inebriated prince, and aloud exclaimed, "Is this a conduct becoming a great Emperor? What will the nation think of those who having dethroned one prince for imbecility, suffer their intellects to be

thus wholly overpowered by wine. Morad, thy throne, thy claim to imperial distinction is for ever forfeited. Take this infamous besotted man away; bind him hand and foot, and throw him into that room, there to sleep out his wine." The prince searched in vain for his sword and poniard; five or six persons immediately rushed in, and in spite of all his outcries and opposition, fettered his hands and feet. An escort and an elephant were ready at hand. He was shut up in a covered amari, or castle, and before morning was far advanced on his way to Agra; thence to be conveyed to Gualior, the fatal receptacle of the unfortunate princes of the house of Timur.* This memorable event took place on the 6th of July, 1658.

A considerable body of men under arms, previously stationed near the tent of Aufungzeb, kept, during these transactions, every thing quiet in that quarter. At a distance, diligent emissaries represented matters in so favourable a point of view, as greatly tended to pacify the rising resentment of the soldiers, not a little aided by the promise of the immediate payment of the arrears due to them. Among the officers in general very large presents were distributed, the plunder of the treasury of Agra; and great promotions were made; so that in a short time all irritations were allayed, and Morad with all his good qualities forgotten. Aurungzeb, now at the head of both his own and his brother's army, commenced his march with great rapidity for Delhi, but hearing that Dara had proceeded to Lahore, and determined not to leave another rival in the field, he continued his pursuit beneath the fervour of a vertical sun, with such eagerness that he often advanced almost alone several leagues before the body of his

* The Persian Author translated by Dow differs in many smaller points from Bernier, but in all the main circumstances they agree very exactly. I have endeavoured to give the blended outline of both writers, corrected by the dates of Fraser.

army, drinking unwholesome water, eating the coarsest food, and sleeping on the bare ground, like the meanest soldier. Dara, dreading to be overtaken by his inveterate enemy, quitted Lahore, and turned his course towards Multan, which circumstance gave Aurungzeb great pleasure, since, if he had marched on to Cabul, he would have there found a potent army, designed to guard the frontiers, and commanded by Mohabet, an ancient enemy of his own, who, probably, would have vigorously espoused the cause of his brother. Relaxing now in his impetuous career, and thinking his presence might be necessary at Agra, he dispatched after him Khan Jehan, his favourite and first-made Omrah, with 8000 horse, and returned leisurely to Delhi. Here contemplating the proud success of his ambitious career, he determined to reap the fruits of his crimes by circling his head with the diadem; but this act being so directly contrary to all his professions as a religious devotee, required some management. His most intimate friends, however, who were well acquainted with the secret wishes of his heart, convened an assembly of nobles, and from motives of public necessity proposed that he should be solicited to wear that crown, to the burthen of which no one else was equal, and the glory of which none could so well maintain. As all were alike interested in the event, the proposal was received with acclamation, and they went in a body to the palace to intreat him to be reconciled to imperial honours. For a long time the crafty hypocrite hesitated, and even appeared offended at the request. But when they urged it upon him as a matter of duty, and that the deity might be served as faithfully amid the splendour of a throne, as in the gloom of a cell, he with apparent reluctance consented. In consequence, without any of the pompous ceremonies usual on such occasions, which he affected to despise, and probably *did* in his heart, his object being *power*, not *grandeur*,

Aurungzeb, the humble Fakeer, on the second of August, 1658,* in a full assembly of the nobility, at the town of Azabad, near Delhi, publicly ascended the imperial throne, and as it is usual, on these occasions, to take some pompous title, he assumed that of AULUM-GEER, or CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD, and by that title he was the same day proclaimed Emperor of Hindostan.

* Fraser says he mounted the throne on the 26th of July of this year; but if the seizure of Morad only took place on the 6th of July, sufficient time is not in that case allowed for the intervening events. In this instance therefore I adopt the date of the Persian historian.

CHAPTER III.

The Account of Aurungzeb's Wars with his Brothers continued.—Defeat and Death of Sultan Dara.—Defeat and Death of Sultan Sujah.—Capture of Soliman Shekoh.—Death of Shah Jehan.—Wars in the Deccan, and with Sevajee.—Desperate Illness and Recovery of Aurungzeb.—War with the Patans beyond the Indus.—War with the Rajapouts, and taking of Cheitore.—Renewed Hostilities with Sevajee and the Mahrattas.—Farther Conquests in the Peninsula.—Death and Character of Aurungzeb.

WHEN the intelligence of Aurungzeb's having mounted the throne reached Agra, the governor filled every quarter of the city with public demonstrations of joy. The roll of the drums, the thunder of the artillery which announced that event reached the ear of the Emperor, who, apprehensive that it proclaimed some victory terminated by the death or capture of Dara, anxiously enquired the cause. When informed of the real circumstance, the old man's eyes flashed with rage and resentment. He stood for some time absorbed in profound astonishment. At length he said to his daughter Jehanara, the new Emperor has prematurely mounted his throne. He should have first added to his other crimes the last, the greatest; the murder of a father! After all, however, it must be acknowledged that the means by which Shah Jehan obtained the empire were not more justifiable than those which he so much blamed in Aurungzeb. He waged against his father an unprovoked rebellion, and ascended the throne while its footsteps were yet reeking with the blood of his nearest relatives.

Dara, supposing his indefatigable brother to be still personally

in pursuit of him, directed his course towards Sindi, and taking possession of the strong fortress of Bhakor (Bicker) augmented its already numerous garrison with a considerable detachment of hardy Patans from his army. Having, also, by the promise of high rewards engaged in his service a numerous body of Portugueze, Dutch, and French cannoneers to manage the artillery of that place, he thought it sufficiently secure to deposit his treasures there, which, as he had every where in his progress collected the revenues due to the crown, were now become very considerable. The prince then crossed the Indus on a bridge of boats, and took possession of Sicar, another strong fortress on the opposite bank, whose garrison he also greatly increased. Khan Jehan, in the mean time, was greatly retarded in his pursuit by the annual rains, but still unabatingly persevered, and crossed the Indus after him. Dara stayed only a few days at Sicar, and then descended along the western shore of the Indus to Tatta. That city also, being warmly pursued, in a few days he evacuated, recrossed the river with his harassed troops, and armed with resolution, undaunted amid all difficulties, immediately commenced the dreadful march across the inhospitable deserts of burning sand that stretch between that country and Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzzurat. At the gates of that city he arrived with an army nearly famished with hunger, and quite exhausted with fatigue. Shanavaz, the governor, was the father-in-law of Aurungzeb as well as of Morad, and received him in that wretched condition with at least apparent respect and hospitality. This visit of Dara to the father of his bitterest enemy is unaccountable, except as the result of urgent necessity; especially when we are informed that the latter made him considerable presents, and permitted him to recruit his army in Guzzurat. In the event, however, he betrayed him, and probably, in secret, acted

all along in concert with Aurungzeb. At Ahmedabad we must for the present leave him, as a new rival has started up in the East, and Sultan Sujah has advanced with a great army as far as Allahabad, on his march to dethrone the imperial usurper at Agra.

This prince had in the rich and fertile province of Bengal, which he had so long governed, and with the applause of the inhabitants, soon recovered the loss which he sustained in his contest with Soliman. If he had opposed, with vigour, the claims, the sanctioned claims of an elder brother to the imperial diadem, with what indignant disdain did he behold the bolder pretensions of a younger branch of his house to the same honours? His hypocritical religious fervour excited his contempt, while his multiplied crimes struck him with horror! With activity and vigour proportioned to the emergency, he immediately raised an army formidable for its numbers, if not perfect in discipline, and set out once more with the plea at least of rescuing an aged father from disgrace and captivity. He knew that his brother's faithless treatment of Morad, not less than his cruel conduct to Shah Jehan, had excited against him numerous though silent enemies, and by appearing publicly in arms against the base betrayer, he hoped to secure their decided support. He was also urged on to this early rupture by the conviction that a storm was brooding, which would sooner or later explode over Bengal: it was better to meet its fury at once, than to let it burst upon him unprepared.

Aurungzeb was fully awake to all the dangers of his situation. In the south, Dara was rapidly increasing his army, and extending his influence. Soliman was at Sirinagur, and, protected by its Rajah, was enlisting under his banners the hardy inhabitants of the northern mountains. The Rajapouts, with Jesswunt at their

head, paid him only external reluctant obedience: in their hearts they detested, and with their swords they burned to exterminate, the whole house of Timur. A decisive proof of this their disposition was given in the ensuing engagement. Undismayed by these surrounding perils the EMPEROR, as we must now denominate him, immediately prepared to take the field. He sent orders to his son, Mahommed, at Multan, to join him with all the forces under his command, and to Emir Jemla, on whose military abilities he placed the utmost reliance, to hasten towards Bengal with the veteran troops from Deccan. After strongly reinforcing the garrison of Agra under Shaista, he began to move leisurely down the Jumna to meet the enemy.

Sujah, in the mean time, had advanced from Allahahad, and was encamped in a strong position at a place called KIDGWA, about thirty miles from that station, and near a large tank, or reservoir of water. There, mistrustful of troops, far inferior in discipline and warlike manœuvre to the imperial bands, and wishing on that account to give them every possible advantage, he intrenched himself, and waited the attack of the army, which he learned from his scouts had commenced its march from Agra. The approach of the emperor, however, was designedly slow, to give time for the expected reinforcements to join him. When that junction had taken place, he pressed on to action with rapidity; his son Mahommed commanding the van, which consisted of 5000 horse. The army of Aurungzeb encamped about a mile and an half from that of his brother, and between them lay an extensive plain very proper for a battle. Sujah, however, having a fine train of artillery which defended the front of his camp, and on which he placed great dependence, came not out of his lines. By day-break on the following morning, the imperial army advanced to the attack, but so strongly was Sujah intrenched it was

found impossible to force the lines, while the artillery, well served, did severe execution on the assailing foe. The attack was repeated several times with no better success; and Aurungzeb, repulsed, discomfited, was plunged in the deepest perplexity.

At this important crisis intelligence was brought him that Rajah Jesswunt, who with a large body of Rajapouts had attended him to the field, and even to the attack, had suddenly retreated, and fallen on the baggage in the rear, which he had seized, and was carrying off. A general alarm and tumult pervaded the field; all were anxious to save or recover their property; and whole squadrons gradually disappeared. The army of Sujah now rushed by thousands from their encampment, and, headed by their prince, attacked the enemy with such vigour as compelled them to recede on every side. The carnage was horrible, and the rout of the imperialists seemed inevitable. Aurungzeb, on this occasion, evinced that intrepid firmness in danger which entitles its possessor to empire. He urged on his elephant, bearing the imperial standard, amid the thickest battalions of the enemy, and, excited by his example, the retreating Moguls rallied around their prince. Sujah, exalted on an enormous elephant, espied him at a distance, and was on fire to meet his brother in combat; but the immense throng of elephants and cavalry between them prevented the concussion. In the mean time the driver of the elephant of Aurungzeb is shot through the heart, and he endeavours to guide the animal himself as well as he is able till another can be found to take the station of the deceased. A storm of arrows rains upon him from every quarter; but being in complete armour he heeds them not, and his nervous arm retorts destruction upon the assailants. The animal at length became unmanageable, and began in spite of every exertion of Aurungzeb to retreat. He was just on the point of descending, and one foot was already out of

the amari, when his faithful Jemla, who near at hand, and bravely doing all that could be effected by mortal valour, exclaimed aloud, "Hold, Sir; what are you doing? you descend from a throne, the instant you alight from that elephant." The Emperor, who only meant to descend for the purpose of mounting another elephant, recollecting himself, immediately ordered the chains which are always ready to bind the elephant, when untractable, to be locked round his feet. He now remained immoveable amidst a host of foes; with an undaunted aspect he stood upright in the amari; every eye was upon him and every arm of the enemy was raised against him; a thousand shot rattled around him, but his armour rendered him impervious to their points.

In this extremity, if we are to credit Bernier, himself and his army were snatched from total destruction by the very same stratagem which had lost Dara the field in the moment of victory. It seems scarcely credible that the same error should be committed by two great generals, with the crown of India at stake, and one might suspect that the accounts were confounded. It will be recollected, however, that he was in India soon after, and being in the household of Aurungzeb, enjoyed the best means of ascertaining the truth. But thus it stands recorded in his generally authentic page.

One of Sujah's chief captains, Allaverdi Khan, bribed it is thought by Aurungzeb, observing the general disorder of the field, rode in haste up to that prince, and told him that his remaining longer on his elephant was useless, and only exposing his person to unnecessary danger. "Come down," said he, "in the name of God: the Moguls are flying on all sides; God has made you sovereign of Hindostan; let us pursue these fugitives; let not even Aurungzeb escape us." Sujah in that distracted moment not more considerate than Dara, commits the same fatal error;

he descends and mounts his horse for pursuit. The troops look around for their leader in vain, are struck with terror, and believing him either to be taken prisoner, or slain, disband in great multitudes. So great and general was the defeat, that it was with the utmost difficulty he escaped with life from the field, whence, with all the troops he could collect, he pressed on to the strong fortress of Allahabad.

Aurungzeb was in no condition to pursue the enemy. That night he lay on the field of battle under arms; and the next morning commenced his return to Agra. He was extremely anxious to get back to that capital, where a report of his entire discomfiture had been circulated by Rajah Jesswunt, on his return to his own country with the plunder of the imperial camp, which had thrown every thing there into confusion. His presence soon restored order to the distracted city, and as he was informed that Sujah was fortifying himself at Allahabad, as soon as a sufficient force could be prepared, he dispatched Emir Jemla, together with his son Mahommed, to carry on the war in that quarter; the better to stimulate the exertions of Jemla, appointing him governor for life of that populous and flourishing Soubah. Aurungzeb now wrote a respectful letter to his father, mentioning in general terms his victory, but declined visiting him on account of the pressure of public business. Shah Jehan refused to read the letter, and gave it back to the messenger with the silent disdain of an injured father, and an insulted monarch.

The force and influence which Dara had acquired in Guzzurat, with whom the Maha Rajah Jesswunt, enriched by imperial spoils, and many other neighbouring Rajapout princes had made a common cause, had by this time become so formidable to Aurungzeb as to require the utmost exertions of his genius and great military talents to make an effectual resistance. Against Jesswunt, in

particular, for his repeated perfidies, he meditated a deep and exemplary vengeance. At present, however, he had so many enemies to contend with, that it seemed more adviseable, if practicable, to subdue him by that stratagem in which he was so deep a proficient, than to attempt his reduction in the field. He knew his rooted antipathy to the race of Timur, and that in reality, he was no more attached, by principle, to Dara than to himself; but laboured to foment the discords in the royal family, and studied only to add fuel to that *flame* which, he hoped, would eventually extinguish their dynasty in India. He immediately dispatched letters to that chief of the Rajahs, in which as well by the promise of entire forgiveness of what had passed, as the most splendid offers of future reward, he endeavoured to detach him from the cause of his brother. The offence of Jesswunt was of so deep a die, and the chance of Dara's success so uncertain, that he was not long in hesitating to pursue that line which prudence and interest dictated. What, however, made the deepest impression on his mind, was the promise of the Soubahship of Guzzurat, if he would immediately relinquish the rebel banners, and act only a neutral part in this great contest. In consequence, when Dara, in full march for Agra, arrived on the frontiers of Jesswunt's country, expecting to be joined by that Rajah according to his promise with a powerful army, he received only unmeaning compliments, and cold apologies. Unable to conjecture the meaning of this altered conduct in the Rajah, he sent his son to his court, who was treated with distinction and hospitality, but could obtain no satisfactory explanation. Filled equally with grief and indignation, yet above despondence in any calamity, the prince resolutely persevered in his march towards Agra, and in a few days reached Ajmere, about eight days journey from that capital.

Near Ajmere he encamped; and, in a situation remarkably

favourable for the purpose, threw up intrenchments of a very formidable kind, the work of European engineers! At this place he expected to be joined by many Omrahs, his former friends, and others who might yet feel some compassion for the miserable fate of his imprisoned father. The fond hopes of Dara, in this, as in other cases, were wholly disappointed; and as the army of Aurungzeb was only at a short distance, he prepared with vigour, but with very inadequate forces, for that battle which was for ever to decide his fate. The circumstances of this engagement are variously related. I adhere to Bernier's account, as the most authentic, and free from oriental parade. He informs us that the perfidious Shanavas being still with Dara, and high in his confidence, secretly betrayed all his designs to Aurungzeb, who was thus enabled effectually to circumvent them; in particular, he contrived, when the battle commenced, that the artillery, on which he most depended, should be ineffectual. Judiciously placed on an eminence that commanded the field, his cannon were excellently served, and the roar was tremendous, but they did little execution, for the greater part of the pieces were uncharged with ball. An easy entrance was, in consequence, soon obtained by the imperial squadrons into the very heart of his intrenchments, where, astonished and overwhelmed, the troops of Dara were almost unresistingly cut to pieces. The prince himself mounted his elephant, and at the head of a few select bands endeavoured to rally the flying, and inspirit the dismayed. He was himself in the greatest danger of being taken prisoner, when Rajah Jessing, who still retained some respect for the individuals of the royal family, privately sent him intelligence that he was *betrayed*, and desired him to fly for his life. Before, however, he quitted the fatal field, he sought out the false Shahnavas, and sacrificed that lord to his just revenge; at least in this battle he

perished, and Bernier was told by many in India that it was by the hand of Dara himself.*

The plunder of the immense spoil found in his camp so fully occupied the victorious army, that Dara without interruption, at the head of about 2000 men, retraced his steps over the dreary deserts that stretch from Ajmere to Ahmedabad. But though unmolested by the imperial troops, he had to contend, without tents or baggage, which they were compelled to leave behind, with the sultry blast, and the dusty whirlwind, at the hottest season of the year, and with a still more ferocious enemy, the savage race of Coolies, who inhabit those deserts, and are more keen for blood and plunder than the banditti of Arabia. These robbers night and day hang on the rear of his harassed army and rifle and massacre his straggling soldiers without mercy. At length he reaches Ahmedabad, at which place, a new governor having been appointed by Aurungzeb, the gates are shut against him. About this period of his misfortunes he was met by our author Bernier, then travelling to Ahmedabad, whom he saved from assassination by the barbarous Coolies, and who draws an affecting picture of his situation. At length, with about four or five hundred cavaliers he arrives in the territories of Rajah Cutch, deriving his name from the district which he governed, who at first receives him with compassionate kindness, but being afterwards gained over by the emissaries of Aurungzeb, treats him with such marked coldness as induces him to think his person in danger, and he quits his suspected host to encounter new and still greater perils.

The faithful governor whom he had appointed at Bhakor still held out for him against the Mogul general, who could make no impression either by arms, by bribes, or menaces. With a larger

* Bernier's Mogul Empire, tom. i. p. 141, ubi supra.

army he might have raised the siege, but with his handful of men, the attempt would only be rushing on certain ruin: captivity or death must be his instant doom. He, therefore, turned his eye towards Persia, where the illustrious Shah Abbas would doubtless receive the unfortunate heir of a great empire; and happy would it have been for Dara, if, notwithstanding the horrors of the Carmanian deserts which he would have had to brave, he had tried the generosity of Abbas. His favourite high-spirited Sultana, who had heroically attended him in all his difficulties, and shortly after died the victim of them, dissuaded him from that measure as unworthy of Dara. In this deep perplexity he happened to recollect that in those parts there lived a certain Patan chief named Jihon Khan, whose life he had twice saved, when doomed by Shah Jehan to be trodden under the feet of an elephant for various rebellions. To this man, notwithstanding the intreaties of his family, to whom his infamous character was well known, he determined to fly, in the confident hope that, induced by gratitude, if not by compassion, he would furnish him with troops sufficient to raise the siege of Bhakor, where his treasures were deposited, by means of which new armies might soon be levied among the hardy race of Cabul and Candahar, and the sceptre of India be yet torn from the grasp of an usurper.

The scorching sands and whirlwinds of the desert, and the savage ferocity of a professed robber appeared to Dara more safely to be trusted than an obdurate monster, thirsting for fraternal blood! To the residence of Jihon he obstinately resorted, and that chief received him with every appearance of heart-felt gratitude and respect. In the hospitable domain of Jihon, who even gave up his palace for the accommodation of himself and his attendants, the prince for some time reposed from toil, and a gleam of hope seemed to break in upon the settled gloom of his mind. Aurungzeb,

however, was well informed, by his scouts, of the route which he had pursued, and had taken his measures accordingly. In a few days intelligence arrived that Khan Jehan was advancing rapidly with an army from Multan, and soon after his van was actually in the neighbourhood. His toilsome march must now be renewed, and, taking leave of his host, under whose roof the Sultana had died, he resolved finally to make his escape into Persia. He had scarcely proceeded one coss on his disconsolate journey before he perceived Jihon coming after him at the head of a thousand horse at full speed. The prince, surprised but not mistrustful, rode back to meet him, and was about to address him, when he was suddenly surrounded and disarmed. His attendants, by death and desertion, were by this time reduced to too small a number to make any successful resistance, and the prince was seized and bound without a sabre being lifted in his defence. The prince, resigned to his fate, maintained an indignant silence. The perfidious chief was also silent from conscious guilt. Having enriched himself with the plunder of all that remained valuable to his benefactor, he hurried him away to Khan Jehan, who immediately sent both the prince and his betrayer, under a strong escort to Delhi, where Aurungzeb at this time kept his court.

Though that subtile parricide had already, in his own mind, determined on his fate, he thought proper on this occasion to assemble his nobles; and consult them concerning the destiny of his distinguished captive. Some were for his immediate transportation to Gwalior, others were for death, as a matter of state necessity; but all agreed in the expediency of a public exposure of his person in bonds, as a prince fallen from the imperial height, like that Darius, from whom his name was derived, never to rise again. Accordingly, on a day appointed for the purpose, on a lean elephant meanly apparelled, with his son seated by his

side, he was led in melancholy procession through that great and populous city, amidst an immense concourse of its inhabitants, who with tears bewailed his fate, while the conscious skies bore witness to their secret, but cordial execrations poured forth against his tyrannical brother.

After this cruel exhibition, the unfortunate prince, together with his son, was committed a close prisoner to a strong fort in the neighbourhood of Delhi. The traitor Jihon was rewarded with a title and considerable presents, but on his return home fell a sacrifice to the just indignation of the people. That indignation, indeed, soon became so violent and general, that Aurungzeb, alarmed lest a rescue should be attempted, issued orders for completing the dreadful tragedy by the immediate execution of Dara. The charge of the bloody deed was assigned to an Afghan chief, named Nazir, who was known to bear a rooted hatred to Dara. This ruffian, with three others, entering by night the prince's apartment, quickly dispatched him, and bore the head reeking with blood to Aurungzeb, who anxiously waited its arrival. It was so disfigured with clotted blood that he ordered it to be thrown into a charger of water and cleansed. When, freed from the filth, he gazed for some time on the features, and exclaiming "ah, unfortunate man!" burst into tears. He then ordered it to be taken away from his sight, and buried with the body in the tomb of Homaion. The youthful companion of his sorrows was on the following morning conveyed under a strong guard to Gwalior.

As Dara had in some degree shared imperial honours, this lengthened detail of his sufferings was thought proper; in the history of Sujah, and of Soliman Shekoh the son of Dara, the only remaining obstacles to Aurungzeb's undisturbed possession of the throne, it is necessary to be more concise.

We left the former of those princes with the remains of his routed army, encamped at Allahabad, and Emir Jemla, now governor of Bengal, with Mahommed, at the head of the imperial troops, in full pursuit of him. Apprized of their near approach, and fearful that his retreat to his capital Rajamal, might be cut off by the enemy's passage of the river, either above or below Allahabad, the prince broke up his camp, and retired to Mongeer, an important station, which commands the pass into Bengal. From this station, however, the superior military skill of Jemla contrived to expel without bloodshed the fugitive prince. By a secret road over the mountains adjoining to Mongeer, Jemla entered the province below that post, and was heard of by Sujah in his rear, when he expected to be attacked by him in the front. Sujah decamped with precipitation, and arrived some days before him in the environs of Rajamal, where he again intrenched himself, being still unwilling, with the enervate soldiers of Bengal, to contend in the open field against the more experienced and hardy veterans of the north. Sujah, during his long residence in Bengal, by high rewards had gained over a considerable body of Portugueze, and other engineers, who defended with such vigour the intrenchments which, of old materials, they had so skillfully thrown up, that for six days together Jemla attacked them without success. On the seventh, the fortifications being reduced to ruins, and the post being no longer tenable, he decamped under cover of the night, and, crossing the Ganges with all his army, took the route of Tanda. The annual rains, setting in about this time, put an end for the present to all farther operations.

The proud spirit of the prince Mahommed, who, by the seizure of Shah Jehan, vaunted to have obtained the empire for his father, ill brooked either the control assumed by Jemla over his actions,

or the stern occasional reproofs of that father himself. He was passionately attached to a daughter of Sujah, to whom, before the rupture of the imperial brothers, he had been betrothed. At this great distance from the capital, and at a moment when Jemla was absent from the camp on affairs of importance, the prince took the opportunity to put in practice the scheme he had long meditated, and with a considerable body of friends went over to Sujah, not without very confident hopes that the whole army, when they heard of his recess, would join his standard. In that respect however he was disappointed, and the confusion and dismay to which his flight gave birth, were soon allayed by the speedy return of Jemla, who though filled with extreme astonishment and regret, acted with that decision and vigour which in so desperate an extremity were required. In the mean time, Sujah with rapture received the royal deserter, consented to his immediate nuptials with his beautiful daughter, which were celebrated with the utmost magnificence, and constituted him general in chief of his now recruited army.

When the season for military operations arrived, Jemla, determined if possible to bring the enemy to action, and finish the protracted campaign, crossed the Ganges on a bridge of boats, previously prepared, and marched with all his force against Tanda. Mahommed, in the ardour of a mind accustomed to victory, urged his father-in-law to renounce the system of entrenchment, and prepare to risque every thing in a general engagement. Sujah consented, and the prince still fondly expecting to be joined on the day of battle by the greater part of his father's troops, erected his standard in the front of the army, and marched in the centre of the first line. In this hope, however, he was dreadfully disappointed. A large column of horse bearing down upon him, by Jemla's express order, convinced him, by the

warmth and vigour of their assault, how little, except his own valour, he had to depend upon. It availed him greatly in this arduous contest, but he could not infuse any portion of it into the spiritless troops whom he now led to battle. They were of a very different cast from those at the head of which he had been used to fight. The squadrons too sent against him were picked men, and the attack was such as might strike terror into soldiers more valiant and robust than those produced in the enervating climate of Bengal. They were dispersed, and fled at the first onset; and his repeated efforts to rally them were wholly ineffectual. Nor did the daring fortitude of Sujah at all more avail to keep together the battalions which he personally commanded. They were routed and flying in every direction; and it was with the utmost difficulty those two princes escaped being surrounded, and taken prisoners. They urged their flight together to Dacca; the last town of eminence in Bengal, towards that ocean which seemed now to offer the only asylum to the ruined fortunes of Sujah. The conqueror entered Tanda in triumph, and remained there some time to settle the distracted affairs of the province.

Aurungzeb, in the mean time, though greatly enraged at the defection of his son, concealed his resentment, and made use of all that fraudful stratagem of which he was so complete a master, to induce his return to duty and allegiance. In this respect, by means which it would be tedious to specify, he eventually succeeded, and Mahommed, arriving at Agra full of contrition for his offence, was by his unrelenting father immediately sent prisoner for life to Gualior. His unfortunate father-in-law, perpetually harassed by Jemla, was compelled at length to fly, with a few followers still faithful to him, over barren mountains and trackless deserts, into Arracan, where he was at first well received by the prince of the country, but either intimidated by the

menaces of Aurungzeb, or tempted by the great wealth which his guest had brought with him, after some time he withdrew from him his protection, and either effected or connived at the destruction of himself and all his family. The detail of his varied sufferings as given in eastern writers, is long and affecting, and the circumstances of his death are variously related; but we have already dwelt too long on tales of woe, and must return to contemplate the fate of the last of this ill-starred family, Soliman, the son of Dara, whom we left shut up in the mountains of Sirinagur, meditating the delivery of his country, and vengeance for a murdered father.

Having nothing more to fear from Sujah and his rebellious son, yet not thinking his throne secure while that prince survived, Aurungzeb, first by menaces and then by bribes, endeavoured to prevail upon the Rajah of Sirinagur to deliver up that sole remaining obstacle to his complete felicity. His avarice being thus assailed on the one hand, and his fears wrought upon on the other, the Rajah, to avoid the opprobrium of direct treachery, connived at an invasion of his country by the imperial troops, who carried to that mercenary chief the price set upon the head of the prince. Soliman, secretly informed of the perfidy of his host, fled precipitately from his capital; and traversed the vast deserts of that country of rock and storm, till he reached the borders of Great Thibet. His flight however was unavailing before a foe instructed to pursue him, if necessary, to the bounds of Asia itself: he was seized and conveyed to Delhi, bound in fetters of gold. It was necessary that his person should be identified, as the real son of Dara, lest, at some future period, the empire should be convulsed by the appearance of an impostor. When for this purpose, on an appointed day, he was publicly brought into the Hall of Audience, to hear his destiny pronounced, the whole court was struck with astonishment at the

majesty and gracefulness of his person. The great Omrahs lamented his unhappy fate, and the ladies of the haram, who were permitted to view him from behind the screens, could not refrain from shedding tears. Even the iron heart of Aurungzeb seemed for a moment to relent; yet the cruel order for his perpetual imprisonment was issued, and he was that very night, under a strong guard, sent off to pass the remainder of his life with the other princes, at Gualior.

On the throne thus iniquitously obtained by the murder or incarceration of the whole royal family, Aurungzeb sate during a period of nearly 50 years, of which were I to enter minutely into the transactions, this whole volume, already swelling to a great magnitude, would scarcely contain the details. All I can pretend to in this and the following lives of the Mogul Emperors, is to give the leading facts in each reign, and to refer the reader desirous of more extensive information, to the authorities cited in the preceding pages, or those of an equally authentic kind noticed below.*

The fame of the valour and the wisdom of Aurungzeb was by this time spread widely through Asia, and ambassadors from Tartary, from Persia, from Arabia, and even from Ethiopia arrived successively at Delhi, bearing the rarest and richest productions of their respective countries to be laid at the feet of the new emperor. They were received with unusual pomp, and magnificent presents were in return sent to their respective sovereigns. Jemla was for his great and important services elevated to the rank of Visier of the empire, and his son was appointed Bukshi, or commander in chief. In Deccan during the

* Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire; Eradut Khan's History of Aurungzeb's Successors; the Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem; Scott's Dekkan; the History of Gholam Hussain, and other native accounts translated of recent years by our ingenious countrymen in India.

civil convulsions under Mahommed Mauzim, the second son of Aurungzeb, every thing had remained quiet, and Jesswunt Sing still remained viceroy of Guzzurat, the reward of his perfidy to Sultan Dara. Amidst this profound tranquillity Aurungzeb was seized with a dangerous illness, which he bore with heroic fortitude, and to prevent any contention about the succession, should it prove fatal, he had the precaution to have Mauzim proclaimed heir of the empire by the sounding title of Shah Aulum, or king of the world. Notwithstanding this, as a rumour of his death for some time prevailed, several armies were put in motion in different parts of the empire; some to release Shah Jehan, and others in the cause of different individuals of the royal family. Aurungzeb, however, after a desperate struggle at length recovered; and the profound policy by which his life was regulated induced him for the present to refrain from noticing those rebellious movements, though the authors of them at a proper time were not forgotten.

Among those, on more close investigation, was unfortunately numbered the prince himself, who had manifested strong symptoms of a desire to be invested with the imperial regalia at an earlier period than his father and nature designed. In the breast of so jealous a parent as Aurungzeb, in consequence, the affection for Mauzim rapidly declined, and his youngest son, Akber, succeeded to that partial fondness which Mauzim had lost. In short, he resolved in his mind that Akber should be his successor; and as Dara had left a daughter who resided with Shah Jehan at Agra, he sent to solicit her in marriage for his son, with a request that his father would send him some of the crown jewels and the regalia which the old emperor still resolutely detained. A refusal from both was returned. The princess declared she would die a thousand deaths rather than marry the

son of the murderer of her father; and Shah Jehan declared that if he troubled him again respecting the jewels, the hammers were ready that should pound them to dust. At a later period, however, and perhaps on a more submissive application, he sent him a present of jewels and part of the imperial regalia to the value of about 250,000*l.* sterling. The severe illness of Aurungzeb was attended with great debility, increased by his meagre diet, as a Fakeer, from which he never varied, and his physicians recommending the soft and salubrious air of Cashmire for his complete restoration, about the close of the year 1664, he commenced his march, (for the journey of an Indian emperor is always at the head of an army,) for that terrestrial paradise, accompanied by his favourite sister Roxanara Begum. She had ever as faithfully attached herself to him and his fortunes as her sister Jehanara had to Dara and his, and Aurungzeb sensible of what he owed to her penetration and talents for intrigue, when resident at the court of her father, ever treated her in the most affectionate and grateful manner.

The empire remaining in profound peace, Aurungzeb continued to enjoy his delightful retreat at Cashmire during the greater part of the year 1665; but the public business was by no means obstructed by his absence from the capital. Vigour and dispatch marked all his measures. The great Omrahs attended the Presence daily, as at Delhi; and petitions were heard, and causes decided, as usual, by the emperor, sitting on his throne. The officers of every department of the state were constantly employed, and messengers mounted on the fleetest horses were in readiness, at every post, to bear the imperial mandates, to the remotest corners of the empire. Stern in his manners, inflexible in his justice, and with every passion but ambition completely subdued in his own breast, Aurungzeb

made few allowances for the passions and frailties of others. The distant governors trembled at his frown; and the least deviation from his orders was punished with degradation, or with chains.

About this time perished, at Gualior, Mahommed, the son of Dara, who, together with Morad, was thought to have been dispatched by means of the *poust*, which Bernier describes as a sort of slow poison, made of an infusion of poppies in water, of which the princes confined in that state-prison are compelled to drink each morning, fasting, a copious draught. By this stupifying potion they soon become emaciated, gradually lose their strength and their intellects, and at last, die insensibly. Not long after, that is, in February 1666, Shah Jehan, after an imprisonment of seven years, expired at the Castle of Agra. The severe confinement which he had undergone, together with the concomitant galling reflections on his altered state, had long plunged him into a profound melancholy, which all the fond attentions of his beloved daughter Jehanara availed not to dissipate. This atrabilious disease, combined with the massacre of so many of his family, by the monster who had usurped his throne, at length totally overwhelmed the faculties, and probably ruptured the heart of the once high-minded and magnificent Shah Jehan.

On receiving intelligence of this long-wished for event, Aurungzeb, only recently returned from Cashmire to Delhi, immediately proceeded to Agra, but refrained from entering the castle till he had written a letter to his sister, expressing affected grief for the event, and requesting her permission to visit the castle. Jehanara received her brother with great magnificence, and on his entrance presented him with a large golden bason which contained all the jewels of their deceased father. All due honours were paid to the royal remains, which were solemnly interred in the famous marble mausoleum erected by himself for his beautiful and

favourite wife Taje Mahel. Jehanara was henceforth received, at least apparently, into high favour with her brother, and accompanied him back to Delhi; but died shortly after, and Tavernier, who staid later in India than Bernier, whose narrative concludes in 1666, informs us that every body suspected she was taken off by poison.*

In a preceding portion of this volume,† when giving a summary history of the Mahratta nation, I had occasion to notice the early transactions of Aurungzeb, with the famous Sevajee, the founder of that singular nation; that able and intrepid chieftain, who though at once contending with three potent sovereigns, with Aurungzeb, on the one hand, and the kings of Visiapour and Golconda on the other, had contrived in a few years to found a kingdom extending 340 miles from north to south, and 200 from east to west, in the finest climate of India. The detail of his victories and defeats in this important struggle for empire, and while fighting with those monarchs, would make a large though perhaps not a very entertaining volume, as it must principally consist of accounts of the siege and capture of forts, for, crafty as Aurungzeb himself, he always avoided engagements on the plain, and clung to the hills and rocks among which his daring and congenial spirit was nurtured. On this account, and because the transactions of the Mahratta nation have already prematurely engaged, and will, hereafter, occupy many pages of this work, I shall enter less at large than might be expected into the particulars of their early history. Let it suffice in this place generally to state, that the Mogal Viceroys, numerous and brave as they were, successively detached against this extraordinary man from the neighbouring Soubahs of Guzzurat and the Deccan, though

* Tavernier's Indian Travels, p. 114.

† See chapter iv. of the last book, at page 322.

sometimes crowned with partial victory, were utterly unsuccessful in their attempts wholly to subjugate him, and Aurungzeb in person, at a later period of his protracted reign, found all his high military talents, and deep political intrigues baffled by the more subtle Sevajee. When death, at length, released him of his rival, he could not conceal his joy at that event, but paid a just tribute to his memory by exclaiming, "That man was indeed a great general, and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years, and nevertheless his state has been always increasing."*

At this time, Rajah Jessing, the former general, being dead, the brave Dellere Khan was at the head of the army of the Deccan, acting alone under the orders of Sultan Mauzim, the governor, and serving as a check upon that ambition which his father, through all his subterfuges, perceived to be the predominant passion of his mind. The king of Visiapour, though so often vanquished, was constantly seeking every opportunity of shaking off the Mogul yoke, and never paid, except when compelled, the stipulated tribute to the throne of Delhi. The situation of his country, amid high and almost inaccessible mountains, abounding in difficult passes, overgrown with lofty woods, and full of fortresses, many of which were in those days deemed impregnable, encouraged his frequent attempts at rebellion, and often screened him from punishment when the Mogul armies were engaged in crushing rebellion on the northern and eastern frontier. The king of Golconda, his firm and constant ally, was in the same predicament, and found money, while the former found men and arms to carry on the war. A few years of peace always recruited

* Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire. p. 95. ubi supra.

the deficiency of riches, and the waste of population induced by the barbarous devastations of these fierce invaders. This will account to the reader for the frequent mention of the alternate revolt and reduction of these refractory tributaries; nor can they be said to be finally subjugated till Aurungzeb, as we shall find, in 1686, marching into the south with the whole power of the empire, put a final period to their dynasties. Attacked by the Mogul generals on the one side, and by Sevajee on the other, who had plundered from him the whole Concan, or western regions of Visiapour, Adil Shah was compelled once more to submit, and pay up his arrears with valuable offerings; as were many other refractory Omrahs and Rajahs bordering on Guzzurat and the Deccan; and Dellere is said this year to have remitted, in jewels and money, nearly two millions sterling to the royal treasury.*

Faithful to the mandate of the Emperor, to watch and report the motions of his ambitious son, that loyal general was shortly afterwards, under false pretences, driven by Mauzim from the Deccan; but was received with open arms by the Emperor, who well knew both his worth, and the weight of his obligations to him. Having not wholly neglected himself while replenishing the treasury of his master, he was affluent, and to his affluence the grateful Aurungzeb added the highest honours of nobility. On the submission also of his son who, in his recent conduct, appeared to have acted rather from avowed hatred to Dellere, than from any determined spirit of disaffection to his father, he was reconciled to him, and continued him in the government of Deccan.

That Deccan, of which so much has been recently said, was, as we have seen, the theatre of Aurungzeb's first exercises in

* Dow, vol. iii. p. 388.

the science of war, the country whence he had led the imperial armies into Visiapour and Golconda, and to occasional conquest amid the mountainous recesses of Sevajee. He had long meditated the conquest of the whole peninsula, and had fully resolved that the sea alone should be the boundary of his dominions in that quarter. An apprehended rupture with the king of Persia, and the hostile movements of the numerous and hardy tribes of Patans who inhabit the mountains beyond the Indus, kept him for the present constantly at Delhi. The origin of the quarrel with Shah Abbas was twofold. Candahar, the perpetual source of contention between the two empires was one; and insults offered to his ambassador at the court of Ispahan constituted the other. With respect to the latter cause of offence, it arose from the mere inadvertence of one of his secretaries, who, in the letter which accompanied the credentials of the ambassador, while he had ostentatiously displayed his own sovereign's assumed title of AULUM-GEER, or CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD, had addressed the king of Persia by a title far inferior to that of the great Shah-in-Shah, or king of kings, at which the soul of the haughty Abbas took fire. "What," exclaimed that prince, "does THE CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD dare to rank me among his vassals? Haste back to that vile murderer of his family, and be to him the herald of my contempt, my detestation, and my defiance." At the same time he ordered the beard of that lord to be shaved off, (the greatest indignity that can be offered in that country) and dismissed. An apology for the error of the scribe was submitted to by Aurungzeb, but the invective and the defiance were returned. He had long resolved to retake Candahar, and the most vigorous preparations had been made accordingly. Sultan Mauzim was immediately ordered with 20,000 horse to march from Deccan, to the frontiers of Persia, and he himself prepared to

take the field at the head of the whole army of the north. On the other hand Shah Abbas, who would listen to no apologies, as possibly thinking none sincere, had commenced his march for Chorasan at the head of 80,000 horse, and an immense train of artillery, and every thing seemed to forebode a most obstinate and sanguinary contest.

At this crisis of affairs Aurungzeb was alarmed by an imagined conspiracy among the Persian nobles of his court, who were very numerous, wealthy, and powerful, and certainly had not much relish for a Persian war. He was on the point of proceeding to a general massacre of that class of his subjects, and the sword was already brandished over their heads. Fortunately the intercepted letter which gave birth to the suspicion, a letter written to the Visier himself, a *Persian*, by the hand of the Persian monarch, was demonstrated in due time to be one of those state stratagems which Aurungzeb himself had so often used with the same delusive intent to his suspected sons and generals, and a dreadful execution which might have shaken his throne to the foundation was prevented. Aurungzeb had already taken the field, and was far advanced on his march towards Lahore, when intelligence arrived that Abbas, who, though in mind active and vigorous, had been for some time declining in bodily health, had suddenly expired in his camp. This intelligence was followed, after a few days, by an express message from the uncle of that prince, who had taken the command of the army, formally announcing the death of his nephew, leaving solely to Aurungzeb the choice of PEACE, or WAR. Aurungzeb, whose ardour for the Persian war was perhaps a little cooled by what had recently occurred, after due reflection replied, " that he had prepared for war only to repel invasion, and avenge insult; that his own dominions were already sufficiently ample; and that, with the

life of Shah Abbas, his offence was extinguished. If the regent consented, the sword might be sheathed." The proposal was accepted, and the armies of the two powers returned to the capitals of their respective empires. Aurungzeb, however, with his usual foresight, greatly strengthened the garrisons on his western frontiers, and left a considerable force to overawe the discontented Afghan or Patan tribes.

These Patans are the descendants of that valiant race who once conquered Hindostan, and gave a dynasty of kings to Delhi. They are, in all probability, the *Aborigines* of the northern mountainous regions, Gazna, Cabul, and Candahar, which they still inhabit. They hold the Moguls, who under Timur and Baber expelled them from India, in the greatest detestation. Their chiefs are valiant and robust, and have for ages sold their mercenary services to the best bidder. The expectation of a war between Persia and India had put many of their predatory bands on the Indian frontier in motion, and they continued in arms, when the differences that had subsisted between the two empires were adjusted. At length, headed by one Mahommed, who boasted his descent from Alexander the Great and the queen of Transoxiana, they rushed down from the sources of the Attock and Nilab in a body of thirty thousand men, and like the torrents that roll from their native Caucasus bore down all before them. The fertile plains of the Panjab were entirely devastated by these merciless barbarians, who vaunted that they would march to Delhi and dethrone the descendant of Timur.

It was beneath the dignity of an Aurungzeb to advance in person against rebels commanded even by a representative of the king of Macedon. But the squadrons of the imperial army were in readiness, and the march was instantly commenced. Before their arrival, however, Camil the Mogul governor of

Panjab had collected a force sufficient, at least, to check the progress of the insurgents. He drew up his disciplined battalions on the eastern banks of the Nilab; which river Mahommed crossed, at the ferry of Haran, at the head of ten thousand of his best troops, and rushed upon his antagonist with the most daring impetuosity, but with little military skill. The imperial troops bore the rude assault of barbarous valour with calm intrepidity, but repelled it with tenfold effect. It was repeated, and repelled with increased success; the rebel bands being broken by the charge, and thrown into great confusion. Still, however, they disdained to fly, but returning again and again to the attack, with Mahommed at their head, who fought like no fictitious Alexander, made a dreadful slaughter of the imperial troops. Disciplined fortitude, however, at length prevailed. Their strength was exhausted, they were routed, and driven headlong into the river, in whose rapid current the greater part of them were drowned. In the mean time the governor of Cabul with the forces of that Soubah had advanced, and, attacking the enemy in the rear, a complete victory was obtained over the barbarous hordes.

Notwithstanding this signal defeat, when returned to their native mountains, whither they were pursued by the imperial legions that now arrived in great force from Delhi, under the conduct of Mahommed Amin, these resolute banditti again rallied in increasing multitudes, and the banners of no less than three hundred chieftains, the heads of separate clans, dispersed among those mountains, were seen to wave in the air, and bid defiance to invasion. The imperialists, however, with undaunted resolution, clambered up the steep ascents, and stormed the fortresses situated on the most rugged acclivities. Driven back from their strong holds into the subjacent valleys, the insurgents formed again under their intrepid leader, and another general

action, more severe and sanguinary than the last, took place, owing to the increased numbers and desperation of the foe. So immense were their numbers, and so determined their resistance, that the imperialists themselves were at one time on the point of giving way, when a report, not founded in error, that the prince Mahommed was slain, being spread among the Patans, their impetuous courage began to abate. Perceiving this, the Moguls rushed forward, and, charging them with redoubled vigour, drove them a second time from the field, and by a prodigious carnage avenged upon them the deaths of their numerous countrymen, who lay slaughtered around them. Prisoners were made in immense multitudes; the whole of that part of the country which they inhabited was ravaged with fire and sword; and every thing levelled with the ground, but the rocks to which the miserable remainder fled for shelter from the swords of their destroyers.

Such is the account given by the Persian writer in all probability for the reasons alleged in the note below,* extremely exaggerated in favour of the Moguls, for according to Mr. Orme's authorities, Aurungzeb himself was afterwards, in 1673, at the head

* Dow, vol. iii. p. 391. At this period (1669) terminates Mirza Casim's Persian History of Aurungzeb, translated by Dow. Aurungzeb forbad his life to be written, except under his own inspection, and hence the ALLUMGEERNAMA, the work above alluded to, containing the first ten years of his life only, is, as Mr. Orme justly stigmatizes it, a shameless apology for the deposal and imprisonment of his father, and the destruction of his three brothers, with *six* of their sons. Corrected however, throughout by Bernier's impartial history of those events, I trust these pages are not infected by the gross adulation of the ALLUMGEERNAMA. Orme himself collected many historical facts concerning him which are given in his Historical Fragments, and many respecting his wars in Deccan are detailed in Scott's History of that country. To those writers, and the traveller Fryer, we shall principally be indebted for the facts recorded in the succeeding pages of the life of Aurungzeb.

of his whole army compelled to take the field against these discomfited Patans, on an occasion that seemed to threaten the very foundations of his throne. The destruction of Sultan Sujah and all his family in Arracan through the treachery of the prince, has been already stated from authentic documents. The fact of his death however was at the time very much disputed in Hindostan, and he was asserted by many who believed it true, to have made his escape from Arracan, to be still living, and resident in Persia. Whatever was the real fact, the Patan chiefs now produced, as a competitor for the imperial diadem, a person in all respects greatly resembling Sujah, and who they declared was that identical prince, marching towards Delhi to assert his rights, and revenge the murder of his family. The whole nation is affirmed by Mr. Orme to be able to bring into the field 150,000 fighting men, and, if united, from their personal valour and strength, could never have been conquered by the Moguls. A very large proportion of this number, inflamed with the remembrance of ancient wrongs, and the recent massacre, accompanied the fictitious Sujah on his daring expedition. The successes obtained over detached parties, in the preceding campaign, had filled the governor of Peishore with confident hopes of victory, and he crossed the Indus with all his army, intending to force their strong holds in the mountains; but this more numerous and formidable army of Patans inclosed his army among the defiles, and destroyed the whole with their commander. They now marched on unopposed towards Delhi, and publicly proclaimed their adopted champion, Emperor of Hindostan.

Aurungzeb, justly alarmed at the rapid advance of so powerful an enemy, supporting a pretender to his throne, immediately marched out of Delhi, displayed the standard of the empire, and

summoned around it all his banners. To that standard all who dreaded a return of the sanguinary scenes that had recently convulsed the empire quickly resorted, and at length the whole concentrated army, to an amount almost incalculable, arrived at the banks of the Indus towards the close of the year 1674. The vanguard of this mighty host which first crossed the river, was unable to withstand the impetuous attack of the Patan army, and was defeated. The victors with that peculiar inhumanity which distinguishes their nation, put the prisoners, taken on this occasion, to death. That barbarous conduct fired the whole imperial army with indignation, and when their numerous and formidable columns had all passed the stream, that indignation impelled them to the assault with such resistless fury as quickly decided the fortune of the day. Than the contest of that day, though of short duration, no battle more sanguinary had of late years been fought; but the Patans had no leader competent to cope with an Aurungzeb, exerting the full vigour of his talents, and fighting for the crown that trembled on his head. After a desperate struggle for victory, the enemy, broken and dispersed in every direction, again retreated to their strong holds in the mountains, along the whole line of the Paropamisan range, whence issuing in large bodies by night, they made frequent assaults on the enemy's camp, plundering their baggage and cutting off their supplies, by which desultory mode of attack the war was protracted for fifteen months. Numbers, however, in the end prevailed, for the Mogul army was sufficient to *people* the country they attacked; their principal fortresses were taken, their bravest generals slain. The fictitious Emperor at the head of a few chosen followers fled over the mountains into Persia; and the real one, Aurungzeb, having established a chain of posts,

and leaving a sufficient force to defend the conquered country, under the command of a general especially selected, returned in triumph to Delhi, after an absence of two years and three months from that capital.*

After a short repose from the toils of the field, a new campaign of a very different nature, or rather a kind of religious crusade was undertaken by Aurungzeb. Not content with exterminating the Afghan savages of the mountains, he now began with a fury equally implacable to make war upon the superstitions of the Hindoos. Acting in a manner widely different from the indulgent Akber, and his immediate predecessors, in his rage to convert the Hindoos to Mahommedism, the frantic project formed by this sanguinary bigot! he everywhere persecuted the priests, tore down the images, and demolished or violated the temples. At Muttra and at Benares in particular, the two most venerated places of Hindoo devotion, he pulled down the ancient temples, and on their ruins erected mosques of the same height and dimensions: he even proceeded to an atrocity beyond this—indeed beyond all precedent in the annals of sacrilegious barbarity. According to Thevenot there was at Ahmedabad a pagoda of singular beauty, adorned with many statues and other symbols of Hindoo worship. Not content with defacing those offensive sculptures, Aurungzeb well knowing the reverence of the Hindoos for the Cow, (with them a sacred animal,) as well as their abhorrence of shedding blood, caused one of those animals to be introduced within its walls, and ordered its throat to be cut in the very sanctuary.† Goaded to vengeance by these unheard of profanations, as well as by the heavy exactions universally imposed upon them throughout the empire—upon *them*, while his

* Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 67, ubi supra.

† Thevenot's Indian Travels, part iii. p. 8.

Mahommedan subjects were but slightly assessed—the whole body of Rajapouts, with the three great Rajahs of Chitore, of Abmir, and of Joudpour, at their head, rushed to arms, breathing war and vengeance. These potent native sovereigns, whose dominions were situated in the very centre of Hindostan, were able, when united, to bring into the field little less than 200,000 fighting men, and against these Aurungzeb, having first summoned to his aid the troops in the distant provinces, marched from Delhi towards the close of the year 1678, at the head of two armies, one commanded by himself in person, the other by his sons, Azem and Akber. He himself, with his division, entered the Rana's country with intent to invest the great and ancient city of Chitore, which had been taken and plundered by Akber a century before,* but had again erected its venerable head among surrounding ruins, and been decorated with many new and sumptuous buildings. In this arduous attempt, having advanced too far, and without proper intelligence, among the defiles of that mountainous region, he got hemmed in with all his army, insuperable precipices obstructing his progress in front, while behind him great trees, felled by the Rajapouts who harassed his rear, blocked up his retreat. In another quarter too Udeperri, the favourite Circassian wife of Aurungzeb, who had accompanied him in this dangerous war, with her whole retinue and escort, was inclosed. By the generosity of the Rana, for which he was afterwards but ill repaid, by the plunder and destruction of his noble capital, both were liberated when wholly in his power; and the Hindoo only requested, in return, that the emperor would refrain from destroying the sacred animals of their religion that might still be left in the plains. Aurungzeb, however, imputing his forbearance to the fear of future vengeance, continued the war with increased acrimony,

* See of this vol. p. 9.

burning and plundering wherever he came; and, in his merciless bigotry, seemed determined to extirpate both the Hindoos and their gods.

In this merciless career of blood, however, he was at length compelled to pause, for, having got a second time into a similar dilemma from which he with the utmost difficulty extricated himself, he then determined no longer personally to expose himself to difficulties beyond his age and constitution, but committing the war to his sons took up his residence with his whole court at Ajmere, whence he could with ease direct their operations against the objects of his vengeance. They continued the campaign in the true spirit of their father, each in a different part of the country, but neither, at the end of the year 1679, had forced the ultimate passes of the mountains.*

In the spring of the following year died the renowned Sevajee, that perpetual thorn in the side of Aurungzeb, with whom either in person or by his lieutenants, he had been at war during his whole life, and to curb whom he had been obliged to keep a regular army constantly in the field. He was succeeded by his son Sambajee, equally invulnerable in the field, and in death itself invincible! The spring of the same year, also, saw the imperial standard exalted on the ramparts of the vast and ruined city of Chitore, which the troops of Azem had taken by surprize, and who, in return for the preservation of the life of his father and the Sultana, again consigned her palaces to plunder, and her temples, and idols to the devouring flames. The city that in western India had continued the sanctuary of the Hindoo religion and government for above a thousand years was indeed taken and despoiled, but the Rana and the Rajapouts were unsubdued. The former had retreated to Joudpour, and the latter in immense

* Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 86.

bodies still kept the field, hardy as their rocks, and immoveable as their mountains. At this instant Aurungzeb was doomed to feel a portion of those pangs which his conduct had inflicted on Shah Jehan. His favourite son, Akber, raised the standard of rebellion; and was immediately joined by 30,000 Rajapouts. He proceeded farther; he sent his general, a resolute Patan, to assassinate his father, at midnight, in his camp. The villain had nearly accomplished his purpose, for he had reached the tent wherein Aurungzeb reposed, when he was discovered, and cut to pieces by the guard. The other sons, Sultan Mauzim and Azem, whom Akber equally detested with his father, as alike obstacles to his mounting the throne, immediately hastened to the aid of the Emperor; who had already contrived, by one of those deep-laid stratagems which he so frequently put in practice, to detach from him the great body of the Rajapout army, in consequence of which he retired towards Guzzurat. Sultan Mauzim had orders, with the army under his command, to follow the fugitive prince, whithersoever he fled, and not to quit the pursuit, till he was taken. Akber, however, with 500 faithful attendants, eluded the pursuit, and contrived to reach the dominions of Sambajee, by whom he was kindly received, and with whom, being afterwards reinforced by vast numbers of deserters from the other armies, he united his forces to annoy his father. Thus united, they became indeed formidable, and Sambajee publicly announced his intention of marching with 50,000 horse to Brampore, and there proclaiming him Emperor of the Moguls.

This bold declaration, added to the undaunted character of the chief who made it, inspired Aurungzeb with alarms similar to those which he had experienced on the march towards Delhi of the Patans with the fictitious Sujah at their head. The war with the Rajapouts and idolatry was now become of inferior

consideration, and he readily consented to proposals for an accommodation with the chiefs of that nation. This was effected without the *capitation* tax, which he had laid on the Hindoo devotees being either rescinded, or insisted upon; but not without the surrender of many invaluable districts conquered from the Rana, and the Rajah of Joudpour, by Shah Jehan, and his successor. The three grand imperial armies being now at liberty, commenced their march, and arrived at their places of destination nearly at the same time. Sultan Azem's at Ahmednagar, Mauzim's at Aurungabad, and Aurungzeb's himself at that very capital, Brampore, where his rebellious son was threatened to be proclaimed. The concentrated force of these armies was for nearly three years with various success directed on the land-side against Sambajee, while the Mogul fleets, under the Siddees, furiously but ineffectually attacked his coast. Akber, however, perceiving the utter inability of his protector to place him on the throne of the Moguls, prudently withdrew from the operations of the field, and shortly after retired into Persia, where he married the sister of the reigning monarch, and whence neither the threats nor the promises of Aurungzeb could ever draw him.

During these contests with Sambajee, in 1683 the king of Visiapore died, and Aurungzeb immediately sent Sultan Azem with a great army to seize upon that kingdom, which, together with Golconda and the whole peninsula, he resolved before his return northward should be incorporated with the empire. Though greatly reduced in the extent of his dominions by the inroads of the Moguls and Sambajee, the prince of that country was still formidable; for both MYSORE, *then divided among several Rajahs*, of whom the chief and most considerable was he of Seringapatam, and many other countries to the south and west, were tributaries to that monarch, and the king of Golconda

convinced that the fall of Visiapore would infallibly bring on his own, was ever ready with an overflowing treasury to supply his pecuniary necessities. Azem, in consequence, before the end of June 1684, was, according to Mr. Orme's authorities,* defeated in two pitched battles, by Ballal Khan, the protector of the kingdom during the young king's minority, in the last of which he was dangerously wounded; and his military operations in that quarter were for the present suspended. Great disturbances in the mean time, had arisen in the neighbourhood of Agra and Guzzurat, which were infested by bands of robbers, owing to the Emperor's long residence in the Deccan; and the Rajapouts were again in motion, burning with unsatiated revenge for the unatoned grievances they had endured. No consideration, however, could induce Aurungzeb to drop the project of conquering the remainder of Deccan. He sent detachments sufficient to exterminate the banditti, and keep in check the rebels; but he himself, collecting all his forces, in the following year, marched into Visiapore at the head of an army three times larger than that country could produce, and encamped at no great distance from the capital. Mighty as was his force, yet according to the usual plan of this wonderful man, of preferring, where practicable, stratagem to compulsion, he was lavish of his promises and his treasures among the chief officers of both the government and army of Visiapore, to procure their defection; and by this means in a short time his confidence of ultimate success was so strong, that he detached Sultan Mauzim with a large proportion of the army to attack the king of Golconda, of whose secretly acting in concert with Visiapore and Sambajee he had received authentic intelligence

The reigning sovereign of Golconda, a weak and voluptuous

* Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 141.

prince, was entirely governed by two insolent and avaricious Brahmins, hated and despised by the principal nobles, who were Mahommedans, and the particular objects of detestation to Ibrahim Khan, the Captain General. Acquainted with these circumstances, and formed of the same subtle cast of mind with his father, though more generous in his disposition, Sultan Mauzim tried the same experiment on this chief, and many of the discontented Omrahs as Aurungzeb had tried in Visiapore, and speedily procured their defection. Rustum Roy, his general, who succeeded Ibrahim, was neither of such personal valour, nor so expert in arms, as his predecessor, and retreated towards the capital, Hyderabad, of which Mauzim took unresisted possession. The pusillanimous king had long before shut himself up in the fortress of Golconda, which Mauzim immediately invested, and dreading to add a crown to his own reputation, which his father had once attempted, but failed to seize, listened to the overtures of the king, who to preserve his diadem, proffered the humblest submission, with a great quantity of gold, and the most precious diamonds of his mines. Although this was not a *conquest*, but a *compromise*; yet on the terms being referred to Aurungzeb, who was at this time fully occupied in Visiapore, he permitted the prince to conclude them.

By the gradual but certain operation of magnificent largesses, distributed by Aurungzeb among the chiefs of Visiapore, the king of that country found his army so reduced in number, that, selecting that portion of it on which he could place the firmest dependence, he retired into his capital, but not thinking himself safe within its walls, which, however, were capable of resistance, and contained a still stronger citadel, he retreated to a neighbouring fort, situated on an inexpugnable rock, and left his more experienced generals to defend the city. After two or three

vigorous assaults that city surrendered, about the middle of June 1686, and Secunder, the unfortunate young monarch himself, being severely pressed, and seeing no chance of escape, capitulated for the preservation of his life, and the possession of his women and children. He appeared before Aurungzeb in *silver chains*, and humbled himself to the dust in the presence of his haughty victor.

Notwithstanding the terms granted by Aurungzeb to the King of Golconda, terms intended, on the part of the former, at the time, not to be adhered to, he now commenced the march for that capital, against the repeated remonstrances of Sultan Mauzim, who declared aloud that the ambition of the Emperor was about to sacrifice the honour of his son pledged to that monarch. His opposition was so strenuous, that his father put both himself and his two elder sons under arrest, while by a circuitous route, as if on his return to Delhi, he proceeded to the accomplishment of his treacherous project. At Calberga, a fortified city in the direct line of his march, exists one of the most celebrated mosques in all the Deccan, containing the shrine of a Mahommedan saint of renowned sanctity. Aurungzeb requested the King of Golconda's permission to offer up his devotions at this shrine. Permission was immediately given, and a present of 500,000 gold mohurs was at the same time forwarded by the abject monarch. Unappeased by this magnificent offering, the imperial hypocrite, after paying his devotions, advanced from Calberga with all his banners against Golconda. The fortresses in their way were rapidly taken; Rustum Roy, who again commanded the army of Golconda, could make no effectual opposition; and the Mogul army, advancing to its walls, invested that strong fortress in the month of January, 1687. Aurungzeb himself conducted the siege, and fixed his own quarters in the city of Hyderabad.

The walls and ramparts inclosing Golconda are six miles in circumference. Above them is another circuit, narrower, but much stronger; and fashioned in some parts out of the native rock. With immense labour the besiegers raised and carried on a lofty mound or terrace of earth, sufficient for the display of several batteries, until the assailants and defendants were brought to fight on the same level. A vigorous sally of the besieged, in April, enabled them to gain possession of the mound, and they maintained it until they had ruined the batteries, with all the artillery, and part of the mound itself. The rains setting in, shortly after, prevented further operations, and the arrival of Sultan Azem, in August, with fresh troops and artillery, gave new spirits and vigour to the besiegers, while the garrison, who had no provisions against a long siege, nor expected any succours, were struck with proportionate dismay. At length, after bribes properly distributed among the principal commanding officers, on the 27th of September, a general attack was made by night, and the garrison, exhausted by famine and fatigue, after a slight resistance, were overpowered, and for the most part cut in pieces. The unfortunate young king himself, who had taken shelter in the meanest office of his palace, was dragged out of his lurking place before the conqueror, who treated him with marked indignity, and Aurungzeb is even said to have afterwards inflicted the scourge, to extort a discovery of treasures supposed to be concealed.*

* Orme, p. 154; Havart's Golconda, p. 232; Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 74, under the year 1690, which is three years later than the date of Mr. Orme's authorities, but the latter being taken from the Company's annals at Madras are, I think, decisive. A letter from two officers at Golconda to the governor of Madras, dated the 15th of October, 1687, says, "*We are informed this day that the Mogul took Golconda eighteen days since*; and that he has given the Carnatic government to Mahommed

Thus, finally, and for ever, were the once potent kingdoms of Visiapore and Golconda, that had resisted for two centuries all the power of the Delhi monarchs, torn from their ancient Mahommedan sovereigns, and added to the vast empire of the Mogul. To subjugate the other yet unconquered portion of the peninsula was the arduous effort of the remainder of the prolonged life of this indefatigable man; who, in spite of increasing age and infirmities, for he was now in his 73d year, continued till his death almost constantly in the field. This is principally to be attributed to the rapidly increasing power and number of the Mahratta nation, now burning with implacable revenge on account of his barbarity towards Sambajee, who about this period was betrayed into his hands, and whose melancholy end has been before related.* The Carnatic, of old dependent on Golconda, the Mysore, tributary to Visiapore, and the Rajahs of Tanjore, Tritchinopoly, and other smaller kingdoms, were quickly reduced; but the Mahrattas under Sahojee, the son of Sambajee, obstinately disputed with the imperial army every foot of ground, and often by daring attacks on their rear, and by cutting off their supplies, reduced them to the greatest straits in a country devastated by perpetual war. We are also informed in the History of Deccan of another reason for the long protraction of the war in that region. It is there stated that the officers and great Omrahs were in general remiss in their military efforts, and purposely prolonged the war in the south, for the sake of the immense plunder to be obtained in those rich and yet unconquered regions; that if they had performed their duty at the head of such powerful armies as they commanded, the

Ibrahim, who is coming down to possess himself of it." See the notes to Historical Fragments, p. 297.

† See page 325 preceding.

Mahratta power must have been crushed by them with ease, but they feared lest when the Emperor should have finally reduced the peninsula, his restless and indomitable passion for war would induce him to carry his arms to Candahar and Balk, which expeditions were disagreeable to the nobility, who were far from wishing to encounter the hardships of a northern campaign, among a people brave, robust, disciplined to war, and totally destitute of gems and gold; those splendid incentives to a southern one.* From this severe censure must be excluded those great and intrepid generals, Zoolfeccar Khan, and Ghazi-o'deen Khan, names inharmonious perhaps to an European ear, but causing the heart of the valiant in Asia to bound with transport—the latter, the father of the great Nizam-al-Muluck, conspicuous in the van of every battle; the former, general in chief during this extended period, of whom it is recorded that, in the small space of six months, he had no less than nineteen actions with the enemy, and pursued them from place to place, above 3000 coss (6000 miles) in marches and counter-marches.† Into the particulars of these events, however, of neither prominent interest nor magnitude sufficient to engage the attention of the general historian, which occurred between this period and the death of Aurungzeb, it is not necessary for us to enter. Imperiously urged to brevity by the pressure of grand and interesting events, yet unrecorded, we hasten to the termination of a reign in which the chain of important facts, worthy of distinguished notice, closes with the conquest of Golconda.

The great object, upon which so many years of his life had been employed, the reduction of the peninsula being accomplished, exhausted with age and worn, as he himself affectingly says, to skin and bone, Aurungzeb retired, a few weeks previous

* Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 97. † Ibid, p. 109.

to his death, into winter quarters at Ahmednagur. There, finding his dissolution rapidly approaching, at the advanced age of 90, some glimpses of remorse appear to have broken in upon a mind long rendered callous by crimes and blood. There are two letters written by him, a short time before that awful event took place, to his sons Azem and Kambuksh, which display evident symptoms of its perturbed state. They are too important to be omitted, and are inserted below: they are, I presume, verbal translations, but ambition and cruelty may derive from the perusal of them a most impressive lesson. They are the dying declaration of an Aurungzeb!!!*

* *To* AZIM SHAH.

HEALTH to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. *The instant which passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire.* My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling, (conscience,) but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. *The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but skin and bone.* My son, (Kaum Buksh,) though gone towards Visiapore, is still near: and thou, my son, art yet nearer. The worthy of esteem, Shah Aulum, is far distant; and my grandson, (Azeem Ooshaun,) by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindostan. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are, like myself, full of affliction; restless as the quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. *I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished.* Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but, when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel on the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensibly incumbent. Give my last benedictions to my grandson, (Bedar Bukht,) whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Begum (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The

On Friday the 21st of February, 1707, after performing his morning devotions, in company with his attendants, he exclaimed,

foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell! farewell! farewell!

To the Prince KAMBUKSH.

MY son, nearest to my heart. Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice, and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of compliance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprizing Providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deserted me. The fever, which troubled me for twelve days, has left me. *Wherever I look, I see nothing but the Divinity!* My fears for the camp and followers are great; but, alas! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the powers of motion. The breath which rose, is gone, and left not even hope behind it. *I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishment I may be seized.* Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent also on the faithful, and my sons. When I was alive, no care was taken; and now I am gone, the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons. Azem Shah is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or their miseries fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son, to God, as I myself am going. *The agonies of death come upon me fast.* Bahadur Shah is still where he was, and his son is arrived near Hindostan. Bedar Bukht is in Guzzurat. Hyaut al Nissa, who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begum as without concern. Odiporee, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.

The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet must not be ill-treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no lower than your skirt. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Dara Shekhoh, though of much judgment and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were ever discontented. *I am going.* Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done to yourself; that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. *No one has seen the departure of his own soul; but I see that mine is departing.**

* See Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 9.

"Oh! that my death may happen on a Friday, for blessed is he who dieth on that day!" Soon after he had occasion to retire. Upon his return towards his bed, he had begun his ablutions, and had made one sprinkling; when suddenly his spirit fled into the boundless expanse of space. His hands remained clasped, and in tremulous motion for some time after he had ceased to breathe.———*

Thus, at an age to which few of the human race attain, the effect of abstinence and activity, expired the merciless destroyer of his family, and scourge of the persecuted Hindoos. For his atrocious conduct to his father, his brothers, and their children, it is impossible to form any apology; his persecution of the Hindoos may be accounted for, though not excused, in the intolerant principles of the Mahommedan faith, of which, whether conscientiously or hypocritically, he through life acted as a rigid devotee. If hypocritically, we cannot but admire the unshaken fortitude with which, during so prolonged a life, he submitted to privations of every kind while presiding in the most luxurious court, and wielding the richest sceptre, of Asia; if solely guided by the dictates of conscience, we are astonished that in other important matters its solemn dictates should have been so entirely disregarded. His diet consisted for the most parts of herbs and pulse; no fermented liquor ever passed his lips; in the pleasures of his seraglio he was, at least, more temperate than his predecessor; keeping, indeed, according to the custom of the Asiatics, a number of women, but rather for ostentation than use. He allowed himself but little time for sleep or meals, and that portion of his active day that was not devoted to the hearing of petitions and other public business in the Hall of Audience, was passed in a perpetual routine of prayer, ablution, and reading

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 10.

the Koran. Except on public festivals the vest he wore seldom exceeded the value of eight rupees; nor were his sash and tiara loaded with jewels. In camp he was the most indefatigable man of his whole army; rising early, retiring late to rest, and in his younger days he generally slept on the bare ground, wrapt up in the skin of a tiger.

Adverting to his more public character, we find Aurungzeb as a sovereign, though deeply stained with blood, yet otherwise endowed with many excellent qualities. He was accomplished in literature beyond most princes of the house of Timur. He was a complete master of the Persian and Arabic languages, and he wrote with fluency that of his ancestors, the Moguls. He patronized and corresponded with learned men throughout his dominions; and wrote with his own hand many of the government dispatches, which were remarkable for their brevity and precision. He erected many schools and universities in different quarters of his empire; stored them with books in every branch of learning; appointed over them the most able masters; and endowed them with competent salaries from the funds of the empire.

By nature of an austere and unsocial disposition, and superstitious by habit, if not from principle, he discouraged gaming and intrigues among the nobles of his court; and the long train of dancers, singers, actors, and buffoons in which his father Shah Jehan took so much delight were banished from his palace, as destructive of morals, and degrading to majesty. His inflexible administration of justice has been already noticed. The highest rank could not arrest, nor even the wealth of Golconda avert, its two-edged sword, when lifted high to strike the guilty head; and the princes, his sons, were no more exempt from punishment than the meanest of his subjects. He seemed to think himself the

only person privileged to commit crimes with impunity, and brave the united vengeance of earth and heaven.

From long experience he was thoroughly versed in the detail of the affairs of his vast empire; from his early youth in full confidence of attaining the diadem, he had formed notes and memoranda, and kept a register of every important transaction, to which he constantly referred. Of the governors of his numerous provinces he was intimately acquainted with the disposition and talents, whether warlike or pacific, and of their conduct in those governments. Of the principal officers of his army, though that army consisted of nearly half a million, he was well acquainted with the respective merits; and of his revenues, amounting to 32 millions sterling, he knew all the particulars of the expenditure. Enormous as they were, they were not idly dissipated, or avariciously hoarded; but seem to have been scrupulously applied to the exigencies of the state. In proof of this it may be urged that at the decease of this master of so many millions, in his private treasury were found no more than 57,382 rupees, or about 7000l. sterling; and this puissant monarch could afford to leave only 125l. to be distributed, in largesses, to the poor who attended his funeral.

With respect to the person of Aurungzeb, the traveller Gemelli, who saw him in 1695, when nearly 80 years old, at his camp in Visiapore, and was admitted to an audience of him, describes him as being of stature rather below the middle size, of a slender make, having an aquiline nose, an olive complexion, like all the other descendants of Timur, and a white beard. He walked, leaning on a staff, formed like a crosier; for age had in some degree bowed his back; but had not dimmed the lustre of his eye. There were in his manners great complacency and affability, and a benignity reigned in his features which we too well know was foreign to his actions, and his heart.

Aurungzeb left three sons, the eldest of whom, Mahommed Mauzim, was, at the time of his father's death, at his government of Cabul. The loyalty of this prince, we have seen in a former page, was not without reason suspected by his father, who had in consequence imprisoned him for six years, but at the expiration of that term had released and pardoned him. Azem, the second surviving son, was with his father in Deccan, and was evidently the favourite. Kambuksh, the youngest, was resident in the newly conquered government of Visiapore. Aurungzeb also left a *short will*,* which, both for its moral and its historical importance, is inserted below, and which, while it demonstrates

* AURUNGZEB'S LAST WILL.

I came empty-handed into the world, and empty-handed I quit it. Whoever of my fortunate children shall chance to rule the empire, let him not molest Mahommed Kambuksh, should he rest contented with the two new Soubahs.*

There cannot be a better Vizier than Emir-al-Omra.

Let all the King's servants be true and faithful to Mahommed Azem Shah.

Whoever shall chance to have the empire, let him not turn out or molest those born or bred up in my house.

If the division I formerly made proves agreeable to my children, it will prevent a great deal of confusion and bloodshed.

There are two imperial seats, Agra and Delhi; whoever settles in Agra may have the province thereof, Deccan, Malva, and Guzzurat.

And who resides at Delhi may have Cabul and the other provinces.

I came naked into the world, and naked I go out of it. Let no ensigns or royal pomp accompany my funeral; let Hamid-o'din-Khan, who is faithful and trusty, convey my corpse to the place of Shah Zen-al-din, and make a tomb for it, in the same manner as is done for Derveishes;† let not my fortunate children give themselves any concern about a monument.

There is in my private treasury 57,382 rupees;‡ let 1000 rupees§ be distributed among the poor at my funeral.‖

* The two new Soubahs are Visiapore and Hyderabad, so called, as being lately conquered by Aurungzeb.

† The tombs for Derveishes are made low and plain, without any manner of ornament.

‡ 7172*l.* 15*s.* § 125*l.* ‖ Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 37.

his wishes in regard to their future destiny, manifestly expresses his apprehension that a civil war would take place between them. He appears, however, in this instance, to have been deserted by his usual foresight and sagacity; for by not resolutely appointing either Mauzim or Azem his successor in the empire, he seems himself to have lighted the fatal brand whose flames consumed his progeny.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Printed by W. Bulmer and Co.
Cleveland-row, St. James's.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

MODERN HISTORY OF INDIA;

BRINGING THAT

HISTORY DOWN TO THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1788,

WHEN THE

IMPERIAL MOGUL DYNASTY,

BY THE BLINDING AND DETHRONEMENT

OF

SHAH AULUM,

VIRTUALLY BECAME EXTINCT.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S;
AND SOLD BY J. WHITE, FLEET-STREET.
1810.

PREFACE.

I HAVE at length the honour of presenting to the public the concluding pages of the History of Hindostan, brought down to the year of our Lord 1788, when the late Shah Aulum was blinded and dethroned, and the glory of the Mogul Dynasty, a race of princes who had swayed its imperial sceptre during a period of nearly 300 years, became utterly extinguished! This portion of its history will be found by no means the least interesting; and I have only to lament that it makes its appearance before the public so late, and in this supplemental form. It was impossible, consistently with other occupations, earlier to complete the arduous work, and the form is that which necessity dictated. This concluding portion being of so slender a bulk, it was thought proper to carry on the pages from the former volume, in order that, by those who please, it may be bound up with it. The work, however, is distinct and complete in itself; containing the final section of the History, from the death of Aurungzeb to the subversion of the Mogul empire.

In this latter period of the Indian history, it was necessary to have recourse to an infinite variety of works, published both in Europe and Asia, of which the most important are occasionally pointed out in the notes; but it was deemed useless to burthen

the page with multiplied references on subjects so recent. It may be proper, however, to inform the reader, that the basis of what is here submitted to his candid consideration is a work written in Persian, by an author mentioned in the letter to me from Sir W. Jones, inserted below, GHOLAM HOSSAIN KHAN, a native nobleman of Bahar, and the title of it is SEIR MUTAKHAREEN, or a View of Modern Times.*

* This letter was an answer to one which I had sent him, containing proposals for a General History of India; but upon a more limited scale than that upon which I was afterwards encouraged to undertake it.

Chrishna-Nagar, 10th October, 1790.

Dear Sir,

It is not possible for me to forget the pleasure which I have received from your conversation, and the opinion which I always entertained of your parts and industry. The arduous undertaking, of which I have just perused the plan, fully justifies my opinion; but I am so oppressed with a heavy arrear of business, that I cannot write at large on the subject of it. I will desire my agent in London to subscribe for me, and will do all I can to promote the subscription here. Such is the expense of printing at Calcutta, that it would cost thirty pounds sterling to reprint the pamphlet; but the proposals shall be reprinted, and carefully circulated. I am confident that you might learn Persian in six months, (if you have not learned it already,) so well at least as to read the original text of FERISHTA, whose work, with submission, is very *highly esteemed* by all learned Indians and Indian scholars. To an historian I must express every truth, even though friendship might induce me to conceal it; * * * * * * * * * * * * * *. Let me, at the same time, exhort you not wholly to rely on *my* authority; for, though I have diligently avoided errors, yet I have made many: for instance, *Por*, a word which I found for *Porus* in the Shah-Nameh, is, I now find, pronounced *Pur*, or *Poor*, by the native Persians; and I have reason to believe, from Sanscrit authorities, that the true name of that prince was PAURAVA. If you read Persian, Mr. Boughton Rouse will, I dare say, lend you the Modern History of India, by GHOLAM HOSSAIN. Farewell, my Dear Sir, and believe me to be, with great regard,

Your ever faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM JONES.

It must ever be a subject of deep regret to me, that I did not on the receipt of that letter resolutely sit down, and make myself master of the Persian language, at least so far (to use the President's words) as to translate Ferishta. But at the time of life at which I received that advice it is rather irksome to return to the Grammar, and Persian books, and MSS. were not quite so common as, happily for Eastern literature, they are at present. I had, also, at that period, the honour of being known to some distinguished Persian scholars, who, on my solicitation, would at any time have translated for me any difficult passages in Ferishta, or Hossain. Both those authors, however, had been already translated; sufficiently well for all the purposes of general history; and the reader will be pleased constantly to bear in mind that it is the grand *outline*, the *leading incidents* only of the Indian History which I have attempted to pourtray and record in a regular and connected manner; not with a view to inform Indian scholars, but to gratify individuals, unlearned in the lore of Brahma, to whom such a connected history was a *desideratum*. Colonel Dow's translation of the former is not destitute of elegance; but, unfortunately, that of Hossain by Mustapha, a Frenchman, converted to Mahommedism, and settled in Bengal, is in that respect greatly deficient. Facts, however, were my object; I cared little about the vehicle in which they were conveyed; and from the specimen of those parts of the original author with which Colonel Scott has obliged the public, however defective the language, and, sometimes, even the grammar of Mustapha may prove, the facts themselves, in general, seem to be narrated with fidelity.

This work of Gholam Hossain* commences at the death of

* The Persian original is in two folio volumes; the English version in three quarto volumes, price TEN GUINEAS! Calcutta printed, 1788.

Aurungzeb, with which event my second volume concluded, and carries us down through *seven* reigns of Mogul emperors, the seven last emperors; if indeed, after the calamitous visitation of Nadir Shah, the term *emperor* may with any propriety be used. The names of those emperors are Bahadur, Jehandur, Ferokhseer, Mahommed Shah, Ahmed Shah, Aulumgeer, and Shah Aulum; for Hossain seems not to have numbered among the legitimate sovereigns of Hindostan the two young and unfortunate princes, for a few months exalted to the imperial musnud, after the death of Ferokhseer, by the rebel SEYDS.

The same work, also, contains what I am given to understand from very respectable authority is a tolerably impartial account of English transactions in India. That circumstance, however, was not of very material importance to this history, for though I have brought the Mogul annals down nearly to the close of the 18th century, I found myself compelled by the forcible arguments adduced in page 639 following, to decline bringing the military transactions of the English in Coromandel lower down in time than the expulsion of the French from Pondicherry in 1761; and those of Bengal, posterior to the important period of the appointment of the Company to the DUANNY, in 1765. Of so extensive, various, and complicated a nature are those details it was found by the lowest computation, as there truly stated, that they could not be comprised in less than two large additional volumes, and the leading facts are already before the public in a variety of very esteemed publications, for the most part composed by the Company's civil or military officers on the spot.

After all I must be allowed to observe, that, however important these events of a century or two back may appear, and are in fact to us, as Britons, they are still but of inferior

moment, of subordinate interest, when compared with the great line and majestic march of its genuine history, which is principally concerned, in recording the struggles for empire, through a series of ages of the two great powers, HINDOO and MAHOMMEDAN. We have seen and traced those mighty struggles from the first invasion of India, by the generals of the Caliph Valid in the eighth century, nearly three hundred years before Ferishta's history of the Gaznavide sovereigns commences, and have brought them regularly down to the last dreadful battle of Paniput, illumining and expanding, as we proceeded, the narration of Ferishta, by the information derived from Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, Al Makin, Mirkhond, and the native historians of Gengis, of Timur, of Nadir Shah, and Abdallah.

The more ancient of these valuable Persian and Arabian authors had already been presented to the public, with elegant Latin versions, by Pocock, Erpenius, Reiske, Gagnier, and other learned orientalists of the last century; were procured by me with much difficulty; at great expense; and perused with that attention, which was necessary to prepare me to write on the subject of an Asiatic history. For India, in fact, constitutes so large a portion of Asia, and has been for so many ages the object of plunder to the most celebrated warriors of the East, that its history on the large scale, as well ancient as modern, naturally embraces a very considerable proportion of that of the continent on which it stands. The adventurous author therefore, who engages in that history, must be provided with materials proportionate to the magnitude and extent of his subject.

Whoever will please to consult my list of books expressly collected for the purpose, and inserted in the first Volume of Indian Antiquities, (edited so far back as 1792) will find these

authors, besides an infinity of others scarcely less rare or costly, with the dates of their respective editions, as here enumerated.

Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriani, Auctore J. S. Bayer,	Petropoli, 1738.
Abulfedæ Annales Muslemici, Arab. et Lat. 5 tom.	Hafniæ, 1789.
Abulfaragii Hist. Dynast. Arab. et Lat. Pocockii, quarto,	Oxon. 1663.
Abulfaragii Specimen Hist. Arab. Opera Pocockii, quarto,	Oxon. 1659.
Al Makin's Hist. Saracenica, Studio Erpenii, quarto,	Lugd. Bat. 1625.
Ulug Beg's Epochæ Celebriores et Chorasmia,	Oxford, 1650.
Abulgazi Bahadur Khan's Hist. Genealog. des Tartars, octavo,	Leyden, 1726.
Maffeii Historia Indica, folio,	Amsterdam, 1589.
Abulfedæ Vita Mohammedis, Studio Johannis Gagnier, folio,	Oxon. 1723.
Historia Priorum Regum Persarum, Mirkhond.	Viennæ, 1782.
Sherefeddin's Life of Timur Bec, by M. Petit le Croix, 2 vols. octavo,	Lond. 1723.
M. Petit le Croix Hist. of Gengis Khan, octavo,	Lond. 1722.
Mirkhond's History of Persia, octavo,	Lond. 1715.
Dr. White's Institutes of Timur, Persian and English, quarto,	Oxon. 1783.
Ahmed Arabsaidæ (Ahmed Arabshah) Vitæ, et Rerum Gestarum Timuri, Hist. Arabicè et Latinè, Opera S. N. Manger, 3 vols. quarto,	Leovardiæ, 1767

A short account of each of these works, and their authors, is given in the prefatory chapter of the second book of this history,* under date A.D. 600, previously to my commencing the history of the Mahommedan invasions.

It is not from ostentation that I have ventured to mention these facts, and appealed to these early and incontrovertible testimonies of my zeal and diligence, but to vindicate myself from the charge brought against me by certain Reviewers, of having undertaken to write a history without any knowledge of the subject. Of however little value my continued labours, at once injurious to my health, and ruinous to my circumstances, may appear in certain quarters, my exertions at this period of the history so forcibly struck Dr. White, the Arabick professor

* See Modern History, Vol. I. p. 168.

at Oxford, that in a letter addressed to me soon after the publication of my first Volume in 1804, he condescended to encourage me to proceed, in terms almost too flattering to be repeated. His very friendly letter concluded with these words, " Your Modern History of Hindostan is, in my opinion, a performance of unrivalled merit. It is at once, most classically elegant, most truly judicious, and most highly interesting."

Thus much for Mussulman and other writers, from the age of Mahommed downwards. I agree in opinion with the Reviewers, above alluded to, that the Modern History of India properly begins at the period of their earliest invasion of that country, and the term Classical History of India, which I had applied to the period terminating with the death of Alexander, should have been continued down to the birth of the Arabian impostor. In this division of the work I stand before a higher tribunal than the Judicature of Bengal, and with confidence, because I am not conscious of having neglected to take the advantage of any light that could be thrown on the history of India by classical writers from Herodotus to Cosmas, or of having omitted to compare their accounts with whatever has been yet published from Sanscrit sources of information in Europe. The cause of this portion of the work appearing of such limited extent and inferior importance, notwithstanding it embraces several centuries, arises from this circumstance, that, in composing it, I adhered closely to *historical fact*, although, by intermingling, as has usually been done by preceding anthors on India, elaborate descriptions of the arts, the sciences, the civil and religions institutions of the Indians, with the substance of the history, I might have swelled this particular portion of the work to an immense bulk. I had, however, previously in

a manner exhausted that subject, and thrown the whole mass of information derived from that source into the volumes of Indian Antiquities. This was done at a very early period of the undertaking by the advice of a Person of very distinguished rank in life and literature, and whose own Lectures on Modern History, which I attended at Oxford, would, if published, reflect upon him the highest honour. It was the decided opinion of this accomplished judge of historical composition, that I should avoid incumbering the page with matter not immediately relevant to the history; but clear my way by throwing every thing of that kind, arranged under their proper heads, into previous *dissertations*, which readers might consult at their pleasure. "If you do not this," added he, "you may depend upon it your book will lose half its interest, and will probably be condemned to moulder on the shelves of your bookseller." This advice gave birth in my mind to the first idea of composing the Indian Antiquities, and if the public have been at all gratified by that publication, they are indebted for that gratification to the present Right Honourable and learned Judge of the Admiralty Court. This advice was obligingly accompanied by a list of subscribers to the intended publication of the very first rank in literature, among whom were Mr. Windham and Sir Joshua Reynolds. Shortly after, the gentleman mentioned in Sir William Jones's letter, Mr. Boughton Rouse, brought me another splendid list of names, with the great Edmund Burke at their head, with the addition of some friendly hints from Mr. Burke, upon which I also improved.*

* Mr. Burke, among other things, objected to the title of my book, which at first ran thus, "The History of Hindostan, Sanscreet and Classical, FROM THE BIRTH OF BRAHMA." I explained my meaning to him afterwards in a personal con-

On this interesting subject of the highly flattering encouragement, afforded to this work at its commencement, as I am not likely very soon to appear again as an historian, before the public, I must beg permission to be a little more diffuse.

The anarchical and turbulent times in which these volumes successively made their appearance must ever be remembered, *nor is the danger perhaps yet entirely over.* They were deemed important towards checking the progress of Gallic scepticism, which had erected on the debateable ground of India, and its presumed unfathomable antiquity, its loftiest standard of defiance; and had they not been checked, that ambitious nation would, by this time, probably have planted standards there of a more permanent, they could not of a more fatal, kind. Animated by the genuine spirit of patriotism, several of the greatest and best men of the age stood forward to befriend my infant undertaking. Among these it would be the basest ingratitude to omit mentioning a *third* list, which rapidly followed, the spontaneous generosity of the honourable and ever to be lamented Mr. Elliot, brother-in-law of Mr. Pitt, with the respected name of that great statesman, Mr. Thelluson, Mr. Thornton, and some others; a *fourth*, still more numerous, of the Right Honourable Henry Addington, at that time Speaker of the House of Commons; the munificent goodness of Earls Spencer, Carysfort, and several other noblemen; and the continued friendly offices of the Editors of the British Critic. Nor will the pride of virtuous and gratified ambition permit me to be silent in regard to the

ference, that the Hindoos had various systems of the cosmogony, but that the present was the "Lotos Creation," that is to say, our system commenced at the epoch when Brahma burst from the egg recumbent upon the Lotos that floated on the primordial waters. He was still dissatisfied, and said, "it would appear *affected.*" I instantly, therefore, expunged the obnoxious words.

honourable public testimonies in my favour of the learned, but still unknown author of the Pursuits of Literature; of that excellent scholar and prelate the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, in his Elements of Christian Theology; and that still more substantial proof of desert, the LETTER sent by the late venerable Archbishop of Canterbury, and that most eminent and able judge of classical excellence, the late Earl of Rosslyn, to the East India Directors, in the most express terms recommending my undertaking to the patronage of the Court.

As this was the only instance ever known of such an application in favour of an individual to a great Commercial Company by two such distinguished characters, the one at the head of the Church, and the other of the Law of this country, my hopes were naturally raised to a high pitch; and though by the result not fully gratified, they were not wholly disappointed: I beg respectfully to state, that I *still* encourage hopes, from the justice and liberality of the Company, that the Letter in question, which still stands on their books, may *finally* obtain for my advancing years, some more ample remuneration than it was thought proper at that time to grant, (200*l.*) towards the completion of a work which, with the maps and engravings that illustrate it, has cost many thousands. Nearly twenty years of the best portion of life have been consumed in the composition of this work, and nearly the whole of a not very extensive income has been devoted to its completion, during a series of years in which, unfortunately for me, all the materials of printing have gradually advanced to treble their value at the period of its commencement.

But retrospects are unavailing; it is now completed, and on the comprehensive plan upon which I proposed to execute it, consisting of, 1. THE ANCIENT INDIA, in two volumes, quarto,

with eighteen illustrative engravings. 2. THE MODERN INDIA, also in two quarto volumes, together with this Supplement, and a coloured map of India, by Arrowsmith, according to its latest divisions. And lastly, though first published, THE INDIAN ANTIQUITIES, in seven volumes, octavo, with thirty engravings on quarto plates. This latter work, I must again observe, is an essential appendage to the Ancient India; the contents of those volumes must be considered as illustrations of that work,* and it ought properly to have appeared in a quarto form, to bind up uniformly with the volumes with which they are so inseparably connected.

That a work of this magnitude and extent, and in its early portions so abstruse and intricate, should have been accomplished by an individual, not only unassisted, but pertinaciously obstructed, amidst increasing difficulty and unmerited obloquy, will, by all considerate persons, be thought of as it deserves. However neglected by the present age, when party rage and jealous competition shall be extinguished in the grave, posterity will do justice to my page; and to posterity I appeal with the confidence of a man who has, at least *endeavoured* to merit the applause of his country.

* It may be agreeable to some of the encouragers of this work, to know that an effort of that kind was, some time ago, made; but from the enormous expence attending it, the project was relinquished, when one large volume, elegantly printed by Bulmer, and comprehending nearly three of the octavo volumes, was completed. The whole now remains in that imperfect state, in Mr. Faulder's possession.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

HISTORY OF MODERN INDIA.

Retrospective moral View of Events in the preceding Reign.—Dreadful Battle between the Sultans Mauzim and Azem.—Mauzim victorious, Azem killed—the former ascends the Throne by the name of BAHADUR SHAH.—*The new Emperor marches into Deccan, where his younger Brother, Sultan* KAMBUKSH, *had taken up arms to oppose him.—A Battle ensues, and* KAMBUKSH *is slain.—Origin and History of the* SEIKS.—*The Emperor marches against them; is taken suddenly ill, and dies after a short Reign of six years.—Succeeded by* JEHANDER SHAH, *a weak effeminate Prince, deposed by the* SEYDS.—FURRUKSEER, *who granted their* FIRMAUN *to the English East India Company, deposed and murdered by the same Omrahs.—*RAFFEIH AL DIRJAT *shares the same melancholy Fate.—*RAFFEIH AL DOWLAT, *an Infant, escapes a violent, by a natural, Death.—*MAHOMMED SHAH *vanquishes the* SEYDS, *and restores the imperial Authority.*

THE very singular fact of Aurungzeb having been treated at various periods of his reign with the same marked disobedience as a father, and the same disloyalty, as a sovereign, by four out of his five sons, which Shah Jehan had experienced from himself, is a circumstance that exhibits a memorable proof of the just dispensations of divine Providence. Mahommed, engaged in open rebellion, perished at Gualior. Mauzim, repeatedly im-

plicated in rebellious projects, was imprisoned for six years in Deccan, and had just obtained his liberty when Gemelli visited Aurungzeb's camp in 1695. Fear probably dictated his being sent to Cabul, and kept at as great a distance as possible from the Presence. Akber, the beloved Akber, still more keenly wounded the feelings of his father, by joining the forces of Sambajee, his bitterest enemy! He fled to Ispahan and *died* there in the year preceding the death of his father.* Azem had plotted with his relative the King of Visiapore, previous to the final conquest of that kingdom; but being restored to favour, had ever after maintained unshaken loyalty and affection. Kambuksh, too, the youngest, was deeply infected with the ambition of his brothers, but being yet young, had committed no open act of disloyalty against his father. The preceding pages display to us a dreadful picture of crimes and consequent punishment; and hold up an awful lesson to filial ingratitude and disobedience.

The same indomitable spirit of ambition that led his father to spurn at a divided empire, induced Sultan Azem immediately to commence his march for Agra and Delhi, where he hoped to seize the imperial treasures; nor would he listen to the very generous overtures made him by his elder brother towards an accommodation. A long and severe imprisonment had taught the latter, during his father's life time, the useful doctrine of disguising his sentiments; and one of his own nobles, Eradut Khan, declares it to have been universally reported, under the sanction of the prince himself, that rather than harass the kingdom by new contentions for imperial honours, he would retire into Persia. The jealous Emperor's death, having freed him from restraint, Mauzim also, without delay began his march from Cabul for Delhi and Agra; and by the strenuous exertions

* This fact is asserted in Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 122.

of his wise and faithful minister, Monauim Khan, in whose praises our author is lavish, every means of expeditious advance being rapidly prepared, the treasures both of Delhi and Agra, that had been collecting since the time of Akber, were fortunately secured to him who, as the elder son, seemed to have the greatest claim to them, "treasures that might enable him to support, if he chose, all the troops to be levied in the empire."*

The rival armies met at the river Chambul, which Mauzim had placed in his rear, and seldom in India have two such mighty hosts appeared in arms against each other. That of Mauzim consisted of 170,000 horse and 150,000 foot, 3000 elephants, and 3000 pieces of cannon ;† and that of Azem was little inferior; but it will be recollected that the two princes shared between them the collective forces of the empire, and with the followers and attendants their armies together must have amounted to a million. The battle was fought on the 9th of June 1707, and maintained with an obstinacy equal to the importance of the contest. In fact, the princes fought for the sovereignty of an empire, at that time in extent and wealth unrivalled; their attendants for their ALL. Most of the great Omrahs who had served under Aurungzeb displayed their standards in the line of Mahommed Azem, and the greater part of them fell, together with the two elder sons of Azem. Nevertheless, Azem stood his ground until he was left with only 6000 horse, which were surrounded by ten times the number, when, to avoid the disaster of captivity, and the remembrance of this fatal day, he stabbed himself to the

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 42.

† These numbers may appear improbable, but they are stated to have been of this vast amount both by Orme and Fraser. (Orme's Fragments, p. 307. Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 39.) That of the elephants is least credible, as scarcely half of the number ever appeared at one time in the field.

heart with his poniard. No victory could be more decisive, and Mauzim immediately mounted the throne, and was proclaimed Emperor by the assumed name of BAHADUR SHAH, which he had taken before he left Cabul.

Vengeance, however, still cried from the ground on account of the accumulated murders of Aurungzeb, and another victim was yet demanded from his family to satisfy omnipotent justice. It has been already stated, that a few days before his death he had dispatched Kambuksh "his son, nearest to his heart," being his youngest, and by his favourite Circassian wife, to Visiapore, and his will enjoins that he shall not be molested, if he rested content with that Soubah and Golconda; a third portion certainly, and not the least abundant in riches, of his immense empire. Kambuksh, however, inflamed with even more ardour than his brother Azem for independence, immediately on his arrival at his government, ordered himself to be proclaimed Emperor in the *Kootba*, or public prayers, and coins to be struck in his own name, the decided token of royal distinction. Hurried away by ambition and all the headstrong passions of youth, his conduct is represented by our historian as almost bordering on insanity; on the slightest suspicion devoting to tortures and even to death the most beautiful women of his haram, his most tried friends, and his most faithful servants.* Notwithstanding this intemperate conduct of Kambuksh, as he was the beloved son of Aurungzeb, and invested by that prince himself with the southern governments, the most powerful nobles of Deccan, whether Mussulmans or Hindoos, at first enlisted under his banners; but his perseverance in these atrocious measures soon lost him their support, and the greater part of them retired in disgust to their own districts, where they fortified themselves in the best manner

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 31.

they were able till this contest for the throne should be decided.

Taking advantage of the distracted state of public affairs about this time, also, many of the Rajapouts began to manifest symptoms of disaffection. Indignation at the unrelenting severity with which both their religion and themselves had been treated by Aurungzeb still burned in their bosoms, and they panted to retaliate on the race of Timur the series of injuries under which they had groaned for so many ages. Powerfully impelled by these circumstances, the new Emperor commenced his march for Deccan at the head of an army superior in number by 100,000 men to that which had accompanied his father thither; all the princes of the empire and a vast concourse of nobility attending in his train. Kambuksh had left Visiapore, and encamped at Hyderabad, and Bahadur, anxious to reclaim his brother without having recourse to arms would advance no farther than Aurungabad, whence he wrote to him letters, couched in the most importunate and affectionate terms, requesting that, if possible, their differences might be adjusted, without the shedding of any more fraternal blood. In addition to the two provinces he offered to confer upon him the Nizamut of the Deccan, with unlimited authority in the south, the revenues of all which united, he observed, were equal to half of the revenues of the empire itself. He concluded by declaring that if he assented to this generous proposal he would, after paying a visit to the hallowed tomb of their father, return with all his forces to Hindostan.*

Callous to all the kindness, and deaf to all the remonstrances of his brother, Kambuksh continued his preparations for war with increased activity and vigonr. Independently of the natural

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 34.

impetuosity of his disposition, which disposed him for war rather than peace, he was induced by some religious impostors who had found their way into his court, to believe that destiny had decreed him the empire; and that, in urging his claims, though millions opposed him in battle, he would be invincible. His enthusiastic confidence in the venal predictions of these hypocritical fakeers urged him on to the field, and though deserted by all the Omrahs of ancient family and military renown, who were disgusted with his folly, his tyranny, and his insane reveries, the rash prince, with scarcely twenty thousand men, resolved to risque a general engagement, opposed to an army of ten times that amount. Bahadur, finding every effort towards reconciliation ineffectual, had now advanced within twelve coss of Hyderabad, but still anxious to avoid coming to extremities, employed his faithful Vizier Monauim Khan, by large bribes, and the assurance of the Emperor's forgiveness and favour, to detach from him the few chiefs who yet lingered in his train. His principal generals, Rustum Dill Khan, Syef Khan, and even his foster-brother, Meer Mulling, had resolved to come over, and embrace the protection thus offered; but Kambuksh having gained intelligence of their intended flight, had them all seized and put to death on the same day and hour, and confiscated their effects. Scarcely ten thousand troops now remained with him, and those of the worst Deccan horse, mutinous for pay, and more zealous to plunder their master, than attack the enemy: at the head of this rabble he marched out of Hyderabad, and encamped on a plain three coss from it, in sight of the imperial army.

With difficulty the amiable Emperor restrained his myriads from that assault which must in an instant have overwhelmed his unfortunate brother; but Zoolfeccar, who had not been used to this kind of warfare, and who had long cherished an enmity

against the misguided prince, determined to put an end to it by surrounding and seizing him. With these intentions, but without imparting them to the Emperor, he asked and obtained permission to reconnoitre the enemy, and took care to have with him a detachment sufficiently strong to effect his purpose without the risque of a battle. Kambuksh, however, on the approach of this force, although treble the amount of that under his command, immediately prepared for action, but was almost instantly deserted by his cowardly bands, who took to flight in every direction. A few personal attendants alone remained with the infatuated prince, and from the centre of these, seated on his elephant, with his bow and arrows he dealt destruction on the surrounding foe. Irritated by his obstinate and frantic defence, the assailants discharged several arrows at him, till at length he sunk down on his seat through loss of blood, was taken prisoner, and carried to the imperial tents, where, pale and bleeding, he was placed on a bed adjoining the royal apartments. An affecting scene now took place. The Emperor with benignity and compassion in his looks, and attended by his sons, entered and endeavoured to soothe and console him by every expression of affectionate concern. He remained for a long time sullen, and silent; and though the physicians and surgeons of the household attended, he obstinately refused to have his wounds dressed, though earnestly solicited both by his majesty and his sons. They were mortal, however, and no aid could have availed him. To a variety of questions, put to him with much tender solicitude by his nephews, he returned answers neither kind, nor conciliating. He seemed to think their presence and their queries an intrusion on his dying moments. At length, turning to the Emperor, he said, " there are in a casket upon my elephant some valuable jewels of our

father and my own, of which I beg your majesty's acceptance." After this, he grew faint, and languished in silence till nine at night, when he expired without a groan.

Thus perished the youngest and favourite son of Aurungzeb, the victim of that ambition, and probably also of that *superstition*, which he inherited from his father. Aurungzeb in the letter to him before cited evidently alludes to his headstrong turbulent disposition, which he in vain endeavoured to restrain. In other respects he is said to have been a very accomplished prince. He had an excellent memory, was familiar with the authors, and elegantly wrote the dialects, of Asia. But his passions at times were so boisterous as to disorder his understanding, and he fell a victim to their ungovernable fury.

Having thus successfully concluded the war with his brother, and having paid his devoirs at the tomb of Aurungzeb, at Hyderabad, Bahadur resolved to turn his arms against the Rajapouts, who from the long absence of the imperial troops were in a state bordering on rebellion. The two chiefs of that unconquerable nation had recently strengthened their alliance by an intermarriage; the Rajah Jey Sing having espoused the daughter of Ajeet Sing; and every circumstance seemed to forebode the renewal of those hostilities that devastated India in the reign of Aurungzeb. Just on the eve of this dreadful flame breaking out circumstances arose that imperiously demanded the Emperor's presence in a very distant quarter of the empire, and it became necessary to postpone for a time the vengeance about to be poured on the determined enemies of the house of Timur. Intelligence about this time arrived that the SEIKS had risen in the north in great force, and were ravaging without controul the whole country from the Indus to the Jumna. Of this SECT and NATION, which about this period first began to be

formidable, the following summary account from an authentic source may be acceptable to the reader.

The SEIKS are a tribe of Hindoos, who profess to worship one Invisible Being, omnipotent, omnipresent, and whom they consider as degraded by any similitude or images. In truth, both in theory and practice, they are pure theists. They are descended from one NANEEK of the Kattry or war-cast, who flourished in the province of Lahore towards the close of the 15th century, and who from his eminent piety, and superior talents, was reverenced as a sort of prophet among them. Their GOOROOS, or chiefs, of which they enumerate a long succession, seem also to have been invested with a character both sacred and military, as was anciently the case among many eastern people; at once priests and soldiers. Like the present Hindoos, they are perfectly tolerant in matters of faith; though unlike them the Seiks admit of proselytes, which is doubtless one reason of their rapid increase as a people; since proselytes are made without any other ceremony than an oath, binding them to civil and religious obedience. They abhor, however, the multiplicity of idols displayed in their temples, even though attempted to be apologized for under the mild denomination *of the attributes of the deity personified.* The sacred volumes that contain their theological doctrines are written partly in Sanscreet, and partly in a character invented by Naneek himself.*

For a long period, equally inoffensive in their tenets and blameless in their manners, they remained undisturbed by the Mahommedan governors of Lahore and Multan, where they principally abounded; but their numbers vastly increasing, especially during the latter period of the reign of Aurungzeb, and

* See Mr. Wilkins's account of the SEIKS in Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 289, Calcutta edition.

with their *numbers* their *power*, during the long absence in Deccan of the imperial army; in short, a religious sect becoming gradually converted into a nation of warriors, hardy from their climate, mounted on fleet horses, and panting for independence, it was absolutely necessary to adopt the most instantaneous and vigorous measures for their reduction. Under their present Gooroo or chief, they had extended their ravages on both banks of the Jumna, and the inhabitants of Delhi itself were struck with consternation. Filled with implacable hatred against the Mahommedans, and with detestation of their religious principles, they every where insulted and plundered them; levelling their mosques, and burning their palaces. The governor of Sirhind at the head of the provincial troops had marched against the marauders, but had been defeated and killed. Their wide devastations and cruel excesses, the result of both political and religious rancour, were only to be checked by the Emperor in person, and therefore, for the present, compromising matters in the best manner possible with the Rajapout chiefs, and having conferred on Zoolfeccar the vice-royalty of Deccan, who governed it by deputy, he hastened northward with all his forces. Passing by Agra and Delhi, without entering either of those capitals, he in a short time arrived at Sirhind, where the rebels were collected in great force. On the approach; however, of the imperial army they retired to Daber, the original residence of their chief, where they fortified themselves as strongly as possible. Daber is situated on the summit of a rocky mountain, and round it, at different heights, the greatest part of the rebel army had encamped, secure as they thought amidst its rugged precipices and frightful cavities that seemed to forbid the approach of an enemy. The Emperor stationed his army around the foot of the mountain, and resolved to lie inactive for some

time before the enemy, in the hope of rendering them confident, and tempting them to risque an engagement. The ardour of the Mogul troops frustrated his intention, for the Vizier having obtained permission with a considerable detachment to reconnoitre the enemy's position, although positively forbidden to make an assault, yet being extremely galled by the fire from the cannon of the fort, as well as by the discharge of rockets and musquetry, both general and soldiers became to the last degree irritated, rushed on impetuously to the attack, clambered up the most difficult heights, penetrated the deepest defiles, and drove the astonished enemy before them with the greatest rapidity under the very walls of the fort. Here, firmly concentrated, the rebel bands made a desperate resistance, and night coming on only suspended, but did not terminate, the contest. It was renewed with the earliest dawn; and the remainder of the army having now, by exertions equally laborious, joined their valiant comrades, a dreadful and general slaughter commenced, no mercy being shewn to wretches who had evinced none. They were cut off to a man. The fort was afterwards taken by storm, and all within it also put to death; but the wily Gooroo, who knew the intricate windings of the hills among which Daber is situated, disguised like a Yogee, had made his escape in the night, and fled by a secret path to the snowy mountains. The Vizier who had vowed to bring him dead or alive, to the Emperor, as some atonement for his disobedience of orders, was so mortified by the disappointment as well as by the cold reception of his sovereign, after deeds of valour that deserved so warm an one, that he shortly after fell ill, and is supposed to have died of a broken heart.*

The terrible example thus made of so large a portion of their

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 64.

nation seems not to have had the effect of reducing the Seiks to entire obedience, since, though the resolution of Bahadar to extirpate the Rajapouts remained still unshaken, and he had not yet visited either of his capitals Agra or Delhi, we find him residing at Lahore, most probably to overawe them, and settle the affairs of the northern provinces, in general, till the time of his death, which took place suddenly, and not without suspicion of poison, in 1712. From the vigour with which his reign commenced, from his acknowledged abilities, and the general excellence of his character, if that reign had been prolonged, Bahadur would probably have fixed the empire upon a solid basis, and rendered its glory permanent; but now a dreadful scene of destruction is to take place, and royal blood to flow in still deeper currents. Imperial fratricide, blood-stained Fakeer! look up from thy tomb of affected humility, and view the long train of disasters which thy crimes have entailed on thy miserable descendants!

Bahadur left four sons, fired with all the ambition of their family, to contest the vacant throne; their names and characters are thus designated by their historian, Eradut Khan. Jehaundar Shah, the eldest, was a weak man, the votary of pleasure, who gave himself no concern about state affairs. Azem Ooshawn, the second son, was a statesman of winning manners, and of much experience. He had been a favourite of Aurungzeb, who in his deep political craft had opposed him to his father, Shah Aulum, and had given him the rich governments of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, where he had amassed immense wealth, and whence he had now arrived at the head of a formidable army to dispute the empire with his three brothers, leagued against him. Raffeih Ooshawn, the companion and favourite of his father, was a man of abilities, but greatly addicted to pleasure. He paid no attention

to public affairs nor even to those of his own household. Jehaun Shah, the youngest, was a consummate statesman, on whom, both before and after his father's accession, a considerable share of the public business had devolved, and seemed most worthy to wield the imperial sceptre.* Such were the personages who were about to enter on the field of sanguinary warfare for the crown of Hindostan. The account of Eradut Khan, who was an eye-witness, is exceedingly curious; according to him, the contest commenced in the following manner.

While Bahadur lay expiring, the princes and ladies of the court made continual lamentations round his bed. It happened one day, that, as Jehaundar and Azem Ooshawn were sitting near it, the latter, perceiving under a corner of the pillow a dagger of very exquisite workmanship, took it up to admire the jewels with which it was adorned, and the water of the blade. Upon his drawing it from the scabbard, Jehaundar, jealous of his brother, was seized with a panic; he started up, and retired with such precipitation, that he struck the turban from his head against the door of the tent, forgot his slippers at the entrance, and fell down over the ropes. Being assisted to rise and adjust his dress by his servants, who were astonished at his strange actions and appearance, he rode off to his tents with the utmost possible speed. His report of his intended assassination, though none was meant, by Azem, roused and united all his brothers in arms. They hastened to the field, determined to conquer, or perish. In fact, the riches and power of Azem Ooshawn had long raised against him the enmity and jealousy of his brethren, who had, for their general safety, formed a compact to support each other. The ameer al omra had formerly been disgusted with some conduct of Azem Ooshawn,

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 45.

from which time he had courted alternately Raffeh and Jehaun Shah. On this occasion, he swore to assist the three brothers in effecting the destruction of Azem Ooshawn, and make an equal division of the empire and royal treasures among them.*

This ameer al omrah was Zoolfecar Khan, whom we have seen fighting under the banners of his protector Aurungzeb, leading his armies to victory, and now his grand-children to slaughter in furious contest, which, instead of inflaming, he ought to have repressed; a contest in which *three* out of the *four* are doomed to perish. The particulars are given at length in Eradut Khan, but are too long to be detailed here: they are summarily as follows. Azem Ooshawn being in the possession of the imperial treasures, as well as those which he had brought from Bengal, hoped to secure the throne by bribery. Instead, therefore, of coming to immediate action with his brothers, he intrenched himself in his camp, and suffered them at the outset by his inaction to gain very important advantages over him. He is at length compelled to engage them, is deserted by his troops, and sinks down covered with wounds, upon his elephant, in which situation the elephant, frantic from the anguish of its own wounds, hurries him off the field, and both are supposed to have perished in the rapid stream of the Rauvi, which washes Lahore. Jehaun Shah, by whose skill and bravery, principally, aided by Zoolfecar, the battle was gained, now calls upon Zoolfecar to perform his plighted promise of equitably dividing the empire and the treasures, declaring himself ready to submit to his decision. Faithless to that promise, Zoolfecar had privately resolved to seat Jehaundar on the throne without a rival, "as he was a weak prince, fond of his pleasures, averse from business, and consequently best suited

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 64.

to the purpose of a minister ambitious of uncontrolled power." With this view, he, on various pretences, delays making a division of the treasure, and at length openly avows his intentions in favour of Jehaundar. A second battle ensues, in which Jehaun Shah is killed by a musket shot while fighting against a host of foes headed by the traitor Zoolfecar. His son, a prince finely accomplished, who sat behind him on the same elephant, descended and fought with his scymeter, till he could stand no longer, and then sunk down, weltering in his blood!

There now remained no other rivals for the empire than Jehaundar, and Raffeh Ooshawn. As Zoolfecar, during the life of the late Emperor, had been under the greatest obligations to the latter, he made no doubt of himself being the decided object of his choice for the vacant throne. Zoolfecar, however, remained firm to the interest of Jehaundar; a third battle was fought, in which Raffeh Ooshawn met in the field with the same shameful desertion and ingratitude, which had been fatal to his brothers, and he died with their lion-like courage. "The unhappy prince," says our historian, "surrounded by his enemies on all sides, regarding the honour and reputation of the family of Timur, notwithstanding his delicacy and seeming effeminate softness, threw himself from his elephant, and, drawing the SABRE OF GLORY FROM THE SCABBARD OF HONOUR, fought singly on foot against thousands of assailants. But what could he effect, fighting singly against so many? He was soon hewed down with repeated wounds, and resigned his breath to him who gave it. Jehaundar Shah now sounded the march of victory and unrivalled empire. He permitted the mangled bodies of his martyred and more worthy brothers to be kept three days on the field of battle, exposed to public view. They were afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and interred without ceremony or pomp, in

the mausoleum of the emperor Humaioon, the general receptacle of the murdered princes of the imperial family. The mausolea which they had erected for themselves, near the tombs of their favourite saints, of marble, jasper, and other rich stones, were bestowed on the minions of Lall Koor, a public dancer, and mistress to the weak Jehaundar Shah."*

JEHAUNDAR SHAH.

The perfidious Zoolfecar having now exalted his imperial puppet beyond the power of a rival, assumed the chief administration of affairs, and acted in the most cruel and tyrannical manner; degrading and putting to death the ancient nobility, and plundering the opulent without mercy. Nurtured in the school of war, accustomed to deeds of daring ferocity, when so long opposed to the Mahrattas in the mountains of Gaut, and the dauntless bands of Rajapouts, combating for life and religion in the deserts of Ajmere, he brought into the cabinet all the turbulent ambition of the soldier, and ruled only by the sword. His principal aim seemed to be to heap up immense masses of wealth, not to bestow in generous munificence on the friendless and destitute, but to glut the eye, and fill the grasp of insatiable avarice; for even his sycophant dependents suffered the pressure of poverty, and though he conferred titles on many, he allowed jaghires to none. All orders and descriptions of men, the rich whom he had robbed, and the poor whom he had trampled, Hindoos and Mussulmans, alike sent up their prayers to heaven for the downfall of Zoolfecar.

With respect to Jehaundar himself, he was a disgrace to the name of monarch, and to the house of Timur. With intellects little superior to those of an ideot, indolent in his habits, and effeminate in his person; so that his treasury was kept full,

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 79.

which was artfully contrived by the extortions of Zoolfecar, and was one end of them; so that his table was supplied with the choicest dainties, and his haram well stored with Circassian women, he was indifferent to the concerns of government. "He made," as Eradut Khan indignantly exclaims, "the vast empire of Hindostan an offering to the foolish whims of a public courtezan. The relations, friends and minions of the mistress, usurped absolute authority in the state; and high offices, great titles, and unreasonable grants from the imperial domains, were showered profusely on beggarly musicians. Two crores of rupees, that is, two millions sterling, annually, were settled for the household expences of the mistress only, exclusive of her clothes and jewels. The emperor frequently rode with her in a chariot through the markets, where they purchased, agreeably to caprice, sometimes jewels, gold, silks, and fine linen; at others, greens, fruits, and the most trifling articles. A woman named Zohera, keeper of a green-stall, one of Lall Koor's particular friends, was promoted to a high rank, with a suitable jaghire, and her relations exalted to the emperor's favour, which they used to promote the interests of the courtiers, for large bribes: nor did the nobility decline their patronage, but forgetting their honour, and sacrificing decency to present advantage, eagerly flocked to pay adoration to the royal idols, whose gates were more crowded with equipages in general than those of the imperial palace. The ridiculous jaunts of the emperor and his mistress at last grew to such a height, that on a certain night, after spending the day in debauchery, and visiting different gardens near the city, in company with Zohera the herb-woman, they retired to the house of one of her acquaintance who sold spirits, with which they all became intoxicated. After rewarding the woman with a large sum, and *the grant of a village*, they returned in a drunken plight to the palace,

and all three fell asleep on the road. On their arrival, Lall Koor was taken out by her women; but the emperor remained sleeping in the chariot, and the driver, who had shared in the jollity of his royal master, without examining the machine, carried it to the stables. The officers of the palace, after waiting till near morning for his arrival, on finding that the mistress had entered her apartments without the Emperor, were alarmed for his safety, and sent to her to enquire concerning his situation. She desired them immediately to examine the coach, where they found the wretched prince fast asleep in the arms of Zohera, at the distance of nearly two miles from the palace."*

Compared with the high and dignified deportment on the Mogul throne, of the more virtuous sovereigns of the race of Timur, how infinitely degrading was this conduct in one of that illustrious line! There can scarcely exist a doubt but that Zoolfecar, who must have despised this silly pageant of his usurped authority, only suffered him to fill that throne until he could by heaping up sufficient wealth raise an army to secure it for himself. His own conduct, however, though in a different line, was equally disgusting, and a powerful party of discontented Omrahs were acting in secret to undermine both the silly monarch and his guilty minister. At the head of this party were two nobles, brothers, of uncommon wealth and influence, called Seyd Abdollah Khan, and Seyd Hossain Khan. They had both been firmly attached to, and had faithfully served, the late Emperor, whose son, Azem Ooshawn had rewarded them, the former with the government of Allahabad, and the latter with the province of Bahar. On his death and the consequent troubles they had both raised, with the imperial revenues, considerable bodies of troops, as well for their own safety as that of the countries they governed: at least, such

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, p. 82.

was their pretence. Their known attachment, however, to Azem Ooshawn, and his father rendering their motives for arming suspected, Jehaundar Shah had appointed another governor to Allahabad, whom Abdollah had opposed, defeated, and driven back. One only son survived to Ooshawn, named Furrukseer, who resided in Bengal, and to him the eyes of the dissatisfied omrahs of Delhi were turned. The chiefs above-mentioned, whose resentment the court by subsequent favours had in vain endeavoured to appease, heartily joined in the projected revolution, and united their forces to raise Furrukseer to that throne which his father had lost. The standard of rebellion being thus raised in Bengal, multitudes daily flocked to it, and the prince, accompanied by the Seyds, moved towards Agra amidst the acclamations of an indignant people, who were filled with equal detestation at an ideot king, and a sanguinary minister.

At the height of his abused authority, and in the midst of his debaucheries, a report being suddenly propagated at Delhi that Furrukseer was in full march for the capital, with intent to revenge his father's death, and seize the throne, the whole court was struck with consternation. The great power and wealth of the Seyds too were well known, and firmauns containing additional grants and mighty promises were dispatched without delay, to secure their loyalty, or if engaged in the rebel cause, to detach them from it. Their choice, however, was irrevocably fixed. A body of the imperial troops being put in motion, the ameer al omrah fearing to leave the whole power in the hands of his enemies, refused to take the command of them; and at length, in the distracted councils of the moment, it was resolved to place at the head of them, AIZ AD DIEN, eldest son of Jehaundar Shah, quite a youth, under the tutelage of Dowran Khan, and other officers, not much more experienced than himself. On the

army's arrival at Agra it received considerable reinforcements, but not of the most formidable description of soldiers; and the march was continued to Kidgwa, where the great battle before described between Aurungzeb and Sultan Sujah was fought. At this spot Furrukseer and the two Seyds had previously arrived with an army consisting of about 70,000 horse and foot, mostly adventurers, and hoping to benefit themselves by a revolution.

Abdollah Khan, accompanied by some other officers, going out early the next morning to reconnoitre the enemy's position, was attacked by a party of royalists, which brought on a partial action, and afterwards a cannonade on both sides, which lasted till evening; and at midnight the young prince and his general, Dowran, magnanimously fled in a woman's covered pallankin, nor stopped till they arrived at Agra. In the morning, when the army found themselves deserted by their chief, the greater part enlisted under the banners of Furrukseer; and the rest disbanded. On receiving intelligence of this disaster, Jehaundar took the field in person, and moved towards Agra, where a large army was soon collected by a lavish expenditure of the royal treasures that had been accumulating there from the time of Shah Jehan. Formidable by their numbers, and not deficient in valour and discipline, for many of them were veteran soldiers, and had fought under Aurungzeb, if attachment to the royal cause had not been wanting, they probably would have triumphed over the insurgents: but the great Omrahs had for the most part been disgusted by the absurd and tyrannical conduct of the court, and, when the two armies at length met on the banks of the Jumna, the contest was neither long nor arduous. Zoolfecar, indeed, at the head of a few determined battalions, displayed his usual courage as a man, and his abilities as a commander; but the great body of the army was soon broken by the resolute and repeated charges of the Seyds,

and Furrukseer in person, who pierced through to their artillery, near which Jehaundar had taken his station, but which was deserted as they approached. The terrified Emperor immediately sought safety in flight, and disappearing from his elephant, the route became general and complete. Amidst this scene of dismay and confusion, the ameer-al-omrah bravely stood his ground till darkness covered the field; he then slowly retired to Shaw Gunge, near the city, where he remained till midnight, dispatching messengers on all sides in search of the Emperor, in the hope, if he could be found, of rallying the troops, and renewing the attack the next morning. Jehaundar however was not to be found, and Zoolfecar, with the remainder of the army, marched towards Delhi. Thither, also, Furrukseer with his victorious army, immediately directed his progress, and was, by his two protectors, elevated to the throne of Timur. The wretched Jehaundar was afterwards taken, having in vain disguised himself by shaving off his beard and whiskers, and was strangled in prison. Thus every one of the four brothers, who had contended for the empire, fell in his turn the victim of that insatiable ambition which had been the occasion of so profusely shedding the blood of the race of Timur; and, in the end, Zoolfecar himself, the fomenter of their disputes, miserably perished by the same fatal bow-string. As a public example, at once, of imperial imbecility, and of great abilities prostituted to the basest purposes, their bodies were afterwards tied together, and with their heads downwards, slung across an elephant, in which condition they were exposed to public view, when the new Emperor made his triumphal entry into Delhi.*

* Memoirs of Eradut Khan, page final.

FURRUKSEER.

Furrukseer, often written Feroksere, grandson of Bahadur, and great grandson of Aurungzeb, being firmly seated on the throne, appointed Abdollah Seyd his Vizier, and raised his brother Hossain to the rank of Ameer al Omrah. For a long time these powerful nobles, as well on account of their distinguished stations in the realm, as of the weight of obligation by which Furrukseer was bound to them, were suffered to have the sole administration of public affairs. Like their predecessors however in power, in every age and country, they grossly abused this delegated authority, and Furrukseer too soon found himself fettered by even more oppressive bonds than Jehaundar himself. Although not of brilliant abilities, he possessed a mind far more vigorous than the dethroned monarch, and by separating the brothers, he hoped to weaken their power and influence in the state. As, therefore, during the desolating wars that had recently taken place between the sons and the grandsons of Aurungzeb, the Rajapouts, and in particular, the Maharajah himself, Ajeet Sing, sovereign of Marwar, had been guilty of the most daring acts of rebellion, levelling the mosques, and re-erecting the temples of the Hindoo deities, destroyed by Aurungzeb, it was proposed that Seyd Hossain, the brother most experienced in arms, should march against the insurgents at the head of the imperial troops. The project was seen through by the sagacious Seyds, for they well knew that a secret combination of courtiers, headed by one Meer Jumla, a worthless minion, in high favour with the Emperor, was formed against them; but a full confidence in the strength of their own party, added to the pressing necessity which existed, that some exertion should be made to crush the Rajapout rebellion, induced Hossain to consent

to the acceptance of the command. By a policy equally despicable and ruinous, encouragement was secretly given, from court to Ajeet to persevere in his resistance to the imperial army, sent to subdue him, in order that Hossain might be detained as long as possible in that region; but Hossain, who received frequent letters from his brother, with intelligence of the proceedings of the opposite faction at Delhi, informing him that they were about to imprison them, and intreating his speedy return, carried on the war with such decisive spirit and vigour against the enemy, as quickly compelled them to sue for quarter. The terms of peace were the immediate payment of a large peshcush, the daughter of Ajeet, to be given in marriage to the Emperor, and his son to be sent to court as an hostage for his future good behaviour. After concluding this treaty, he returned with the utmost expedition to Delhi,

On his arrival at court, the ameer al omrah found every thing in confusion; the Emperor's confidential minister, Meer Jumla, disposing at his pleasure of all places and emoluments, and Abdollah Seyd, vizier only in name. Accused to their sovereign of direct disloyalty, he had resolved to seize on both their persons; but the knowledge of the intended arrest coming to their ears, they found means to render unavailing the plots laid to ensnare them, and now determined to act a more decisive part. They declined all attendance at court, on the plea that their lives were in danger from the intrigues of the favourite; they even levied troops and fortified themselves in their palaces, while Furrukseer and the courtly cabal held daily councils what were the best measures to be taken, pacific or hostile, with men of such vast resources, extensive connections, and daring ambition. It was found impossible for Meer Jumla and themselves to hold exalted stations under the same imperial roof, as great public measures

could not be for ever subject to the caprice of an individual. In this dreadful situation all public business was suspended; every body saw that a great storm was ready to burst; but nobody could resolve who were to be the victims. At length the court faction deemed it expedient to give way; the mother of the Emperor, who had guaranteed the treaty between her sons and the Seyds, when they first took up arms in his favour, interfered to prevent a rupture that must again convulse the empire, and it was finally agreed that Meer Jumla should be promoted to the government of Bahar, to which he should immediately retire, while Hossain was promoted to the richer soubahdary of Deccan, which he obtained permission for the present to govern by deputy.

Harmony being thus restored at court, by the removal of the obnoxious favourite, the most splendid preparations commenced for celebrating the nuptials of Furrukseer, with the daughter of the Maharajah, an union which it was hoped would prove a public benefit, by blending in one, the interests of the two great contending powers, whose sanguinary conflicts, for four centuries, had entailed so many disasters on India. Nothing, even in the days of the magnificent Shah Jehan, ever exceeded the pomp of those nuptials, for a love of splendour and ostentation was the characteristic of that vain prince, who was not stained with any deep crimes, but wanted fortitude and judgment. He was only unfortunate in having his hands fettered by those who placed him on the throne; and from whose tyrannical usurped power, he was for ever, but in vain, struggling to get released. Somewhat previously to this period, (A. D. 1715), arrived at Delhi, the ambassadors sent from Calcutta by our East India Company, as mentioned in a former page, and they are said to have been materially indebted for their success to the medical abilities of Mr. Hamilton, surgeon to the embassy, who by an operation,

skilfully performed, restored the Emperor to health, when given over by his own physicians, for which, among other rewards, (and much greater were intended) he was presented with models of all his surgical instruments in pure gold.*

Hossain at length commenced his journey for the Deccan; but when he had his final audience, he resolutely told the Emperor, that if any sinister designs were put in practice against his brother, the Vizier, he would in twenty days be with his army at the gates of Delhi. To make way for him, that old and favourite general of Aurungzeb, the NIZAM, had been removed, and for the temporary loss of his government, he meditated against the Seyds a deep, though concealed revenge. When arrived at Brampore, on the frontiers of that soubah, his authority was resisted by Daood Khan, an Afghan, the deputy appointed to govern during his absence, and secretly instigated, it was thought, by the Emperor, to oppose and cut him off. For this purpose he had received into his pay a body of Mahrattas, commanded by one of the principal chiefs of that nation, and encamping under the walls of Brampore, with confidence awaited the attack of the royalists. The engagement was obstinate and bloody; and at one time, even doubtful on the side of Hossain; but as the Afghan chief rushed forward with his elephant, to end the conflict by a personal combat with his antagonist, at that instant a matchlock ball entered his breast, and he fell dead upon his elephant. The Mahrattas, who, with their usual perfidy, had stood neuter at some distance, till it could be perceived which army was likely to prove triumphant, now pressed forward to join the victor, and share the plunder, which was very considerable. A part of it, with the intelligence of Daood's defeat, was transmitted to the Emperor, who received it in a manner that decisively

* Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 139, ubi supra.

proved to the Vizier his deep regret that, instead of the Afghan, the imperial general had not perished.

Towards the close of this year, the Seiks, who during the late public disturbances, had multiplied considerably, and become very formidable, again appeared in arms. The governors of Lahore and Sirhind * were successively sent against them, but the former was defeated with great slaughter, and the latter basely assassinated in his tent by a Seik, sent for the purpose by Bunda, their chief, the same who had escaped by night when the fortress of Daber was invested by Bahadur. The governor of Cashmere now took the field, at the head of an army quadrupled in number, and was successfull. They were exterminated without mercy, and Bunda himself being taken, and refusing to turn Mahommedan, first had his infant child butchered before his face, and its palpitating heart forced (horrible atrocity!) into the wretched father's mouth; and was himself afterwards put to death, by having his flesh torn from his bones with red hot pincers, and other exquisite tortures; all which he bore with undaunted firmness. It may here be remarked, that from the rooted hatred borne by this sect towards the Mahommedans, their stern oppressors, the wars between them have ever been carried on with the most unrelenting barbarity.

About this time, the banished favourite, Meer Jumla, arrived at Delhi, from his exile in Bahar, not, it was thought, without a secret invitation from the Emperor. His imprudent conduct had greatly embarrassed the affairs of that province, and the outrages committed by his officers on the inhabitants, had nearly occa-

* "The Seiks now possess the provinces of Lahore, Panjab, and Multan, with great part of Delhi, and bands of them have more than once made inroads into the Nabob Vizier's dominions, but have been as often easily repelled by the approach of a British army." Note by Captain Scott, 1794.

sioned a general insurrection. This event seemed to forbode the immediate downfall of the Vizier, who, filled with just apprehension, summoned and armed his dependents in all the neighbouring districts.

The Emperor, also having neglected to discharge the arrears due to a body of twenty thousand cavalry, which he had ordered to be raised in a crisis of difficulty, that body, on being dismissed, mutinied, and between them and the Vizier's armed followers, the agitated city was thrown into the utmost confusion. When the ferment was at its highest, Furrukseer, ever precipitate, and equally irresolute in his plans, prudently gave way; he consented to satisfy the disbanded troops, and allayed the suspicions of the Vizier, by sending the favourite once more into banishment at Lahore.

Thus did every exertion of the unfortunate Emperor, ultimately, only tend to bind him faster in those chains, with which the Seyds had manacled their devoted victim. Numerous were the other projects, to which he resorted to emancipate himself, but they are unworthy to be recorded in the dignified page of serious history, which seizes only on the great features and striking characters of each reign, and leaves minor characters and incidents to perish in deserved oblivion. The Mahrattas, now rising into great power and consequence, are eminently entitled to that distinguished notice, and to them and the affairs of Deccan we return.

The reader has already seen Aurungzeb engaged in active hostility against them during all the latter period of his life. Sahojee, or, as he is sometimes denominated, the Sou-rajah, the reigning sovereign, continuing to act with the same vigour and caution as his ancestors, had, during the dissensions that raged between the sons and grandsons of Aurungzeb, widely extended

his power, and added vastly to his domains in Viziapore, and the neighbouring Soubahs; harassing, as usual, on their march, the armies of the Mogul governors, and every where, on the old pretence of being *lords of the soil*, rigidly exacting the CHOUT, or fourth part of the revenues. The Ameer al Omrah, filled with indignation at their continual depredations on the imperial domains, determined to curb the insolence of that people. Being informed that they had erected a chain of forts on the high road between Surat and Brampore, from which they issued in large bodies, and compelled merchants and travellers to pay a *fourth* part of their property, or, in case of resistance, plundered them of the whole; he dispatched an army of four thousand horse, and as many foot, to expel the robbers, and raze the forts. The force thus detached was utterly inadequate to the undertaking; and the commander being outgeneraled, and drawn into ambush, they were defeated, and the whole detachment either killed, or taken prisoners. An army, far more powerful, under approved commanders, was afterwards sent against them; but with these troops the wary Mahratta chief was reluctant to contend in the open field, and retreated to Sattarah; at that time the capital of the Mahratta state, in the strong fortress of which Sahojee himself resided. Still, however, his predatory bands continued their depredations; on their fleet horses, scouring uncontrolled the open country, and plundering and burning wherever they came, but ever cautiously avoiding a general engagement.

It was now resolved to lay siege in form to Sattarah, and crush the evil at its source; but, at this instant, letters were received at Aurungabad, informing Hossain of the dissentions raging at Delhi, and moreover, that the Emperor had sent private orders to Sahojee, and all the persons of authority in Deccan, to oppose and distress his own governor there. Enraged to the last

degree at this intelligence, he immediately recalled the troops marching to invest Sattarah, and instead of farther irritating the Mahrattas, he resolved to make friends of that powerful confederacy, and bind them to his own interest, and that of his brother. He offered them terms degrading to the imperial dignity, and suffered them to have a resident at Aurungabad, to receive the *choute*, with the addition of what is called *deesmukkee*, or ten rupees in each hundred collected; a right not satisfactorily explained. The emperor, whose perfidy was thus retorted upon his own head, dared not refuse to ratify the treaty; but with increased assiduity laboured to undermine that power which he could not openly control. This admission of the exorbitant claims of the Mahrattas, in the governor of Deccan, was to the last degree impolitic, and laid the imperial crown of Timur at their feet. After this period, how rapidly their power and consequence increased in India, how bold their aggressions, and how shameless their extortions, the future pages of this history will too frequently demonstrate.

Before we come to the close of this reign of disaster and imbecility, another description of people must also be noticed, who were now becoming formidable by their numbers, and their outrages, I mean the Jats, or Jauts, who made their first appearance during Aurungzeb's prolonged wars in the south, as an intrepid band of robbers, and as such, received chastisement from that prince, who, on being informed of their depredations, sent from Deccan a strong detachment to reduce them. They are said to be descended from the ancient tribe of the JITS, who possessed the banks of the Indus, as far back as the reign of Mahmud of Gazna. They seem to have been the Getes, upon whom Timur, in his invasion of India made war, and were probably not unconnected with the Getæ of classical historians.

Their ferocious, predatory habits, seem to justify their presumed descent from those barbarians. It should not be omitted, however, that the word JATE, in Hindoo, signifies a husbandman, from which some have derived their name, however different their practice. Under a succession of daring chiefs, they gradually extended themselves along the banks of the Jumna river, and in the vicinity of Agra, and about this time broke into open rebellion. Rajah Jey Sing was sent by Furrukseer at the head of a considerable force to bring them to obedience; but taking refuge among their strong fortresses, they resisted all his efforts to subdue them for nearly a year, when, by bribes sent to the Vizier, who wished to secure their assistance, in any crisis of difficulty, together with a large pescush paid into the royal treasury, they obtained the recall of the troops under Jey Sing, who was greatly disgusted at having victory thus ravished from his grasp.

That crisis was rapidly approaching; the deposition of the Emperor was determined upon by the enraged brothers. In vain had Furrukseer summoned around him, from various and distant quarters, all the great vassals of the empire, in full confidence that they would support him against their usurpation. The artful Vizier held out alluring bribes to their ambition; and his brother was in full march from Deccan, with an army devoted to his interests, and ready, by one decisive blow, to crush every opponent. That army consisted of thirty thousand horse, ten thousand of which were Mahrattas. They poured, in a resistless torrent, into the capital, occupied the great squares, and filled all the avenues of the palace. Furrukseer, in a paroxysm of terror, fled into his haram, the doors of which, with barbarous violence were burst open, and the pusillanimous monarch was dragged from the midst of the shrieking females, who composed his family, not indeed to immediate death, but to confinement in a

dark chamber, over one of the gates of the palace, where he was blinded with a hot iron. Attempting, however, soon after, to make his escape from his gloomy prison, he was assassinated, according to Fraser, on the 16th of February, 1719, after an inglorious, distracted reign of about seven years.*

The triumphant brothers now reigned without control, dividing among themselves and their adherents, the imperial treasures, jewels, elephants and horses; and Abdollah Seyd, who, to unbounded ambition, added unbridled lust, seized for his own use several ladies of the royal haram. Their principal agent in these and other atrocious transactions, was a venal and unprincipled wretch, named Ruttun Chund, their Dewan, or steward, who had long exercised a supreme control over the revenues of the empire, which he had farmed out to wretches, venal and extortionate as himself. Under him every thing had its allotted price; in that empire honours and titles were brought to a public mart, and all distinction between virtue and vice seemed to be annihilated. Although *they* may be truly said to have *reigned*, yet a nominal sovereign of the blood of Timur, an imperial pageant, was deemed necessary to their security, and therefore proceeding to the castle of SELIMGUR, in which the royal princes were confined, they took out of its solitary chambers,

RAFFEH AL DIRJAT,

the son of Raffeh Ooshawn above mentioned, and placed him on the vacant throne. He was quite a youth, and had neither voice nor will of his own, while all the great offices of state, and the most lucrative governments were filled with the friends, and dependants of the Seyds. The Vizier took possession of the palace, whence the eunuchs and other domestics, grown old in

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 45.

the service of the royal family, were ejected, to make room for the creatures of the new dynasty. They were cautious, however, of offending the more powerful among the old nobility. Sirbullind Khan, an omrah of great weight and influence, and at that time on his way to Cabul, at the head of a considerable army, was confirmed in his recent appointment to the government of that province, and adorned with new honours. To conciliate Nizam al Muluck, formidable both for his great military and political knowledge, the soubahdary of Malva was conferred upon him, whence he soon *appointed himself* to his former government of the Deccan, for we find him established there in great power, and the object of dread to the tottering brothers, in the first year of the reign of Mahommed Shah. He will soon become an important actor in the scenes, the eventful and sanguinary scenes, without parallel in the history of nations, about to pass in rapid succession, before the view of the reader.

The aim of the Seyds, in exalting to the throne so juvenile a prince, was, doubtless, that they might enjoy uncontrolled, during a long minority, the imperial power. But in this expectation they were grievously disappointed, for, after a nominal reign of about four months, the young emperor died of a consumption. Fraser says he was murdered by them; but as there appears no adequate cause to have excited them to such wanton barbarity, they may reasonably be presumed guiltless of that crime. They now raised to the same painful pre-eminence his younger brother,

RAFFEH AL DOWLAT;

But his reign was still shorter, for in less than three months he also died, it is said, a natural death, though there are writers of respectability, who, arguing possibly from the atrocious character,

and the wavering politics of the Seyds, assert that both of these unfortunate princes perished by the hand of assassination. A son of that Jehaun Shah noticed before as so distinguished by valour and abilities, a youth of about seventeen, yet remained in the prison-palace of Selimgur, and India saw a ray of transient glory illumine her horizon, when Sultan Rooshun Akber, under the assumed title of

MAHOMMED SHAH,

assumed that throne for which his father died contending. When the last pageant emperor died, the brothers were with the army at Agra, the governor of which city had rebelled, but being vigorously pressed, and despairing of pardon from his pursuers he put himself to death, and immediately the citadel surrendered at discretion. The mother of Mahommed, a woman of deep policy and sound judgment, attended her son to Agra, and devoted her attention to acquire confidence of the brothers, while the emperor himself was in all things scrupulously subservient to their will. This subserviency, however, in both mother and son was the result of the deepest hypocrisy, and they privately meditated plans for the overthrow of the haughty disposers of the throne, and destroyers of the race of Timur.

Shortly after the governor of Allahabad, who had been insulted by the brothers, raised the standard of independence, and the royal army began its march towards that quarter. A negotiation, however, commenced; the Seyds thought it prudent to relax a little from the stern severity of their despotism, and matters were amicably adjusted. The army now prepared to march against a more formidable rebel to their authority, the Nizam, who bade them defiance, and had collected a considerable army of mussulman and Mahratta troops to support his opposition. The

Emperor is said secretly to have encouraged his rebellion, and to have sent him a firmaun constituting him Soubah of Deccan in the place of Hossain. He was likewise encouraged to persevere by many of the discontented nobles at court who were grown weary of the insolence and tyranny of the usurpers, whom they hoped to crush, if they could be separated. The iniquitous Dewan saw into the projected scheme to ruin his protectors, and strongly advised the ameer al omrah not to proceed with the army to Deccan, but to make peace with the Nizam by a voluntary resignation to him of the government of that province. At this latter idea the pride of Hossain revolted, though he was easily persuaded to send an army commanded by another general against his antagonist. That general, however, and a second who followed him at the head of a still larger army, were successively and totally defeated by the experienced veteran who had so often led to victory the armies of Aurungzeb, and, at length, after great debate and irresolution between the brothers, in which their dread of the result was evident to the young sovereign and the whole court, it was determined that Abdollah, the Visier, should return to Delhi, and Hossain with the emperor march with the army to Deccan.

This plan of operations exactly coinciding with the wishes of those who had combined for their destruction, no time was lost in preparing for the expedition. In October 1720, according to Fraser, the imperial army left Agra, and having marched nine measured coss the first day, the emperor called a *divan* that night, and, after a short stay, withdrew. The conspirators, Mahommed Ameen Khan, an omrah high in favour with the emperor, Hyder Kuli Khan, the general of the artillery, and Dowran Khan, with several others, had fixed on that very evening for the assassination of the ameer al omrah, and as he was returning from the

audience in his pallankin, one of them on whom it had fallen (for it was decided by casting lots) to strike the fatal blow, approached it with a petition, at the same time crying aloud for vengeance on Mahommed Ameen Khan. At these words, which conveyed no unwelcome sounds to the ears of his bitterest enemy, he ordered the guards to stop, and while he was perusing the petition, the noble assassin struck his dagger into his breast, and immediately fell beneath a thousand swords plunged into his own. His followers, who were numerous, immediately flew to arms to revenge his death, but proper arrangements having been previously made, and the artillery being commanded by Hyder Kuli, the contest was soon decided; and the emancipated emperor, having publicly appointed the Nizam to the soubahdary of all Deccan, exultingly returned to Agra. Mahommed Ameen was appointed Visier, Dowran ameer al omrah, and on all who had assisted in the overthrow of the fallen Hossain were bestowed the most distinguished honours and rewards.*

When the fatal intelligence of a brother slain, and what might be truly called an empire lost, arrived at Delhi, it excited in Abdollah the mingled sensations of exquisite grief and high resentment. Resentment, however, prevailing, he immediately burst open the royal treasury, and robbed the peacock throne of its finest jewels,† in order to purchase the assistance of all who could bring a horse or arms, and by this means was enabled in a short time to raise a promiscuous army of 80,000 men; of whom not a few, after receiving their pay, deserted his standard. Many

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 55. Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 177.

† Fraser says, "he broke to pieces the famous *peacock throne*, which cost Shah Jehan nine crores," or as many millions sterling; but that imperial pageant we know afterwards became the plunder of Nadir Shah. I have, therefore, mitigated the outrage to a partial depredation of its jewels.

great omrahs, however, who owed their honours and fortunes to the Seyds, with their followers remained faithful to his cause, and to give it still more weight and consequence, he took out of his imprisonment Sultan IBRAHIM, the infant son of Raffeh Ooshawn, caused him publickly to be proclaimed emperor, and placing him at the head of the forces, marched out of Delhi to meet and combat the imperial army. That army was already rapidly advancing towards the capital; and both received in their progress great multitudes of auxiliary troops, Afghans, Jauts, and other adventurers, ever ready, in hopes of plunder, to join in the contests of the princes of India. Not to enter into military details disgusting by their uniformity, the important battle that was to fix the crown on the head of Mahommed Shah, or rend the sceptre for ever from his grasp, took place, according to Fraser, on the 2d of November, 1720, at Sirkad, twelve coss from Muttra. It was long, obstinate, and bloody, but in the end Abdollah's forces were defeated, and himself desperately wounded, and taken prisoner. The victorious Emperor on this occasion exerted a benignity that did honour to his heart. Abdollah being brought before him, after being severely reproved, was dismissed with no other punishment than that confinement which the monarch's security rendered necessary, had the palace of Asoph al Dowlat assigned him for his residence, and a princely establishment settled upon him, which, however, he did not long enjoy, as he died a few months afterwards of his wounds. The same clemency was also shown to the young Sultan, who was only remanded to his former apartments in the castle of Selimgur. In short, no sovereign ever enjoyed victory with more moderation, nor re-ascended a contested throne under more happy auspices than Mahommed Shah. The vigour and decision with which he had acted awed to obedience the refractory governors

in the distant provinces; tranquillity was again restored to the distracted empire; and the most confident hopes were entertained that his reign would be not less glorious than those of the most distinguished sovereigns of the house of Timur.

CHAPTER V.

Great Change in the Conduct of MAHOMMED, *who becomes indolent, and enervated.—The* NIZAM *invited to Delhi, and made Vizier, but soon retires in disgust to Deccan, and there meditates Independence.—He incites the Mahrattas to invade Agra and Delhi.—They are defeated, but renew their Irruptions in greater Numbers.—The Emperor at length purchases their Retreat by submitting to pay the* CHOUTE *for those Provinces, from which Period the Fall of the Mogul Monarchy may be dated.—Distractions at Court.—Character of* SADIT KHAN.—*He conspires with the Nizam, and they invite* NADIR SHAH *to invade India.—That Invasion described.—Consequent Ruin of the Empire.—Death of the Nizam.—Death of Mahommed.*

THE Oriental historian describes the triumphal entry of Mahommed into his capital, after the destruction of the Seyds, to have been one of the most splendid and magnificent pomps ever seen. He himself was mounted on an elephant of uncommon magnitude and beauty, most sumptuously adorned with housings of gold brocade, and sparkling with precious stones. This was preceded and attended with several other led elephants and horses adorned with equal magnificence; while the travelling thrones and other carriages of the Emperor, glittering with gold and enamel, dazzled the eyes of the beholders. The troops of the household and the nobility were all newly clothed for the occasion, and the great omrahs vied with each other in the magnificence of their appearance. Gold and silver coins were scattered in profusion among the populace, whose acclamations of joy at

the restoration of the imperial authority rent the heavens. On his entering the palace he was met by his mother and the princesses bearing golden basons, filled with jewels, which they waved in triumph around his head; and the principal nobility presented *nuzzurs* (gifts) of the most costly kind. Of a reign thus happily and splendidly begun, it is painful to the historian to relate the unfortunate incidents that marked its progress, and its calamitous termination.

Those powerful enemies, those creators and destroyers of sovereigns, being crushed, and no public foe remaining to be subdued, Mahommed soon relaxed from the vigour that distinguished his early councils, and resigned himself to those seducing pleasures that had proved so fatal to many of his predecessors. He was in the prime of youth with every incentive of pleasure around him, and all the means of gratifying the passions predominant at that season were within his reach. His favourite minister Dowran Khan, the prince of the omrahs, though not without abilities and great military talents, was, also, not less devoted to dissipation than his master; and the new Visier, Kammer o'deen Khan, all young like the monarch, was of the same dissolute description. The sword was returned to the scabbard, as if danger had ceased to exist; days, months, and even years rolled on in circles of ever-varying delight; virtue was without honour, and valour without its reward.

In the mean time, those ancient enemies of the empire, the Rajapouts, took advantage of the supine indolence in which the court was plunged, and spread desolation through Ajmere, and the central provinces; while the Mahrattas, defeating and expelling the Mogul governors, without control extended their growing empire over Guzzurat, and the whole western coast. The Nizam, having collected a powerful army in Deccan, pre-

served that region and the peninsula from their ravages, but it was not for the Emperor that he preserved it. He had long aspired at independence, and was now taking the most effectual means of securing that extensive portion of the empire for himself and his posterity. A sensible writer* has well observed, that it would have been a fortunate circumstance for the Mogul emperors had they never attempted to make conquests in Deccan, as its great distance from the capital, as well as its innumerable local advantages, held out a perpetual temptation to the viceroy to make himself independent; and that probably, if the Deccan had been originally left to itself, the posterity of Timur might have still swayed the sceptre of Hindostan. The vast armies necessary for its subjugation in the first instance, and the reduction of its rebellious governors in the second, were an eternal drain upon the capital, and left the northern provinces of Lahore and Cabul without an adequate army for the defence of those frontier provinces through which Mahmud, Timur, and, as we shall soon see, a still more dreadful conqueror, Nadir, made their destructive irruptions.

Immersed in shameless debauchery, no active vigorous exertions were taken by Mahommed and his ministers to check the torrent of insubordination that threatened to subvert the empire. Palliatives were alone used to check the advances of the two former, the chief of the Rajapouts, Ajeet Sing, being confirmed in the government of Ajmere, from which it had been attempted to remove him, and the choute being allowed to the Mahrattas by the Mogul governor of Guzzurat. With respect to the Nizam, every effort was made to inveigle him to court, and the high station of Vizier was promised him; but for a long time the crafty viceroy resisted every solicitation. At length,

* Major Rennell.

however, being still more closely pressed, by letters from the emperor himself, and having settled matters on a firm basis in Deccan, he resorted thither at the head of a well-disciplined army of 10,000 men, as his guard, on whose fidelity in any emergency he knew he might place an entire dependence. Thus attended he met with a most gracious reception from the emperor, was appointed Absolute Agent, a rank higher than Vizier, and honoured with the title of Asof Jah.*

The Nizam, educated in the rigid school of Aurungzeb, and attached to his maxims both in politics and war, immediately urged upon the Emperor the necessity that existed for restoring the affairs of government to their ancient order and discipline; for a total reformation of manners; and a strict observance of the wise but severe laws enacted by that great man. Mahommed, who had recently married a daughter of the late emperor, Furrukseer, and at intervals was capable of serious reflection, listened to the hoary monitor, then in his eightieth year, with attention and respect, but his profligate courtiers ridiculed his projects of reform, which agreed not with the dissoluteness of their manners, and endeavoured to divert the Emperor's mind from attending to his grave admonitions by renewed dissipations. On the other hand, the veteran warrior, finding no efforts made to put those admonitions into practice, and disdaining to be the associate of men, who passed their whole time with abandoned women and low buffoons, solicited permission to march with his army into Guzzurat, and restore order in that distracted province. That permission was easily obtained, and the courtiers viewed with

* Asof Jah, says Mr. Fraser, is a title commonly given to Viziers. It signifies, in place and rank as Asof, whom, they say, was Solomon's Vizier. At the same time that they honour their Viziers with this title, they flatter their own vanity, by comparing themselves to Solomon.

joy the departure of a man of power too strong to be opposed, and of manners too inflexibly rigid to be seduced. The rebellion that had been secretly cherished by himself in Guzzurat was soon allayed by his presence in that province, to be excited again whensoever it suited the determined purposes of his ambition. The Mahrattas, indeed, were now become the necessary engines of that ambition, and shortly after his return to Deccan, without leave, he again solicited them to avert the vengeance that was fulminated against him from Delhi. He entered into an agreement with Rajah Sahoo, that a large body of that nation should immediately march northwards, and, ravaging all before them, penetrate even to the vicinity of Agra and Delhi. He hoped by this bold measure to rouze from their dream of indolence the luxurious emperor, and his besotted ministers, and that they might see and feel the absolute necessity of defending themselves and protecting the throne before they ventured to march an imperial army into Deccan.

In consequence, the Mahrattas, under the command of their most celebrated general, Bajerow, in 1730 commenced that fatal invasion, which with one tremendous sweep laid for ever low the humbled majesty of the empire. Their first attack was on Malva and Guzzurat, where the Mogul governor for some time made a vigorous resistance, but timely succours not being sent from Delhi, they were finally defeated, the country was extensively devastated, and has ever since remained in the hands of the conquerors. Bahadur, the viceroy of Malva, who died bravely fighting at the head of the provincial troops, wrote several remonstrative letters to the ministers, and told them in the most positive terms, that if properly supported, while he lived he would prevent the Mahrattas from pursuing their conquests further northward; but that if he fell, and they passed the frontiers of

Malva, they would infallibly over-run the whole empire. Bahadur was not supported, fell at his post, and, on his death, the prophecy was too amply verified. It seems to have been the aim of the Visier to subdue the enemies of the empire, not by arms, but by intrigue and bribery, a glaring proof of which was soon exhibited in the regular appointment by a firmaun of Bajerow to the soubahdary of Malva, thus rivetting the power which a more enlarged policy should have resisted to the last gasp of the expiring empire. But, observes the Oriental historian, the subtle fox cannot overcome the lion; and it was not by imprudent concession that such men as Bajerow and the Nizam were to be checked in the career of their insatiable ambition.

Notwithstanding, therefore, these ill-judged attempts at pacification we find the Mahrattas, in 1732, rapidly advancing their hostile legions towards Agra, and plundering even the districts appropriated to the support of the royal household. Thus insulted, and even braved, it became impossible for the imperial army to remain any longer inactive. It took the field in great force under the command of Muzzuffir, the Visier's brother, and every effort was made to bring on a general action with them; but the cautious Mahrattas declined, as usual, engaging him in the field. They contented themselves with perpetually harassing his line of march, and cutting off its supplies. The army, however, continued its progress without any opportunity of displaying its prowess, except in occasional skirmishes, till it reached Malva, where it met with the same mode of desultory attack which it had experienced in its march, and after a residence of some months at Sironje in that province, returned without having rendered any substantial service to the empire. The negative success that had attended the expedition was magnified by the Visier beyond victory; Muzziffir entered Delhi in triumph; and

was presented with a rich tassel of jewels for the turban; an honour, seldom conferred, but on the most distinguished conquerors.

Repulse only inflamed the hostile fury of those marauders, and incited them to new aggressions. In 1734, they renewed their devastations in the neighbourhood of Gualior, and in the suburbs of Agra, when the ameer al omra and the visier took the field to oppose them. But the campaign again terminated without any signal success over an enemy that always fled at their approach, and still eluded every attempt to bring them to close action, while their excursive legions, spreading in all directions, plundered the country without mercy, and treated the inhabitants with the greatest cruelty. The following year a considerable body of them crossed the Jumna with intent to plunder the rich province of Oude, of which Sadit Khan, a general of great experience, of tried valour, and having under his command a body of troops of superior courage and discipline, was the governor. Sadit immediately marched against them, by his superior skill brought them to action, and after an obstinate engagement defeated them, took two of their principal officers, and killed 5000 of them.* In attempting to repass the Jumna vast numbers were drowned, and the general, Mullar Row with difficulty reached the camp of Bajerow near Gualior. Bajerow, not at all discouraged by this misfortune, prepared to act against the Moguls with increased vigour; while Sadit, flushed with his recent triumph, and burning for military glory resolved to follow up the blow, and, if possible, drive those barbarous invaders beyond the bounds of Hindostan Proper.

Intelligence being brought to Delhi of this signal defeat of the Mahrattas, the Vizier, and the prince of omrahs thinking

* Fraser, p. 66.

the present a proper opportunity to strike a decisive blow, immediately put the imperial army in motion, and marched towards Agra. Sadit was already far advanced in his march towards Gualior, when he received orders from the imperial commanders to halt till he could join them with his forces, in order, that united, they might act with more effect against the common enemy. Those orders that chief very reluctantly obeyed, because he was well acquainted with the rapid motions of the foe with whom they had to contend, and the importance of expedition. What that sagacious commander had conjectured actually took place. Bajerow, knowing the capital was almost deserted of troops, at the head of his choicest and best mounted cavalry pushed forward with the rapidity of lightning to Feridabad, ten coss from Delhi, which place they plundered; and arrived in the suburbs of Delhi, before any tidings of his movement had reached that capital. The emperor, dissolved in pleasure, and the nobles and citizens utterly unprepared for resistance, were thrown into the utmost consternation. Paleness sate on every face, and despair reigned in every heart. Never before for ages had an armed enemy, not of the royal blood, or combating in defence of it, dared to approach so near the august abode of the race of Timur. For three successive days they continued plundering the wretched inhabitants, and laying in ruins whatever was valuable and sacred in the environs of that great city. On the fourth day, when they were on the point of entering the metropolis, arrived Sadit Khan, with the Vizier and ameer al omrah at the head of the imperial army, when the enemy was attacked, defeated and put to flight. They were pursued by the two latter as far as Alaverdi Khan's serai, about seven coss from Delhi, where being joined by others of their tribe, they made a resolute stand, and the two ministers, rather than hazard

a second battle, consented to an inglorious compromise of their own honour and that of the empire, by agreeing to pay the Chout for Delhi and Agra, on condition of their immediately evacuating those provinces. Having thus obtained their object by an immense accumulation of plunder, and by laying the imperial throne itself under contribution, the Mahrattas retreated to Malva, and the Mogul army returned to Delhi, whence the brave Sadit Khan, disgusted at the base compact entered into with the determined enemies of the empire, abruptly, and without taking leave of the emperor, who by Dowran's persuasion had confirmed it, departed for his province. This fatal compact, which gave the death-blow to the empire, took place towards the close of the year 1735.*

In the mean time the Nizam continued extending his conquests, and his influence in Deccan, and though in the receipt of a vast annual revenue, under the pretended necessity of keeping up a great standing army to over-awe the Mahrattas, remitted nothing to court. Nor were the accustomed revenues received from the rich provinces of Malva, Narwah, Biana, and Ajmere, which had been so ravaged by the Mahrattas that no taxes could be levied on the unfortunate inhabitants. In this perplexed situation of public affairs, and as the chief cause of that perplexity was known to arise from the discontent of the Nizam, new efforts were made by the emperor to pacify that omrah and allure him once more to court. The emperor was probably sincere in his wishes in the present emergency to have the benefit of the advice of so great a statesman; but his ministers could only desire his presence at Delhi, the sooner accomplish his destruction; and however incredible it may seem that so crafty a politician, as

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 66. Scott's Deccan, p. 201. Dow's Decline of the Mogul Empire, vol. iii. p. 316.

the viceroy of the Deccan, should again trust himself in the hands of those who considered him as the greatest obstacle to their projects, and plans, those efforts were successful. That event, according to Fraser, who was at that time in India, and might have obtained his information from an authentic quarter, was accomplished through the means of Mihr Parver, the emperor's grandmother, who had great influence over that omrah, and at his urgent request wrote to him letters, full of kindness, and assuring him that he should have the entire management of affairs at Delhi, provided he came without delay. He complied with her request, but met with no better treatment than before. The omrahs, not only disregarded him, but took all opportunities of affronting him, especially Dowran and his creatures, who, when he came to pay his respects at court, used to ridicule him, saying in a scoffing manner, *Observe how the* Deccan *monkey dances.* This usage having wrought him up to the highest pitch of inflamed resentment, he was resolved to revenge himself by distressing the empire, and destroying Dowran and his creatures. He imparted his design to the Vizier Kammir o'deen Khan, imagining he would join with him. But notwithstanding the alliance between them, (Nizam's son being married to the Vizier's daughter, and the Vizier's son to Nizam's daughter) he could not engage him to join in any plot detrimental to the public interest; on the contrary, he used his endeavours to dissuade him from the project, by representing to him the infamy of sacrificing his country to private resentment. When Nizam perceived he would not come into his measures, he applied himself to Sadit Khan, the Soubahdar of Oude, who then had a great body of men at his command, was an officer of experience, and had lately raised his reputation by his action with the Mahrattas; and, what was still more to his purpose, had,

since that time, stood ill-affected towards the emperor and his favourite. These omrahs having entered into an agreement, it was resolved that Nadir Shah, ruler of Persia, who was then besieging Candahar, should be the instrument of distressing the emperor, and of removing Dowran from his counsels for ever.* Such is Fraser's concise statement of this important combination, by which a great though declining empire was utterly subverted, and an ancient dynasty plunged in irretrievable ruin. In describing the calamity itself, it will be necessary to go into a more extensive detail; for the annals of Asia record no event more momentous in its consequences than the invasion of India by NADIR SHAH.

That conqueror, but newly seated on the usurped throne of Persia, on account of insults offered to his embassador, and of the protection afforded by the Mogul governor on the frontiers to the rebellious Afghans, his subjects, already harboured a secret resentment against the court of Delhi, but till the invitation received from those disaffected omrahs does not seem to have meditated any irruption of the extent and magnitude that afterwards took place. The splendour of the exploit, and the immensity of the plunder, by which the myriads who composed his army might be supported without oppressing Persia with new burthens, urged him to undertake an expedition by which his ambition and his avarice might at once be gratified. Having at length planted his victorious standards on the heights of Candahar, Nadir set out for Cabul, according to the before-mentioned author, at the head of 80,000 horse, composed of various nations and tribes, but all inured to hardships, and from their infancy trained to war. Nasser Khan, the governor of that soubah, having in vain solicited auxiliary troops from Delhi, retreated nearer the capital to Peishore,

* Fraser, p. 69.

in hopes of making a more successful stand; but Sherzih Khan, the more resolute governor of the castle of Cabul, refused to surrender the keys, and defended both the city and castle for six weeks with the most undaunted bravery. During this period he wrote repeated letters to court for assistance; but none arriving, both city and castle were at length taken by storm, and he and his son were put to death. Nadir Shah found there treasure, jewels, arms, &c. to a vast amount, which had been laid up in vaults ever since the reign of Sultan Baber.*

According to Sir W. Jones's summary but luminous account of this invasion, of which we shall now have the benefit, the Persian army lay encamped in the plains of Cabul till the middle of June, 1738, in which interval Nadir sent an expostulatory letter to the Mogul, containing a succinct narrative of the affront he had received, of his resolution to chastise the insolence of the Afghans, and of the obstruction made to his progress by the governor of Cabul; he declared, that he had strictly forbidden the least act of violence by his soldiers, and that he desired nothing so much as the continuance of their mutual friendship. This letter was entrusted to an envoy, who set out for Delhi attended by several chiefs of Cabul, who were enjoined to confirm the truth of his assertions: but, when they reached Gelalabad, the governor of that place put the Persian envoy to death, and compelled the chiefs of Cabul to return. Nadir Shah could no longer brook such a succession of injuries, but marched with great rapidity towards Gelalabad, 70 miles below Cabul, and, on the 28th of July, encamped at Kendemac, a place remarkable for the serenity of its air, and the beauties of its situation. From this place he detached a body of Persians against Gelalabad, who entered the city without opposition on the 10th of August: but

* Fraser, p. 132.

the governor Mir Abbas, conscious of his crime, and fearing the punishment due to it, retreated to a fortress situated on a mountain of very difficult access. The Persians attacked his intrenchments, and took the fort by assault: Mir Abbas was killed, together with the Indians that attended him, and his family were sent in chains to the royal camp.

Soon after, the Persian army marched to the east of Gelalabad, and halted in the station of Rikab, where Nadir received intelligence of a formidable army, that was preparing to oppose him. Nasser Khan, governor of Cabul, had assembled on that spot a considerable body of Afghans and Indians, and was resolved to dispute with the Persian invaders the passage of Peishor, which was also defended by a strong castle. Upon this information, Nadir left the artillery with the prince Nafralla, and advanced with great celerity towards Peishore; the next day, after a rapid march, he reached the army of Nasser, who were so astonished at the incredible haste of the Persians, that their courage and resolution wholly forsook them; their ranks were broken in an instant, and those only escaped the sword, who had recourse to a precipitate flight. Nasser, and several Indian chiefs, were taken prisoners; and their camp was entirely pillaged: the captives were kept under close confinement, and the plunder was distributed among the Persian soldiers. After this victory the fortress of Peishore was easily taken, and the king staid several days in the adjacent plains, in order to refresh his troops, and to wait for the arrival of the prince Nafralla.

That prince having at length arrived, Nadir resumed his march, and with the skill and firmness of a great general whom no difficulties could retard, and no dangers dismay, safely conducted the army over the five branches of the river Indus, which at that season were swelled with the rains, and flowed with the

most rapid current. A numerous army was assembled on the opposite banks, under the command of Zekaria, governor of Lahore: but whether they were alarmed at the swift progress and formidable appearance of the Persians, or confounded at their surprising passage over the Indus, they retreated with a mixture of terror and astonishment. As Nadir continued to advance towards the city of Lahore, Zekaria sent an officer of rank, with a considerable present, to implore his clemency, and to promise the strictest submission. This messenger met with a favourable reception, and Zekaria, having received many marks of distinction, was confirmed in his government of Lahore. At the same time Nasser was admitted into favour, having been bribed, according to Fraser, by the conspirators, and returned, by the permission of the conqueror, to the capital of his province.

In the mean time the Mogul was preparing to obstruct the progress of these victorious invaders; he had marched twenty-five leagues from the metropolis of his empire, and lay encamped on the plains of Karnal, with an army of thirty thousand Indians, and two thousand armed elephants: the rest of his very numerous forces were making all possible haste to join him, and were commanded by the most illustrious princes of India. It was not long before Nadir's emissaries gave him a full account of Mahommed's situation; upon which he left Lahore, and arrived at Serhind on the 8th of January, 1739, whence he dispatched six thousand Persians to examine the Indian camp, while he continued in full march towards it, with the rest of the army. On the 10th he reached Ambala, about thirty miles from Karnal; and, in the same night, the detachment fell upon the Mogul's camp, and, having slain or taken prisoners a great number of the guards, retreated to Azimabad, where they were joined on the 14th by the royal forces. Nadir was informed by the Indian

prisoners, that the plain of Karnal was defended on the eastern and western sides by a broad river, and a very thick forest, that the intrenchments of Mahommed were guarded by three hundred pieces of artillery, and that he was waiting for the vast armies of the Vizier, his commander in chief, and his other ministers. The next morning the Persians continued their march, and pitched their tents six miles from the Mogul's camp; towards which Nadir made an excursion, and returned after an exact survey of it. He then advanced to the east of Karnal, and, arriving at a large plain about a league from the Indians, he encamped in a very advantageous situation. In the evening he had intelligence, that Sadit, an Indian prince of very high rank, was hastening to join Mahommed, with thirty thousand men. It was too late to intercept this reinforcement, which reached Karnal at midnight: but a troop of Persians who had been sent for that purpose, attacked the rear of the Indians, and plundered the baggage of Sadit. This loss exasperated that general to the highest degree, and drove him to the fatal resolution of advancing early the next morning against Nadir Shah, without considering the disadvantage of acting offensively against an invading enemy, who might otherwise have been reduced to great extremities in a country so little known to him, or compelled to fight upon very unequal terms: but Mahommed and the Indian princes, who had been softened by a life of luxury and indolence, deceived by the vast number of their forces, and wholly void of experience in military affairs, determined to venture on a battle, and hastened to the support of Sadit, with a vain confidence of victory. They were soon joined by Khan Dowran, commander in chief, Nizam al Muluck, prince of Deccan, Kammir o'deen, the Grand Vizier, and many other able generals, at the head of very numerous armies, divided into three bodies, which extended to an amazing length on the field

of battle. Nadir Shah was so far from being disheartened at the sight of this formidable armament, that he is said to have been animated beyond his usual degree of courage: he knew, that an army of soft and enervated Indians were little able to oppose the hardy troops, whom he had trained to arms by the most excellent discipline, and allured to engage with more ardour than ever, by the hopes of sharing the spoils of so rich a kingdom; he perceived the folly of his adversaries, in bringing to the field such enormous pieces of ordnance, which they were unable to conduct with skill, and in depending upon the number of their elephants, which could not fail to distress and impede them in a general action.*

These considerations gave him such an assurance of success, that he ordered Nafralla to stay behind with the greatest part of the artillery, and rushed with a wild impetuosity upon the Indians. The shock was equally violent on both sides, but the two armies were conducted with a very different spirit; for while the Persians were able, with very little impediment, to seize every advantage that presented itself, their enemies were quickly thrown into confusion, and would have made but a short resistance, if so unwieldy a body could even have retreated with speed. After a scene of havock and disorder for five hours, the

* The above, it will be recollected, is the Persian account of this invasion, written by an historian in the train of Nadir, therefore probably not without prejudice in favour of his hero, and certainly not acquainted with the secret springs of the actions of Nadir Shah, and of the Indian Omrahs. Authentic documents collected by our countrymen at Delhi, place things in a very different point of view, and evidently demonstrate a collusion between the principal agents in this dark affair. Sadit, in thus prematurely attacking the Persians, undoubtedly acted *treacherously*, with a view to throw himself into their hands; for no general, consummately skilled in the art of war like himself, would have acted in this manner, and thus early and precipitately bring on a general engagement.

prince Sadit, who had been the first to take the field, was the first to leave it; and his troops by their sudden flight imparted a general terror to Mahommed, and his ministers, who retired in haste to their camp at Karnal, and depended for their safety on the strength of their intrenchments. The rout of the Indian army soon became universal; the two nephews of Sadit, who were mounted upon the same elephant, were taken prisoners; Khandowran received a wound, of which he died the next day; and ten princes of eminent rank, with an hundred nobles and officers of distinction, and thirty thousand of their soldiers were slain in the action; great numbers of Indians were made captives, and all their elephants, horses, and instruments of war fell into the hands of the conquerors.

After this victory, Nadir Shah advanced to the camp of Mahommed, which he found so strongly fortified, that he could not attack it with advantage, but thought it more prudent to enclose it on all sides, and to distress the Indians, who were almost destitute of provisions, by a continual blockade: on the third day after this, the ministers of Mahommed, finding it impossible either to exist in that confinement, or to escape from it, prevailed with him to preserve his life at the expence of his kingdom, and by resigning his diadem, to calm the resentment of the conqueror. The great Mogul perceived the necessity of this expedient, and left his entrenchments, attended only by the prince of Deccan, the grand Vizier, and his other nobles. When Nadir was informed of his approach in this submissive manner, he sent the prince Nafralla to meet him, and himself received him at the door of his tent, where he took him by the hand with great mildness, and placed him by his side on the throne. Mahommed resigned his crown in form, and was treated, on that day and the next, as a guest in the Persian camp, where he received every

demonstration of respect. On the 1st of February, Nadir advanced towards Delhi; and on the 7th he encamped in the gardens of Shallimar; where Mahommed obtained leave to enter the city, in order to prepare his palace for the reception of his vanquisher. Nadir followed him on the 9th; and was conducted to a magnificent edifice, built by the Mogul Shah Jehan, which, upon this occasion, was decorated with every ornament that the treasury of Mahommed could supply. That unfortunate monarch, finding himself reduced to the condition of a private nobleman, prepared to attend his conqueror with the lowest marks of submission: but Nadir Shah soon raised him from the state of dejection into which he was sunk, by declaring that he would reinstate him on the throne of his ancestors, and that he would repair the late breach in their friendship, by maintaining a perpetual alliance with the Indian empire, and by giving him a sure support upon every exigence: but that he would stay some time at Delhi, to refresh his army after their long expedition. The Mogul was so penetrated with this unexpected act of generosity, that he expressed his gratitude in the strongest manner, and having stripped his treasury of the most valuable jewels and curiosities that were deposited in it, he brought them as a present to Nadir Shah. These treasures consisted of rich vases adorned with gems, vast heaqs of gold and silver in coin and ingots, with a great variety of sumptuous furniture, thrones, and diadems: amongst the rest was the famous throne in the form of a peacock, in which the pearls and precious stones were disposed in such a manner as to imitate the colours of that beautiful bird, and which was said to be worth two millions and a half sterling.*

Such is the substance of Sir W. Jones's account of Nadir's

* Sir W. Jones's History of Nadir Shah, section V. on the Indian invasion, p. 85, 86, et seq. oct. edit. 1773.

Indian irruption, founded, as before observed, on the authority of a Persian manuscript, translated by himself for the king of Denmark, at an early period of life. He allows that the writer, who attended Nadir in most of his expeditions, might be somewhat partial in his narration, but he contends for the general correctness of the facts recorded, and, except in its silence as to the circumstance of the conspiracy, and Nadir's boundless rapacity, it accords pretty accurately with those of Fraser and others. Coming from such a source I thought it too curious to be omitted; but the accounts of the suffering Indians themselves must also be heard, and the picture is in most parts charged with colours of a much more dark and sanguinary hue.

According to native authors, consulted by our countrymen, the Mogul fortified camp at Karnal extended seven coss in circumference; and the army itself, an army, according to Mr. Orme, famished by its own numbers,* amounted to nearly half a million, with a train of a thousand pieces of artillery, linked together by massy chains.† The number of the elephants is, however, doubtless greatly over-rated at 2000. The enormous wealth obtained by Nadir at Delhi was by no means a voluntary gift, as the Persian author affirms, for by far the greatest part was extorted by blood and stripes from the miserable inhabitants, and in its total value amounted, not, as he seems to intimate, to *thirty* millions, but, as we shall hereafter see, to above *sixty* millions sterling. The substance of what less partial writers have related, as occurring after the battle, or rather skirmish of a few hours, that laid the crown of India at the feet of Nadir, is as follows.

After the various ceremonial visits paid by the humbled emperor to his conqueror, who, according to Fraser, was by no

* Orme, vol. i. p. 39. † Scott's Deccan, vol. ii. p. 201.

means so polite or condescending as the Persian relates, but severely reproached him for his obstinacy, his treatment of his embassadors, and his degrading the throne of Timur by paying the *choute* to the infidel Mahratta race; after these visits, and repeated conferences holden with the Nizam * and Sadit respecting the immense sum to be paid for the ransom of the emperor and his capital, amounting, under the softer name of peishcush, to twenty-five millions sterling, the two armies began their march for Delhi in the most guarded and cautious manner possible. It commenced on the 2d of March. Nadir Shah marched first at the head of 20,000 chosen horse: in a line with Nadir, at the distance of a coss proceeded his haram, guarded by 4000 horse. Mahommed Shah, accompanied by 40 or 50 only of his attendants, but with a *guard of honour* of 10,000 *Kezzlebash* horse (resolute soldiers of Persia resembling the Janizaries of Turkey) and 2000 harquebussiers followed Nadir at a distance of one coss. The Nizam, Vizier, and other great officers, with their attendants, followed half a coss distant from each other, and separated by Kezzlebash horse to prevent their junction. The extent of ground which they covered in their march was five coss in length and three in breadth, and the same method was observed on every day's march. On the 7th of March the grand cavalcade arrived at the gardens of Shallimar, described before, and on the

* The Nizam's reception is thus described in letters from Delhi: "On the 17th of February Nizam al Muluck, with Azim Allah Khan, and a guard of horsemen, went out, and a small tent being pitched between the two camps, Nadir Shah's Vizier came, and from thence conducted him to his master, who embraced him sitting, and made him stand honourably, close by himself; he gave him a cup of sherbet, and made him eat at the Vizier's house. The conference was continued all that day, and the 18th, at the close of which he received a rich dress on being made captain general and ameer al omrah in the room of the deceased Dowran Khan." Fraser, p. 161.

8th Mahommed, accompanied by 4000 Kezzlebash horse, by Nadir's permission, entered the castle. The conqueror delayed his triumphal entry till the following day, when it took place with all the caution imaginable, and at the head of 20,000 horse; the rest of the army encamped without the walls of the city.

On Saturday the 10th of March the sun entered Aries — that sun which had often witnessed the unequalled pomp, the unrivalled glory of the house of Timur, now beheld the usurper of the throne of the Sefi's, sitting on the imperial musnud of India, and receiving *extorted* offerings of inestimable value from her degraded emperor, and her prostrate nobility. These presents, together with the treasures found in the subterraneous vaults of the palace, hoarded up since the reign of the magnificent Shah Jehan, and sealed with the seal of the empire, and the *peacock* throne, with nine others of inferior lustre and value, amounted by the lowest computation, to thirty-five millions sterling. Of gold and silver plate, which he melted down and coined, the amount exceeded five millions; of utensils set with jewels, and of jewels unset, five millions more. In the richest brocades and stuffs of Indian manufacture he received the value of two millions; in horse and elephant caparisons, adornedwith gold and gems, three millions; in all, fifty millions sterling! A more general and complete depredation was never committed by any imperial robber in ancient or modern times.

Enormous, however, as was this amount, that robber was by no means satisfied with it; but gave orders for levying a peishcush of eight millions more upon the merchants and inhabitants of the opulent city of Delhi. In raising this additional sum the most severe cruelties were exercised, and many of them died under the extreme tortures inflicted upon them, by those appointed to collect it. Many also of the higher order of nobles, who were

supposed to have not made offerings proportionate to their immense fortunes, were called upon for additional sacrifices. The two traitors, Sadit and the Nizam, who by their inviting Nadir to invade Hindostan, had brought such incalculable evils upon their country, were amerced in very large sums; Sadit a million, and the Nizam a million and a half. The former having been spoken to by Nadir, in terms of great severity, respecting the collection of the peishcush money, being in a languid state of health, was so affected, that on the following morning he died, though it was generally reported, that, agonizing with remorse, he had accelerated his fate by swallowing poison. Persons the most venerable for age and virtue were not spared, and some were assessed double what they were able to pay. The severity of these exactions irritated the populace to madness; tumultuous insurrection in many places was the result; and resistance was made, wheresoever it could be made with effect. To these calamities, succeeded the more dreadful one of famine, occasioned by the increased multitudes of men and horses that inundated the province of Delhi. An attempt of the Persian commander of Delhi, to regulate the price of wheat at the public granaries, caused the spark, which was already kindled, to burst forth into a flame, which was only to be quenched by the blood of 100,000 of its inhabitants. Fraser states the first commotion to have taken place about noon; that it was considerably increased towards evening; that after sunset, some persons having reported that Nadir was taken prisoner, and others that he was poisoned, the mob and tumult exceeded all bounds; and all the idle and disaffected of that great city, joining from all quarters, with such implements of destruction as they could most readily procure, rushed in a torrent towards the castle, devoting to death every foreigner they met, and breathing vengeance against the invaders

of their country. Of the external guard a considerable portion were instantly sacrificed to their fury, and the remainder sought safety in flight.*

On the first tidings of these commotions, Nadir, firm and collected in every difficulty, had dispatched couriers on fleet horses to his general in chief, Thamas Khan, who with the rest of the army, was encamped without the walls, with orders to commence his march, with 30,000 horse, immediately for the capital; and the vanguard of that army shortly after arriving, soon routed with immense slaughter, the infuriated populace that surrounded and threatened to storm the citadel. In a few hours after, the whole of this formidable body entered the city; and Nadir, thus re-inforced, at midnight marched out of the castle at their head, to crush the insurrection. Inflamed with high resentment against the faithless Delhians, but ignorant of the full extent and magnitude of the evil, he intrepidly led them on towards the great mosque of Roshin al Dowlat, which stands in the center of the city, and there took his station. All was raging tumult and distraction around him, but he remained firm and unmoved, acting solely on the defensive, and waiting for the break of dawn, to let loose his vengeance on the devoted city. The morning, big with the fate of Delhi, at length arose; and discovered to him heaps of his Persian soldiers weltering in their blood. An awful, momentary pause ensued; and during that pause, a pistol was discharged at him, from a neighbouring terrace, the ball of which missed himself, but killed an officer standing close at his side. He immediately ordered a general massacre to commence from that very spot. His squadrons of horse, instantly pouring through the streets, put every one, without distinction, aged and young, women and children, to death. His foot soldiers at the same

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 184.

time, mounting the walls and terraces, consigned to the same fate every soul they found upon them. The love of spoil, and the thirst of blood, equally operating on those barbarians,—all the bazars of the jewellers, and the houses of the rich citizens in that quarter, were first plundered, and then set on fire. Fearful of the violation of their women, many of the higher rank of Indians collected together their females and their treasures; and, then setting fire to their apartments, consumed them with themselves in one general conflagration. From the same dread, thousands of women plunged headlong into tanks and wells. In every imaginable form of horror,

> DEATH stalked at large
> Through all the streets of that vast capital,
> And seem'd to REIGN UPON THE THRONE OF DELHI.*

During this dreadful carnage the king of Persia continued in the mosque of Roshin al Dowlat. His countenance is said to have been dark and terrible, and that, during the paroxysm of his rage, none but slaves dared to approach him. At length the unfortunate emperor of India, attended by the principal omrahs, with sorrowing looks, and eyes fixed on the ground, ventured to draw near and intercede for the half ruined city and surviving inhabitants. For a time he was obdurate; at length the sternness of his countenance relaxed, and, sheathing his sword, he said, For the sake of the prince Mahommed, I forgive. The joyful tidings of his wrath appeased were immediately, by sound of trumpet, conveyed through the city, and the work of destruction as instantly ceased. Between the issuing of the bloody mandate at sun-rise and two o'clock in the

* Fall of the Mogul; a tragedy founded on this tremendous catastrophe, and presented to the reader in the Appendix.

afternoon, 100,000 Delhians of all ages were inhumanly butchered. The tyrant then retired into the citadel; and enquiry being made into the origin of the tumult, several Indians of distinguished rank were seized, as the secret abettors of the insurrection, and their execution closed the scene of desolation and carnage. The once beautiful city of Delhi, in the meantime, exhibited a most dismal spectacle, the great streets being filled with the ruins of fallen palaces and houses consumed by the fire; and the smaller streets and passages being absolutely choaked up with the multitude of putrefying carcases. To avoid the danger of pestilence both Persians and natives were for some days employed in removing the bodies of the dead; those of the Indians were heaped up in vast piles, and burned in the rubbish of the ruined houses, and those of foreigners were buried promiscuously in pits, or thrown into the Jumna.

The transition from rioting in blood to rioting in intemperance is a practice congenial to the mind of the tyrant. From celebrating the orgies of death, Nadir shortly after proceeded to celebrate those of Hymen and Bacchus, for on the 26th of the same month, while the sabres of the Persian soldiers were yet warm with the slaughter of the Indians, with great pomp and splendor were solemnized the nuptials of his son, the prince Nasr Allah, with a grandaughter of Aurungzeb; by which politic measure the royal line of Persia and India being united, he hoped posterity would see the crown of both empires placed on one head. The most sumptuous presents were made to the bride on this momentous occasion both by Nadir, and the Indian emperor, and omrahs, and the most happy auspices were drawn from this august alliance. In the mean time the tribute of the peishcush was exacted with increased rigour from the miserable inhabitants of Delhi, but at length the full amount being col-

lected; and the coffers both of the great and the small being utterly exhausted, the Persian army in high spirits, refreshed with health, and loaded with plunder, Nadir began to think of his return to Persia, and having appointed a fixed day for all the omrahs to assemble early in the morning at Mahommed's apartments, his orders were punctually obeyed. Rich kelauts, turbans, and sabres, were prepared for the omrahs, more or less decorated with gold and silver ornaments according to their rank. With these they were invested, and then proceeded, with the dethroned emperor at their head, seated on a royal litter under a canopy of state, to the general divan, where Nadir received them; and after the two emperors had embraced, and refreshments had been served, a crown set with the most costly jewels was brought in, which Nadir, with his own hand, placed on the head of Mahommed, making him at the same time those apologies which the time and circumstances seemed to demand. He was then invested with the other regalia, in like manner set with the richest stones. Nadir then saluted him as emperor, and after giving him the most salutary advice concerning the future government of the empire and his conduct towards the omrahs, particularly enjoined him to be cautious of that hoary traitor, the Nizam; adding, If necessary I can be with you at the head of my army in forty days from Candahar.* The two monarchs then solemnly swore to maintain with each other

* Nadir is, however, by one of his biographers reported to have declared before some of his omrahs, that he had acted indiscreetly in regard to two things; one was his restoring the empire to Mahommed Shah, who being unequal to so great a task, the affairs of India would become worse than formerly; the other was, his giving quarter to Nizam al Muluck, who being so very subtle and crafty, it was more than probable he would raise disturbances; but as according to the decrees of Providence, and the assistance of their own good fortune, he had once passed his word to them he could not then recede.

eternal friendship; and Mahommed, as a pledge of his sincerity, made over to Nadir, and his successors on the Persian throne for ever, all the provinces situated on the west of the Indus; a cession extremely gratifying to Nadir, as some of them had anciently been considered as part of Khorasan, and had been the object of much contention between the two nations.*

On the 7th of May Nadir commenced his march for Persia, and on the evening of that day encamped in the gardens of Shallimar. His exit from Hindostan was marked by the same dreadful scenes of devastation as his ingress; and of the immense wealth which he carried out of it a great portion is said to have been buried in the Indus; owing to the bridge of boats which he had thrown over it being carried away by the rapidity of the stream, and with it many of the animals that were loaded with treasure. On the banks of that river a new, and almost incredible instance of his insatiable avarice is related by Khojeh Abdulkurreem, a Cashmirian nobleman in his train, and is deserving of notice, because it marks the absolute control of this great conqueror over the soldiers who fought under his banners, many of them perhaps not less avaricious or eager for diamonds than himself. Two jewels of inestimable value, that had adorned the turban of the Mogul, being missing from the royal treasury, a search was ordered to be made for them among the baggage of the army. That search not being successful, Nadir issued a decree, challenging all precious stones whatever taken in the plunder of Hindostan as his property, and ordering all the treasures of that kind, under penalty of death, to be brought into the treasury. But this was not sufficient: officers were placed at the ferry to examine all persons before they passed

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 223. Jones's Nadir Shah, p. 93, ubi supra.

the river; and if any valuable jewels were discovered upon them, to seize and send them to the royal repository. Upon the publication of this order some of the soldiers came of themselves and delivered up the jewels they had got in plunder, and these were rewarded with dresses and other presents. From others were taken what they had concealed in the packs and saddles of their horses, camels, or mules. Some buried their stores in the ground, hoping that after the search was over they might be able to return and dig them up again; but from the strict orders of Nadir Shah, which were punctually obeyed, it was impossible for any one to recross the river; and thus the treasure remained in the bowels of its parent earth. Others, out of rage and indignation, threw into the river whatever they had concealed.*

Nadir in fact delighted in this kind of wealth, of which Hindostan afforded him so plentiful a harvest. His turban, his tents, and his horse caparisons, were always richly adorned with jewels; and he constantly carried about him a sapphire of unrivalled magnitude and beauty, with which he was frequently seen to amuse himself in his tent. The same noble author has favoured us with a description, too curious to be omitted, of the tent decorated with jewels, which he caused to be fabricated, and exhibited at Herat in the following year. When Nadir Shah, says our author, an eye witness, was at Delhi, he had such a profusion of precious stones, that he ordered the superintendants of the jewel office, to make up arms and harness of every kind, inlaid with precious stones, and to ornament a large tent in the same manner. For this purpose, the best workmen that could be procured, were employed a year and two months during the

* The missing stones were afterwards found among the confiscated effects of a general officer put to death by his order. Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem, page 4.

march; and when Nadir Shah arrived at Herat, he was informed that a great number of the following articles, richly inlaid with precious stones, were prepared, viz. horse harness, sword-sheaths, quivers, shields, spear cases, and maces; with Sundelees, or chairs of different sizes, and a large tent lined with jewels. The tent was ordered to be pitched in the Dewan Khaneh,* in which were placed the Tukht Taoussee, or Peacock Throne, brought from Delhi, the Tukht Nadery, with the thrones of some other monarchs, together with the inlaid Sundelees. Publication was made by beat of drum throughout the city, and the camp, that all persons had liberty to come to this magnificent exhibition, such as had never before been seen in any age or country. Nadir Shah was not pleased with the form of the tent, for, besides being lined with green satin, many of the jewels did not appear to advantage: he therefore ordered it to be taken to pieces, and a new one to be made, the top of which, for the convenience of transportation, should be separate from the walls. When he returned to Meshed from his expedition into Turan, this new tent being finished, was displayed in the same manner as the former one; but its beauty and magnificence are beyond description. The outside was covered with fine scarlet broad cloth, the lining was of violet coloured satin, upon which were representations of all the more beautiful birds and nobler beasts in the creation, with trees and flowers, the whole made of pearls, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, amethysts, and other precious stones: and the tent poles were decorated in like manner. On both sides of the Peacock Throne was a screen, upon which were the figures of two angels in precious stones. The roof of the tent consisted of seven pieces, and when it was transported to any place, two of these pieces packed in cotton,

* The public hall of audience.

were put into a wooden chest, two of which were a sufficient load for an elephant; and the screen filled another chest. The walls of the tent, the tent poles, and the tent pins, which latter were of massy gold, loaded five more elephants; so that for the carriage of the whole were required seven elephants. This magnificent tent was displayed on all festivals in the Dewan Khaneh at Herat, during the remainder of Nadir Shah's reign. After his death, his nephew Adil Shah, and his grandson Shahrokh, whose territories were very limited, and expences enormous, had the tent taken to pieces, and dissipated the produce.*

* Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurreem, p. 32.

CHAPTER VI.

*Affairs at Delhi.— Unlimited power of the Nizam, who, retiring to Deccan, becomes independent in that region.—His example followed by most of the other Soubahs in their respective provinces.—Insurrection and reduction of the Rohilla Afghans.—*ABDALLAH *seizes Candahar, and invades Hindostan.—Repulsed by the Shah Zaddah.—Death of Mahommed Shah.—Death of the Nizam.—Sultan* AHMED *ascends the throne.—Fresh insurrection of the Rohillas and the Jauts.—The Mahrattas called in to the assistance of the Moguls.—Fatal effects of that imprudent measure.—Character of Ghazi o'deen the younger.—Renewed war with the Jauts.—*AHMED *deposed and blinded by Ghazi, who raises to the throne* AULUMGEER, *the second.—Repeated irruptions of* ABDALLAH. *—Murder of Aulumgeer by Gazi.—Delhi plundered by the Mahrattas.—Great battle between the Mahommedan powers and the latter, who are defeated.—*SHAH AULUM *ascends the nominal throne.—Rapid sketch of his unfortunate history.—His palace sacked and plundered by the Rohillas.—Cruel treatment of his family by* GOLAM CAUDIR.*—Himself blinded.—In him the Mogul empire expires, and with him its history terminates.*

WHEN the sovereign of Persia had evacuated Hindostan, or, to use the allegorical language of the oriental historian, when that destructive comet had rolled back from the meridian of Delhi, Mahommed and his courtiers seem to have remained for some days stupified by the magnitude of the calamity, and little public business occupied their thoughts. We have already men-

tioned the ties of consanguinity that bound together, in the strictest friendship, the Nizam and Kammer o'deen, the favourite Vizier, viz. that the Nizam's son was married to the Vizier's daughter, and the Vizier's son to the Nizam's daughter; and this circumstance, added to his great political talents, will account for the unlimited influence that Omrah continued to have in the government. In short, he disposed, as he pleased, of honours and places. He appointed his own son, Gazi o'deen, captain general of the empire; Ameer Khan, by his advice, was made governor of Allahabad, and Sefdar Jung, son of the deceased conspirator Sadit Khan, succeeded him in the government of Oude. No alteration was made in the other Soubahdaries, nor had there been an inclination to remove any of the distant governors, in that weakened state of the empire, did Mahommed possess the power of doing so. That enervated prince became again absorbed in the usual routine of pleasures that occupy a luxurious court, to which the Vizier himself was too much inclined; and, by degrees, even the horrors of the Persian invasion were obliterated from their minds.

In the mean-time the Nizam, for whom effeminate pleasures had no allurement, had commenced his march for the Deccan, where his son Nazir Jing, taking advantage of the distractions at Delhi, had raised the standard of independence. When arrived at Hydrabad, or Golconda, the capital of his usurped domain, in extent amounting nearly to a fourth of the empire, by means of his amazing wealth he collected a vast army, and assumed all the honours, without the name, of a king. The artifice which he made use of to get his rebellious son into his power, strongly marks the character of that crafty veteran. The two armies being encamped at no great distance from each other, the Nizam, now considerably turned of ninety, affected to be so desperately

afflicted with sickness, as to be near the point of death. He confined himself to his tent so strictly, and in other respects acted the part so well, that the report of his approaching dissolution was universally believed by his own army, whence it was diffused, as an undoubted fact, through that of Nazir Jing. Urgent and repeated solicitations were sent to Nazir Jing, imploring him to visit, in this last extremity, a dying father, promising forgiveness, and assuring him of perfect safety if he might be permitted to embrace him before he expired. The advanced period of the Soubah's life rendering the story highly probable, added to the operation of natural feeling, not wholly extinguished by ambition in the breast of Nazir Jing, induced him, after long hesitation, to pay the desired visit, when, immediately on entering the tent of this expiring parent, he was arrested and thrown into chains, and in that state was, during several months, carried about with him a close prisoner, until, at length, a thorough conviction of his repentance induced that parent to liberate him, and the lesson was so effectual, that he never after was guilty of any disobedience.

The Nizam, now equally at leisure from domestic broils and court intrigues, began to employ all his great political abilities to settle on a permanent basis the affairs of the Deccan, turning out the imbecile and corrupt governors, and placing in their room men of vigour and experience. By anticipation, when treating of the European settlers in the Peninsula, we have already, in some degree, traced his progress in that region, and seen the uncontrolled authority with which he acted, especially when on his arrival at Arcot in 1743, he was so struck with the anarchy that every where prevailed, and so indignant at the multitude of petty chiefs, who had arrogated the title and honours properly belonging to himself, that he ordered the first person who should dare again

to assume those honours, to be scourged.* We have also seen that he appointed Abdallah, one of his generals, to be Nabob of the Carnatic, and on his sudden death, Anwar-odean, (the father of Mahommed Ali) who fell in a conflict fomented by the intrigues of the French. His artful expulsion of Morari Row and his Mahrattas from the Deccan, "rather by presents and promises than by arms," has been also noticed, and may be considered as a strong additional feature in the character of that extraordinary man. In fact, about this period, in consequence of the imbecility of the emperor, and the dissipation of his court, the transactions of this Omrah and his family in Deccan, form the most interesting portion of the Indian history, and that history has been already given.† The irruptions also of the Mahrattas into Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, which make so prominent a feature in the history of the period, have been likewise detailed.‡

From the lethargic supineness in which the court of Delhi had been so long plunged, it was at length roused in 1744, by an insurrection of the Patans, headed by a daring chief, named Ali Mahommed, of the Rohilla tribe. This chief aimed to make himself independent in those countries between Delhi and Lahore, and extending eastward beyond the Ganges, now called Rohilcund, where his ancestors of Afganhistan had been permitted to settle, on remitting the usual subsidies to court. Those subsidies he now refused to discharge, and the Mogul governor of the district having marched against him, was defeated with great slaughter. Victory induced other Patans to enlist under the rebel banners. In a short time his army multiplied exceedingly, and the usurpation of domain became alarmingly extensive. To

* See Vol. II. p. 291.

† It is comprised in the second, third, and fourth chapters of Book V.

‡ Vol. II. p. 342.

oppose his farther progress, Kammir o'deen, the Vizier, dispatched his own son, Meer Munnoo, a youth of great bravery, at the head of an army of 30,000 men. Munnoo, crossing the Jumna, advanced to the banks of the Ganges; but found the enemy so formidable both by numbers and situation, that, uniting the prudence of age with the valour of youth, he thought a negociation safer than a battle, and conditions being agreed upon between them and signed, he led his army back to Delhi. Those conditions not being faithfully adhered to, the emperor himself in the following year, took the field with 50,000 horse. The Rohilla chief shut himself up in Bangur, a fortress of considerable strength, where he was invested by the royal army, and after a short, but bloody siege, was compelled to surrender. He was brought prisoner to Delhi; but afterwards, in the corruption of the times, and amid the distraction of the court, found means to obtain his release, and was appointed Fojedar of Serhind, where he once more appeared with increased strength in arms, and finally became the founder of the independent Rohilla government, for a long time the terror of the throne, and execration of the Moguls.*

Nadir Shah, the scourge of nations, fell a victim to the vengeance of an enraged army, in A. D. 1747. Ahmed Abdallah, one of his generals and confidentials, an Afghan by birth, had risen by that merit which, with Nadir, ever insured success, to the high office of treasurer. On the assassination of his patron, with the assistance of his own resolute tribe, he contrived to carry off three hundred camels, loaded with treasure, to the mountains of Afghanistan, where, by means of that treasure, having raised a considerable army among the hardy inhabitants

* For the above and other particulars, see Hamilton's curious "History of the Rohilla Afghans," p. 70, et seq.

of those mountains, he seized upon Candahar, and urged his claim to the sovereignty of all the provinces west of the Attock, which had formerly been ceded to Nadir by the terrified Mogul. After a slight resistance, the Soubah of Cabul was compelled to yield; he experienced a more determined opposition from Munnoo, the son of the imperial Vizier, who governed Lahore; but eventually he triumphed. The path to Delhi now lay strait before him; and the successful example of Nadir, added to the known imbecility of the government, incited him to attempt the conquest and plunder of that capital, which had begun to recover from the shock of the former invasion, and again to overflow with wealth.

The approach of Abdallah, at the head of a nation peculiarly ferocious, and burning for plunder, filled Mahommed and his court with the utmost consternation. The recruited treasury of Delhi was again thrown open, and an army of 80,000 horse was rapidly levied, at the head of which the young Sultan Ahmed, a prince of great promise, under the direction of Kammir o'deen, the Vizier, Sefdar Jung, and other distinguished officers, advanced against the invader with only 50,000 horse. The two armies came within sight of each other near Sirhind, but fearful of the event on which so great a stake depended, instead of instantly rushing to battle, both parties strongly intrenched themselves. During this awful pause, Abdallah having brought some pieces of artillery to bear on the flank of the imperial army, a random shot penetrated the tent of the Vizier, that faithful servant of the crown, in the act of performing his evening devotions. As he was equally beloved and respected by the army, of which he was in fact the commander, it was thought prudent to conceal his death, and, without delay, to attack the enemy in his entrenchments. Accordingly, at the break of dawn, the royal army was put in motion, and the troops being intrepidly led on to the assault,

by Ahmed and Munnoo, the Vizier's son, in a resistless torrent, burst into the camp of Abdallah, who, not wholly unprepared, in that situation with heroic resolution defended himself for three hours against their whole force. The vast superiority however of the imperialists in elephants, who trampling down the intrenchments, spread havoc and dismay wheresoever they moved, contributed greatly to decide the fortune of the day. The discomfited army was pursued by Munnoo several miles from the field of battle; and though some desperate efforts were afterwards made by Abdallah, to retrieve the loss he had sustained, yet he was, eventually, compelled to retreat across the Nilab with an army greatly diminished in numbers, and with the total loss of his artillery and baggage. Thus ended the first irruption of this famous chief, whom the brave Munnoo was left with a considerable army to keep in check, while Sultan Ahmed commenced his triumphant return to *Delhi*.

When arrived at *Paniput*, a city situate about eighty-five miles from the metropolis, he received intelligence of the sudden death of the emperor his father, a few days before, while sitting on the throne, and administering justice in the great Hall of Audience. Mahommed had for some time been in a declining state of health, and excessive grief, for the loss of his favourite Vizier, was supposed to have occasioned the convulsive fit, which brought on the fatal catastrophe. Ahmed immediately hastened to Delhi, where he was proclaimed emperor in April 1748, with the usual solemnities; and of a reign thus auspiciously commenced, great was the promise, and ardent the expectations.

One of the first acts of the new emperor was an offer of the post of Vizier to Nizam al Muluck; but that venerable soubah, enjoying in undisturbed tranquillity the ample sovereignty of Deccan, declined the offer, and pleaded in excuse his very advanced age, being then in his 104th year; nor did he long sur-

vive the emperor; for not many months after he expired at his palace of Aurungabad, leaving the world in astonishment at the unimpaired vigour of that genius, and those abilities, which seemed only to increase with increasing years. Neither his refusal nor his death were the cause of immoderate grief at Delhi, and shortly after that high office was conferred on Seffdar Jung, the son of Sadit, who has already made so conspicuous a figure in the pages of this history, and whose descendants in Oude, for the last half century, engross so large a share of that of the Company. Nasir Jing, the Nizam's second son, being in possession of his father's army and treasury, was, from fear rather than affection, confirmed in the Soubahdary of Deccan, and Gazi o'deen, the eldest, for the present at least, continued quietly at Delhi, in the office of paymaster and captain general.

The new emperor being in the flower of his age, surrounded by flatterers who praised his valour, and allured by all the incentives to pleasure that the most luxurious court of Asia could yield, soon relaxed from the ardour of military pursuits, and became the victim of indolence and dissipation. Seffdar Jung, the Vizier, was distinguished by no pre-eminent abilities; but conducting himself in the most haughty and arrogant manner towards the Omrahs, was universally detested by them, and his downfall universally desired. His fondness for military glory, however, had not declined like his master's, and the Rohillas, and other Afghan tribes in that vicinity, having made frequent irruptions into the province of Oude, of which he was Soubah, he conducted an army against that people, and was at first defeated; but, by the permission of the emperor, having called in a body of 40,000 Mahrattas to his aid, he was eventually victorious, and revenged the injury by an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children of Afghan extraction. He

continued for some time in Oude, settling the distracted affairs of that province, and then returned to Delhi, followed by the mercenary Mahratta army, clamorous for their arrears, and eager, if refused, to repay themselves by the plunder of the environs of that opulent city. The treasury was empty, and the danger imminent. In this extremity, Gazi o'deen, who had in his public station accumulated an immense fortune, offered to discharge their arrears, which amounted to no less a sum than fifty lacks of rupees, on condition that the emperor should issue firmauns expressly appointing him Soubah of the Deccan, in the room of his brother Nazir Jing, who had recently been assassinated on the field of battle, as before related.* The emperor's acquiescence was joyfully given, their demands were settled, and Gazi o'deen immediately commenced his march for the south, attended by these very Mahrattas, who were happy to enlist under any banners where a prospect of plunder was even distantly afforded. That they ever were from authority permitted to collect the *choute*, or engaged to fight under the royal standard, was perhaps the most unfortunate occurrence that ever befel this once mighty empire; which was now torn asunder by tribes of freebooters of every denomination, Jauts, Rajapouts, Rohillas, Seiks, and the still more ferocious barbarians of Afghanistan.

In that quarter the intrepid Munnoo had, for a long time, at the head of the best disciplined troops of Hindostan, resisted all the force of Abdallah, or, to use a more familiar term, *the Abdallees*; for *Abdal*, whence his name is derived, is only the general name of the tribe to which the sovereign of Candahar belonged. The contests between the two powers were long and arduous; attended with great expenditure of blood and treasure, which

* See Vol. II. p. 308.

Ahmed could immediately supply from his inexhaustible resources at hand, but which, amidst the supineness and dissipation of the court of Delhi, could not, in an equally adequate, or rapid degree, be conveyed to Munnoo. The greatest part of Lahore was in consequence lost; and to complete the disaster, Munnoo himself, the valiant governor of that province, about this time (1753), died suddenly by a fall from his horse. Abdallah, immediately advancing with his army, seized on the capital of that province, and placed his son, then an infant, in the government of that city, under the tuition of an experienced omrah, fully determined, in the following year, to push on with his innumerable legions to the gates of Delhi.

The importance of the family of the Nizam, at this period of the empire, renders any apology for alluding to the individuals of it unnecessary. It has been already stated, that Ghazi o'deen, the late captain-general, after discharging the arrears due from the Vizier to the Mahrattas, had departed for the Deccan, aided by a formidable body of that nation, to take possession of his government, usurped by Salabad-Jing, assisted by the French, after the murder of the unfortunate Nazir Jing. Having entered Aurungabad at the head of 150,000 men, and being well acquainted with the power and influence of the French in his brother's army, he from thence dispatched emissaries with splendid offers of money and titles to M. Dupleix at Pondicherry, if he would recall M. Bussy and his army from the service of Salabad-Jing, in which project he would probably have been successful had not the latter took an effectual method to prevent it, by causing his brother to be poisoned, and that by the agency of his mother, then at Aurungabad, who sent him a plate of victuals prepared, as she told him, by her own hands. To such dreadful extremes in eastern countries does ambition drive her

infuriated votaries! The Mahratta army immediately dispersed, and Salabad Jing continued in the usurped sovereignty of Deccan, without any dread of the threatened vengeance of the court of Delhi, to the consideration of whose conduct we are recalled by the consequences of the calamitous event just recited.

We are now to introduce upon the theatre of affairs, one of the most extraordinary characters that ever existed, a youth of fifteen, the only son of the abovementioned Ghazi o'deen, and on whom the title and honours of his father were immediately conferred by the emperor, at the earnest solicitation of Seffdar Jung, the vizier, who admired his great talents, and who was too soon to become the victim of them. The young Ghazi, at that early age, possessed all the high accomplishments, abilities, and vices of his father and grandfather. In him, the most open unreserved manners were combined with the deepest dissimulation; unbounded generosity, and the most undaunted fortitude, with the basest treachery and ingratitude; he had a head to project, a genius to advance, and, if necessary, a hand to execute the most daring and criminal designs. He seemed as if born to control thrones, and direct empires; and he mounted at once to the pinnacle of ambition and grandeur, in assuming the reins of that of Hindostan. This chosen youth, on being appointed by the emperor captain-general, as before observed, at the intercession of Seffdar Jung, immediately used all his influence with his sovereign to get his patron removed from that high office, and succeeded. But Seffdar Jung was himself too high-spirited to submit quietly to this disgrace, and flew into open rebellion. He engaged in his service an army of Jauts under their prince Suraje Mull, and advancing at their head to Delhi, shut up the emperor and his juvenile captain-general within its walls. Ghazi defended the city with great bravery for three months, at the end of which

period he issued forth, engaged, and completely routed the ejected Vizier, who fled precipitately to his government of Oude, leaving Suraje Mull and his Jauts to sustain the whole weight of the imperial vengeance. To chastise that turbulent race, Akebut Mahmud, an experienced general, was dispatched at the head of a considerable army; but by avoiding a general engagement, and retiring into and under the protection of their numerous forts, they found means to baffle all his efforts to subdue them.

In the mean time the power of young Ghazi, in consequence of his late success, became almost unlimited at the court of Delhi, especially as the emperor, satisfied with the laurels which he had obtained when he drove back the Abdallees from the western frontier, remained continually plunged in intemperance, and left every thing at his disposal. He was not, however, without a rival almost as young, as ardent, and as ambitious as himself. This rival was the new Vizier, the youngest son of the celebrated Kammir o'deen, the favourite of the late, as the son was of the present emperor, and he burned with secret envy at beholding the almost sovereign authority with which the latter was invested. He took every opportunity of calumniating him to the emperor, and filled the royal breast with the darkest suspicions of the man whom he had thus imprudently exalted to premature honours. An opportunity soon offered of removing his hated rival from his presence, and, as he fondly hoped, for ever!

No very signal success had crowned the imperial army employed against the Jauts, who were now become a formidable people, especially when their forces were united in the field, and they had gradually obtained possession of the country extending for many miles round Agra, although they were not yet masters of that capital. The great body of the Mogul army being engaged at a distance in Lahore, watching the Abdallees, the forces

under Akebut were by no means adequate to their complete reduction, and great bodies now began to appear in the field, and seemed to bid the Mogul general defiance. To a foe so near, so menacing, and so dangerous, it was necessary to give an immediate and decisive check; in this extremity, Ghazi proposed to the emperor to call in the assistance of the Mahrattas, at that time in the vicinity of Agra, and offered to lead them in person against the insulting foe. The advice, however fatal in its consequences to the empire, was acquiesced in, and the offer of Ghazi's personal services was accepted with insidious joy by Ahmed and his jealous Vizier. The Mahrattas, at that time in high hostility with the Jauts, readily consented to the terms proposed; and 40,000 of that nation, under their generals Mulhar and Ragonaut Row, but subject to the control of Ghazi, advancing into that beautiful country, scattered death and desolation wheresoever they came; discomfiting whatever bodies of troops appeared in arms to oppose them, and driving the rest back into their strong forts. To the attack of those forts, artillery became necessary, and with that article the Mogul camp was but indifferently provided. Ghazi immediately dispatched an officer to Delhi, with a request that the royal park of artillery might be forwarded to him without a moment's delay. This request, to his astonishment, was peremptorily refused, and the officer, in addition, reported that all Delhi was flying to arms, as if an enemy were at the gates.

Shortly after an intercepted letter, written by the emperor himself, and intended for Suraje Mull, unravelled the whole mystery, and opened to him his alarming situation. In fact, during his absence, the implacable Vizier had too well succeeded in impressing the king's mind with ideas of the confirmed disloyalty of Ghazi. His rebellious designs, he affirmed, were glar-

ingly evident throughout the whole of his conduct, both in the cabinet and the field. He represented his daring ambition, as aimed at the imperial throne itself; "the Mahrattas were already at his nod; and the royal artillery might soon be pointed against the castle of Delhi." The intercepted letter encouraged Suraje Mull to hold resolutely out to the last extremity; it informed him that the imperial guard, with a numerous army, had taken the field, and that the emperor was approaching to attack the traitor in the rear, while at an appointed signal, the Jaut prince should issue from his strong forts, and attack him in front. On perusing these dispatches, the lofty soul of Ghazi was filled with indignation, and burned with a desire of revenge. He instantly raised the various sieges in which he was engaged, and with his whole army re-crossed the Jumna, determined to give battle to the king and vizier, who were leisurely marching down between the rivers in fancied security. Daring in design, and prompt in execution, Ghazi was not a person to rest satisfied with half measures. With the reign of the one, and the influence of the other, he saw that his own safety was incompatible, and he was firmly resolved, by desperate measures, to put a period to both. On receiving intelligence of his approach, the emperor halted at Secundra, and by liberal promises and munificent offers, endeavoured to reclaim his rebel minister to a sense of duty. The only answer which Ghazi condescended to return, was the king's own letter to Suraje Mull, and a spirited remonstrance against his base ingratitude to a man, whose only crime was his being engaged in fighting the battles of the empire. He inveighed against the meanness that could listen to the perfidious insinuation of a sycophant, to his prejudice, and justified his being in arms against a prince, whose imbecility rendered him unworthy longer to hold the reins of government. Both the king and the vizier were

thunder-struck at this bold strain of invective, and knowing themselves unable to cope with him in the field, unaided by the Jauts, retreated in haste to Delhi. They were, however, pursued by Ghazi with such celerity, that he gained possession of one of the gates which they had just passed, and the fugitives, retiring into the citadel, were there so closely invested by the rebellious omrah, that they were in a short time compelled to surrender. After upbraiding the emperor with his ingratitude, and the vizier with his rashness, he ordered the latter to immediate execution; and committed Ahmed himself to the custody of an officer, on whose steady vigilance he could rely. The next day the eyes of the king were blinded with an iron heated red hot, which necessarily terminated his government, after a reign of seven years, only distinguished by a transient display of vigour and fortitude at its commencement. This calamitous event took place about the close of the year *1755*.

AULUMGEER THE SECOND.

After the atrocious act that consigned Ahmed Shah to blindness and oblivion, Ghazi o'deen raised to the vacant throne a grandson of Bahadur Shah, by the name and title of Aulumgeer the Second. He was immediately appointed vizier to the new emperor, and reigned with despotic sway both over him and the empire. Thus held in absolute bondage, and sensible of his chains, the weak monarch struggled in vain to get free from those manacles, which every effort to release himself only riveted the closer. He never reflected, that the same power which exalted him to the imperial musnud, could, if so inclined, in an instant, hurry him back to that prison, in whose cheerless solitude he had already passed so many disconsolate years. As Ghazi was universally detested, a large party of omrahs sided

with the king, but being equally dreaded as detested, few opportunities occurred of publicly evincing that rooted aversion which his tyrannical conduct had excited. All his measures, however, were secretly thwarted and undermined by the court and its sycophants; and many projects, that were even fraught with important benefit to the public, were relinquished, because they originated with him. Such an order of things could not last long. The secret cabals of his enemies, by no means escaped the penetrating eyes of the sagacious young vizier, and he was silently meditating a dreadful retaliation, when the alarming intelligence received of the mighty preparations of Abdallah for the invasion of Hindostan, roused the court of Delhi from their culpable insensibility to the public dangers that threatened the empire, and for a time suspended the animosity of faction. Aulumgeer possessed neither capacity of mind, nor vigour of body for military affairs; it was, therefore, determined that Ali Gohar, his eldest son, the present SHAH AULUM, accompanied and directed by the vizier, should march with all the forces that could be raised to oppose the progress of that powerful chieftain.

The treasury was exhausted by the unbounded profusion of the late and present emperor. With great difficulty an army of 80,000 men was raised for the expedition; but when they had advanced about forty miles beyond Sirhind, Abdallah was found to be too firmly established in his new conquests, to allow any hopes of a successful attack by troops hastily raised and ill disciplined, upon the veteran bands that had served under Nadir Shah. The whole result of the campaign was a treaty that only for a short time retarded the progress of Abdallah into Hindostan, and the solemnizing of a marriage contracted at a former period by Ghazi, with the daughter of the deceased Munnoo. Ghazi well knew that, if defeated by Abdallah, his power and

influence were for ever gone. By dexterously warding off the blow, which was to subvert the empire, he saved himself also from destruction.

On the return of the imperial army to Delhi, the conduct of the vizier, both to the emperor and the omrahs, was marked by more outrageous insolence than ever. He confined the former within the walls of the citadel, and he dispatched, by poison or the dagger, all his enemies among the latter. Never were so many crimes crowded into so short an interval. At length wearied out with his sufferings, and his crown having become a burthen to him, Aulumgeer adopted the desperate measure of privately inviting Abdallah to advance with his army towards Delhi, and release him from his prosecutor. A well-concerted plot was laid for his destruction, which, however, by his profound craft he evaded, although the empire sunk in the dreadful conflict. To the command of a Rohilla chief, named Nidjib Dowlah, originally patronized by Ghazi, but whom his arrogance had disgusted, was intrusted a large division of the imperial army, that marched out to give Abdallah battle. Ghazi himself commanded the remainder. In the mock encounter that followed, he was deserted by the Rohilla, and the greater part of the army, and thus fell into the hands of Abdallah, whom, however, he afterwards found means to propitiate, though he was for the present deprived of the post of vizier.

The Afghan hordes being of a more ferocious disposition than the Persian troops of Nadir Shah, their irruption into the city of Delhi, which immediately took place, was attended by circumstances proportionably more disgusting and barbarous. In the space of nearly twenty years, amidst all its distractions, that metropolis had in great part recovered from that ruinous calamity, and though its wealth in jewels was at this time far inferior,

yet commerce and the residence of the court had caused it again to overflow with treasure, which those savages extorted from the inhabitants, by every mode of refined torture that ingenuity could devise. Not satisfied with plundering the living; with robbing the mosques and the palaces of their gaudy spoil, they carried their depredations into the regions of the grave itself, and robbed the sepulchres of the emperors, and many pious saints, that had been held sacred for ages, of their gold and silver ornaments. For two months was the city subjected to these horrors, after which period the invader marched towards Agra, in order to punish and raise contributions among the Jauts, in which he was not altogether successful; for though he spread wide the scene of ravage and desolation through the open country, that people, for the most part, evaded his vengeance and extortions, by retiring to the strong holds, in which that district abounds. At Agra he was repulsed by the Mogul governor; but he wreaked his indignation upon the city of Muttra, one of the most ancient and venerable seats of the Hindoo religion, and after sacking and plundering it, left it a heap of ruins. He had also dispatched Ghazi, whom, in spite of the emperor's remonstrances he had again raised to the Vizirat, with an army into Dooab, or the interamnian region, to collect the tributary sums due to the government from that country and Oude. The Soubahdar of Oude, was that Sujah Dowlah, so well known to the English, who with the Rohillas, his allies, had already commenced his march for the frontiers, determined to oppose, if necessary, force by force. After some fruitless efforts to separate the united chiefs, and thinking himself not equal to their combined armies, the prudent Vizier compromised the business with them for a few lacks of rupees, and with these, and the spoils which he had otherwise procured, returned to Abdallah.

That invader who acted, while he staid in Hindostan, in all respects as its absolute sovereign, having received intelligence of some incursions into his dominions from Western Persia, was now preparing for his return to Candahar. As a balance to the Vizier's power, whom he had exalted to that high station solely on account of his transcendant abilities, in consequence of the earnest supplication of the emperor, he appointed Nidjib al Dowlah prince of the Omrahs, with orders to protect the king against his machinations, and having celebrated his nuptials with a daughter of Mahommed Shah, immediately commenced his retreat. In his progress to Candahar, he left his son Timur Shah, who was about the same time married to a daughter of Shah Aulum, with a large army at Lahore, and by this double alliance, his future views upon the throne of Hindostan may be clearly discerned.

The balance intended against the power of the Vizier, by the appointment of Nidjib al Dowlah to the high station of Ameer al Omrah, proved ineffectual towards restraining his arrogance and his cruelties, which were now carried to a greater height than ever. As, for supporting his usurped authority, it was necessary to keep in pay a considerable army of Mahrattas, and the treasury being drained, enormous sums were to be raised for its support, they could only be procured by the most oppressive measures from the toiling mechanic, by excessive burdens on commerce, and by confiscating the estates of the obnoxious nobility. Loud complaints and invectives resounded from every quarter, but there was no one to redress the grievance; for the king, with his son Ali Gohar, groaned under the same bondage, and were kept state prisoners by this daring young ruffian, while Nidjib al Dowlah was compelled to consult his personal safety, by retiring to his jaghire at Secundra, in the Dooab. The young

and spirited prince, after several attempts to make his escape, did indeed at length effect it, at the head of a chosen band devoted to his service, by valiantly cutting a passage with his sabre through thousands of troops sent by Ghazi to blockade the palace, and endeavoured, when at liberty, to rouze against the traitor the various country powers; but his deficiency in the great sinew of war, MONEY, added to the terror of Ghazi's name, and his formidable Mahratta army, prevented any effectual interference on their part. He resolved, therefore, to fly for protection to Nidjib, at Secundra, who received him with respect, but at present could be of no essential service to the royal cause.

In A. D. 1759, Abdallah, unsatiated with Indian spoil, and having settled the affairs of his own kingdom, again descended from the mountains of Afghanistan into the plains of Hindostan. He seemed to consider that devoted country, at once, as an inexhaustible source for recruiting his treasury, and as a field for the discipline of his hardy warriors. His present visit, however, was not *wholly* the effect of avarice, or ambition; for the restless tribes of Mahrattas were now making rapid advances towards his dominions on the eastern frontier: indeed about this time their armies were in motion in all quarters, and their aim seemed to be to exterminate the Mahommedan princes, and upon the ruin of their authority, to erect a sovereignty of their own. To oppose a power whose views upon that empire were so similar to those entertained by himself, and once more settle the distracted affairs of Delhi, concerning which he had regular intelligence from Lahore, doubtless accelerated his march eastward, which was at this time made with all the forces of his empire, and with energy mighty as the interests at stake. We must here for a short interval, leave him pursuing his victorious career across

the mountains, and driving his enemies before him in every engagement, to return, for the last time, to Ghazi, and the unfortunate monarch his prisoner.

The situation of that minister was now desperate indeed! After having been so repeatedly pardoned and promoted; having violated all confidence, and trampled on all gratitude, every hope of appeasing Abdallah must have vanished from his mind. He had long at an heavy expence maintained in his pay, as if for the security of the empire, but principally to promote his own ambitious projects, and to maintain his own usurped authority, a large body of Mahrattas, the decided enemies both of Abdallah and the Mogul dynasty. With these barbarous hordes he had inundated all the environs of Delhi; with these he had driven Nidjib from its walls, and held in defiance the menacing Soubahs of Oude and Bengal. He *suspected* that Aulumgeer had again invited the Abdallees; he *knew* that, by his emissaries, he had endeavoured to detach from his service the army which he had raised to defend the throne in every preceding extremity. He knew also that before the myriads of Abdallah, that army would be unable to stand. The dream of greatness was over, and he was resolved to terminate his sanguinary career, with a blow that should shake Hindostan to its center, and remind ungrateful monarchs of their doom. He resolved to murder the sovereign whom he had created, and to deprive Abdallah of, at least, half his promised spoil, by permitting his ferocious Mahrattas to ravage the capital, in which he had so long borne the chief sway.

Among his other weaknesses Aulumgeer was addicted to superstition; but it was an amiable weakness; and it added greatly to the atrocity of the murder, that, during an act which strongly marked his piety, the crime was accomplished. Being

informed that a fakeer, or Mahommedant saint, highly venerable on account of his religious attainments, had arrived at Delhi, he expressed an anxious wish to visit the holy man; for saints in India disdain to visit even the palaces of kings. Every thing being previously prepared in the apartments of the pretended saint, as he slowly approached the reverend impostor, two assassins rushed from behind a screen, and with their scymetars divided his head from his body. The headless trunk was exposed two days on the sands of the Jumna, and then interred without regal honours. This event took place towards the close of 1759. The regicide then proceeded to the state prison of the princes of the house of Timur, and taking out thence a grandson of Kambuksh, the youngest son of Aurungzeb, placed him on the throne, with the title of Jehaun the Second; but he is not reckoned among the number of emperors. The gates of the city were now opened to the Mahrattas, who renewed, with increased horrors within its walls, the dreadful work of devastation and death, and for many days continued their merciless career of blood and plunder, till intelligence of the near approach of the Abdallees compelled them to depart. Ghazi himself, after having introduced them to the spoil, had for security retired, by that chief's permission, to a strong fortress of Suraje Mull, and there, whatever atrocities, in a less public character, he might afterwards commit, history loses sight of him.

Abdallah found Delhi in a dreadful situation, from having been so long exposed to the desolating fury and pillage of the Mahrattas. His own exactions severely added to its misfortunes; and so great were they, and so unparalleled the sufferings of the inhabitants that, in the paroxysm of despair, they flew to arms. More stern than Nadir, because exposed to more

imminent danger than his predecessor, Abdallah gave orders for a general massacre, which lasted without intermission for seven days. At that period, when nearly a fourth part of the inhabitants had thus perished, and most of the public buildings were on fire, to add to the confusion, and increase the miseries of the wretched Delhians, immense bodies of Mahrattas, under Mulhar Row, had arrived in the environs, to share with Abdallah the spoils of the burning metropolis. Undaunted in danger, like his great example, after checking the ravages of the sword and the conflagration, he marched out of the city, and gave them battle. After a desperate conflict fought about two coss from Delhi, the Mahrattas were defeated, and pursued for many leagues with great slaughter. Their defeat, however, was only the awakening signal, the grand tocsin, for the assemblage and union of their whole power, under all their chiefs, in order to crush the bold invader. This design they probably would have been able to accomplish, by cutting off his supplies, and, by repeated assaults, wearying out and diminishing an army that was too remote from its resources to recruit itself, had not, at length, all the great Mahommedan powers of India also taken the alarm, and however varying their interest, or individually hostile to Abdallah, seen the urgent necessity of joining him, or being crushed themselves. The Mahommedan religion and government established in India for eight centuries, at an immense expenditure of blood and treasure, must be subverted, or the vast power of the Mahrattas be annihilated by one decisive blow. The circumstance of two such mighty potentates rushing to arms, exhibits a spectacle truly great; but outraged humanity cannot contemplate it without horror! While they are mutually preparing for the mighty conflict which is to decide the fate of India, it is necessary that we should

for a short time, attend to the adventures of a personage of no small importance at the present moment, that Ali Gohar, who, we have seen, after valiantly cutting his way through the besieging army of Ghazi, retired to the jaghire of Nidjib al Dowlah, for protection from the rage of the blood-stained foe of his family.

After staying some months with that protector, finding him unwilling, or unable, in a more public and decisive manner to espouse his cause, the royal exile, at the head of his few determined adherents, faithful to him in every difficulty, and not, perhaps, uncheered with hopes of the approaching dawn of better days, pursued his journey to Oude, where he was received by Sujah Dowlah with the greatest respect, and even with regal honours; though that omrah also at present declined taking any active public part in his affairs. He presented him, however, with a handsome nuzzar of elephants, horses, and money.

In the anxious and laudable desire to emancipate his royal parent from the tyranny of Ghazi, the prince next repaired to Allahabad, and there, in Mahommed Kuli Khan, its viceroy, he found an ardent and strenuous supporter. That enterprising chief, however, recommended, in the first instance, his seizing upon the rich provinces of Bahar and Bengal, with whose tributary wealth, so vast and so long owing, they might be able to raise an army adequate to the great object in view. The proposition was acceded to, and being afterwards imparted to Sujah Dowlah, received his consent, accompanied with the promise of a considerable body of troops, in addition to those of Mahommed. Towards the close of the year 1758, the expedition, highly formidable to any troops but those with thom they were to engage, commenced. Unfortunately for him, at this time the

English army under Colonel Clive, connected by the closest alliance with the government of Bengal, which had for some time, as we have before related, assumed independence,* presented too firm a front to permit his eventual success, even with all his high and imperial claims. This is not the proper place to enter upon the particulars of that campaign. It will be sufficient at present to observe that, notwithstanding some partial triumphs in Bahar, in Bengal he was wholly unsuccessful; and that after having surrendered himself to the victorious British army, and having solicited their military aid in his behalf without effect, as they deemed it not prudent at that time to interfere in his concerns, he once more retired to his protector at Oude. Intelligence, however, of the assassination of Aulumgeer having arrived during the expedition, he caused a throne to be erected, which he publicly ascended, and was proclaimed emperor at Patna. He ever afterwards acted, and was addressed in that capacity. One of the first acts of his new authority was the appointment of Sujah Dowlah to be perpetual vizier of the empire, a situation equally gratifying to the ambition of the one, and beneficial to the interests of the other. He resolutely, however, refused to accept the pressing invitation which, about this period, came from Abdallah, under that chief's auspices publicly to assume the diadem at Delhi. His spirit at this time seemed too great to owe the crown of Hindostan to any other source than his high birth, and the exertion of his own valour.

The grand conflict, as yet unrivalled in the history of India, in respect to the number and power of the combatants, and which was to consign its throne to a Mahommedan, or native power, was now rapidly approaching. After his late triumph

* Under Allaverdy Khan. See Vol. II. p. 341.

and pursuit of the Mahratta army, Abdallah had returned to Delhi, and releasing from the weight of his regal cares the sceptered pageant raised to the throne by Ghazi, by consigning him to his ancient abode, the state-prison of his family, dispatched thence the invitation to Shah Aulum, which we have noticed, publicly to ascend the throne of his ancestors at that capital; but which under such ill-omened auspices, that prudent prince declined. The Mahratta armies under all their most famous chiefs, but subject to the supreme controul of Suddasheo, otherwise the BHOW, were now rolling in a vast body towards Delhi; in their progress they summoned the Jaut rajah to join them. Suraje Mull, although a Hindoo, yet jealous of the Mahratta power, at first hesitated; but on their threatening to ravage his country with fire and sword, and actually commencing those devastations, he reluctantly joined them with 50,000 of his troops. With this addition, their force amounted to 200,000 men, for the most part cavalry. On the near approach of this enormous mass to Delhi, Abdallah thought it prudent to evacuate that city, and retired across the Jumna, to a country more open for the conveyance of supplies to his army, and more practicable for his junction with the Mahommedan forces, which he expected from the north and east of Delhi. Among these were the Rohillas, the troops of Sujah Dowlah, Ahmed Khan Bunguish, the Patan chief of Douab, and other mussulman princes, neighbouring on the Ganges, who had been long subject to the depredations of the Mahrattas.

The Mahratta general soon after advanced, and took possession of the imperial city, in which but a slender garrison had been left by Abdallah, and which was again subjected to all the horrors of former devastation, with great aggravation. The Bhow himself was as mean as he was avaricious, and amidst his other enormities, tore down the cieling of the grand hall of audience, which

was of massy silver, and sent it to the mint, with all the utensils, as chairs, tables, of that precious metal, which after such repeated spoliation yet remained in that once august abode. All the branches of the royal family, as well as their dependants, were, also, meanly plundered of their property and jewels. But what pen can describe the unequalled sufferings of the poor Delhians themselves, in this last extremity of human wretchedness. After being stript of all their little remaining property, and even their very clothes, by a sordid foe, to whom no species of plunder came amiss, they were unmercifully scourged with whips by their insensible tormentors, and driven before them naked through the streets, a famished and frantic throng. Many perished under the hands of their oppressors, and many more rushed voluntarily upon that death which is the last refuge of agonizing humanity. Provisions at length totally failing, to avoid the fate of thousands daily falling around them, the merciless barbarians were compelled to quit the city, and immediately proceeded to Karnaul, where they intrenched themselves on the same ground, formerly occupied by Mahommed, while Abdallah wisely selected the more fortunate situation of Nadir Shah. Here both armies lay in their intrenchments several days, in dreadful preparation, during which, by the mediation of Sujah Dowlah, some overtures were made for peace, but ineffectually. Their mutual differences had risen too high to admit of compromise; and the demands on either side were too extravagant to be complied with.

The whole surrounding country had been so recently and utterly exhausted by the large armies, of whose contests it had been the fatal *aceldama*, that provisions adequate to the support of such immense bodies of troops, were obliged to be brought from very distant quarters, and the active Abdallee cavalry had contrived to cut off several large convoys bearing provisions to

the Mahratta camp, from Deccan, escorted by considerable bodies of troops, while his own was amply supplied by the Rohillas, and his Mahommedan allies on the banks of the Ganges. At length the Mahrattas being reduced to the greatest streights, came to the resolution of giving battle to the enemy, and the whole army marched out of their entrenchments, and advanced towards the enemy's lines. The Abdallees also marched out with alacrity to meet them, and on the morning of the 14th January, 1761, the dreadful battle took place, about two coss distant from the camp of the Abdallees, by whom the attack was commenced with such irresistible impetuosity as prevented their making effectual use of the formidable train of artillery which was drawn out in their front. The dreadful concussion was felt through the whole extent of their line. The Mahrattas, however, fully aware of their desperate situation, that if death threatened before, famine hovered behind, and that their sabres alone must cut their way to safety and to glory, fought for a long time with obstinate bravery, and drove the Abdallees back almost to their camp; but at this moment of apparent triumph a cannon ball struck off the head of the Bhow; the Jauts, who had never heartily joined in their cause, deserted them in a body; and Sujah Dowlah, Ahmed Khan Bunguish, and the other Mahommedan allies pouring down with all their troops on their exposed flank, compelled the great body of them to give way; though in various divisions of that vast army the most heroic deeds were achieved, worthy of themselves and the object, an imperial throne, for which they contended. This is demonstrated by the fact, that out of the numerous distinguished generals by whom that army was conducted to the field, scarcely one, except Mulhar Row, who fled upon the first charge, returned to his native country. The carnage that commenced

after the battle was horrible, for no body was inclined to give quarter to them, whose unrelenting rage spared no body; and wheresoever they were pursued in their flight among the towns and villages, they were universally massacred. 50,000 are said to have fallen in the action, and 30,000 more during the pursuit, which lasted three days, the whole line of their flight being stained with blood. With respect to the plunder taken in the Mahratta camp, it exceeded all calculation, comprising their whole artillery, tents, elephants, horses, camels, the treasure collected in their progress from Deccan, and the still more enormous sums extorted from the miserable Delhians.

To that ill-fated city, after the pursuit, Abdallah immediately repaired, and in imperial pomp received the congratulations of all the great Mussulman lords, his allies, on the utter subversion of the power of the implacable enemies of their religion and government, the Mahrattas. The empire of Timur was now his own, but he seemed inclined to permit the existing branch of that dynasty to enjoy the throne as his deputies, paying him a large annual tribute; and he not only dispatched heralds with renewed invitations to Shah Aulum to return to Delhi, but placed on it his son JEWAN BUKHT, as regent, till his father should return from Bengal, where he was engaged in new schemes of conquest. On Sujah Dowlah, by whose intrepid valour, exerted at a most critical moment, principally, the victory was gained, he bestowed magnificent presents, and confirmed him in the exalted post of perpetual Vizier of the empire. After staying some time there to settle, on the best basis possible, the distracted affairs of the country, he appointed Nidjib al Dowlah, governor of the city, and guardian of the royal family, and returned about the close of the year 1761, to Candahar; nor from that period till his death, which happened in 1773, owing to distractions nearer

home, and the firm barrier presented to his farther progress by the Seiks, was the capital cursed with another visit from that scourge of Hindostan.

SHAH AULUM.

WE are now arrived at that distressing part of the Mogul history which exhibits the singular phænomenon of an EMPEROR without an EMPIRE, and that emperor himself residing many years during the early part of his reign a voluntary exile from his capital in an obscure corner of his nominal dominions, and a pensioner on the bounty of a foreign power. Although the detail of these matters more properly belongs to the history of the English successes in India than to the General History, it will be necessary to present the reader with a summary statement of facts that led to such an extraordinary predicament in one of the princes of Timur's family.

The first attempt of Shah Aulum to possess himself of Bahar and Bengal, or rather of their wealth, by which be hoped to reinstate himself in splendour at Delhi, has been already mentioned as wholly unsuccessful. On the return of Sujah Dowlah to Oude in 1762, loaded with honours, and flushed with recent victory, with what ever awe the British character might have before inspired him, that awe was now in a great degree effaced, and under the sanction of the imperial name and imperial banners he hoped with his mighty armies to overwhelm them as he had overwhelmed the myriad foe at Paniput. The expulsion of Meer Cossim from the Nabobship of Bengal was the ostensible reason alleged by the Vizier for this unprovoked attack upon them. To him, Cossim, after the inhuman massacre in cold blood of the English gentlemen at Patna,* had fled with the remnant

* See an account of this sanguinary affair in Vansittart's "Bengal." Vol. III. P. 375.

of his army, and by him was for a time protected, but afterwards plundered and deserted. Immense preparations were made for an expedition which was to insure to him the sovereignty of Bahar and Bengal, and expel the English from the Indian shores for ever. Early in 1764, those mighty preparations being complete, the armies of the two soubahs commenced their march southward. The respectable native historian of Bengal, GHOLAM HOSSAIN, describing the progress of the march, mentions their numbers as exceeding calculation, covering the country as far as the eye could reach; but from the ignorance of the generals, and want of discipline, murdering one another. It was not an army, but rather a moving nation.* With this undisciplined rabble, and with Clive's victory, at Plassey, fresh in his memory, did Sujah Dowlah hope to conquer a British army!

Among that rabble, however, were doubtless intermingled many battalions of the Rohilla and Mogul cavalry, that fought so valiantly against the Mahratta host; by some of his more experienced generals he was strenuously advised from the immense mass in motion to select those squadrons, and with those alone, and his artillery, which was numerous and well served, to advance against the foe; but Sujah Dowlah despised his enemy too much to take their advice, and entered Bahar at the head of this disorderly band, "spreading desolation," says Hossain, "for miles around their line of march."† The English army under Major Carnac, greatly diminished in numbers, and worn down with excessive fatigue during the late arduous campaign, in which Meer Cossim had been driven before them through a great part of Bengal and Bahar, and also not a little alarmed at the approach of this new and formidable foe—thought it prudent now to fall

* Gholam Hossain translated by Captain Scott, p. 437.

† Gholam Hossain, p. 432.

back from Buxar to Patna, near which city, finding themselves unable to keep the field against such an immense superiority, they threw up intrenchments. Inspired with new confidence by their retreat, the allies kept up a vigorous pursuit, and having arrived at Phulwaurree, about four miles distant from Patna, they there pitched their tents. Early on the following morning they advanced, and in the course of that day made three successive assaults on the English lines, which however, being defended with equal vigour and more dexterity than the attack was made, they were as many times repulsed with immense slaughter. Towards evening Sujah Dowlah with his discomfited army retreated to their encampment at Phulwaurree, extremely indignant at the conduct of Meer Cossim, who had all the day kept at a very respectful distance from the scene of action, nor had even quitted his station when required by signals to advance.* The Vizier was himself wounded in the action, and was in consequence for some days confined to his tent. On his recovery he attempted nothing decisive, but encamped nearer to the south of the city, and contented himself with occasionally parading before the English lines in all the pomp of Asiatic military splendour. After a month had thus elapsed in inactivity, as the season of the rains was rapidly approaching, this vain glorious chief retreated to Buxar, where he continued, intending to return to the attack of Patna, when the wet season should be over.

During all this time Shah Aulum was treated with great neglect and indifference by the arrogant Vizier; in short, as the mere imperial pageant of his ambitious projects. Sick of such empty homage, and such lukewarm friendship, he became impatient to throw himself upon the generosity of the British commander. He even sent a message to that purport by our author,

* Gholam Hossain, p. 432.

Gholam Hossain, who was upon the spot, and in his suit; but Major Carnac respectfully replied, "that his majesty was not then in a situation to act from himself, and that therefore the English could enter into no negociation with him." Neither was his conduct to Meer Cossim marked with any more feeling or respect: he had agreed to pay the Vizier eleven lacks of rupees monthly during the war, but that war becoming greatly protracted, the Vizier thought proper to anticipate payment, and on some trivial pretence confined Meer Cossim, and seized upon all his property, which was immense; he being supposed to have carried out of Bengal the amount of five millions, in gold and jewels. The day of severe retribution, however, was at hand, when he himself was doomed to become an abject dependent upon the bounty of others!

The rains being at length over, Colonel Hector Munro, who had superseded Major Carnac, and brought a great accession of strength to the army, not only in point of numbers, but of vigorous discipline, which it also wanted, commenced his march for Buxar, where the enemy in their turn had strongly intrenched themselves. Buxar is situated on the river Carumnassa, on the frontiers of Bahar, 100 miles above Patna. On receiving this intelligence Sujah Dowlah sent a large detachment of Mogul cavalry to harass his line of march; but the English army was not to be retarded or dismayed. They had with them only ten days provision, and they had resolved in that space to conquer or die. The Vizier's troops, added to those of Cossim and the emperor, composed an army of 50,000 men; that of the English scarcely amounted to 5000 men, of which 1200 were Europeans.

On his arrival at Buxar, Colonel Munro encamped on the borders of a morass, which now only separated the hostile armies. Two days they remained inactive; on the third the

Vizier changing his resolution of avoiding a general engagement, marched out of his intrenchments at the head of the Mogul cavalry, and took his station at some distance on the right of the English army. His minister, Beny Bahadur, occupied a ruined village on the bank of the Ganges, on their left. Eight battalions of sepoys, dressed and disciplined by Cossim in the European manner, with a numerous train of artillery, formed the front line, supported in the rear by a large body of cavalry. A heavy fire of cannon and musquetry immediately commenced, and was kept up for a long period, and with great spirit on both sides. The Vizier, in the mean time, pouring down with his cavalry, harassed the British in flank, and the Duranny horse at one time penetrated the line of major Munro's cavalry, and threw them into momentary disorder; but all was quickly restored by the continued, well-directed, redoubled fire of the English artillery, which mowed down whole squadrons, and overwhelmed horse and infantry with promiscuous destruction. In the height and ardour of the conflict, Munro, calm and collected, detached a strong body with a view to dislodge Beny Bahadur from the village on the left, which was happily effected, and the victorious squadron impetuously rushing forward, entered, and plundered, the camp of the Vizier, which threw the whole field into irretrievable confusion, as the Duranny and other mercenary troops, despairing of victory, now pressed forwards with equal eagerness to partake of the spoil, and repay themselves by plundering the rich tents and baggage of their employer. The heroes, however, who had so arduously fought on that day, soon arrived to claim the just reward of triumphant valour, and the barbarous hordes quickly disappeared. In the general flight that now took place, Sujah Dowlah, left almost alone by his perfidious auxiliaries, was reluctantly compelled to follow the route of his retreating army, nor did he

think himself in perfect security till with a few followers he arrived at Allahabad. This celebrated battle, decisive of the claims of Cossim to Bengal, and of the power of the native princes to contend with European armies, took place in October 1764: 6,000 of the enemy were left dead on the spot, and 130 pieces of cannon, with a vast quantity of military stores were taken on the field. In the intrenched camp, notwithstanding the depredations made by those Afghan marauders, still an immense booty remained to the victors in money, bullion, jewels, and every species of valuable property, for, according to our author, "the cantonments resembled a populous city rather than a camp."*

The emperor, with this fresh proof of the invincibility of the English before him, and being once more the master of his own actions, again applied to the British general for that protection which it was now thought proper to grant him. He was accordingly received in the British camp with the honours due to his high rank, and attended Colonel Munro to Benares, where a handsome stipend was allowed for his maintenance till the pleasure of the governor and council at Calcutta could be known concerning his future disposal. In the mean time the war with Sujah Dowlah was vigorously prosecuted, and with such unvaried success, that after having in vain called to his aid Rohillas and Mahrattas, the warriors on the Ganges, and the chiefs on the Jumna, he found himself stript of all his dominions, and was, in his turn, ultimately compelled to throw himself on the clemency of the victors. General Carnac, having resumed the supreme command, received the fallen chief with respect; and in the end he was, from motives of sound policy, restored to all his territories, except the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, which, with a revenue of 22 lacks, or 220,000l. were conferred on the

* Golam Hossain, p. 442.

Mogul, and the castle of the latter place assigned him as a suitable residence. In addition to this allowance, on his majesty's issuing firmauns, granting, in perpetuity, to the Company, the office of DUANNY, or administration of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the British governour, Lord Clive, recently returned to India, engaged to pay into the royal treasury, as a kind of quit rent out of the revenues of Bengal, 26 lacks, or 260,000l. more, making a clear annual income of nearly half a million sterling; an income amply adequate, not only to his necessities, but to the maintenance of some degree of regal splendour.

While, however, the emperor was thus liberally provided for, it cannot be denied but that the Company, in return, obtained essential advantages, which placed them, as foreigners, in a new and enviable situation; for they were by these firmauns, and that grant, constituted an efficient, permanent part of the Mogul empire, with the sovereign's authority, added to their own, for the accomplishment of all reasonable purposes of power, and aggrandisement, together with a clear annual revenue OF A MILLION AND AN HALF STERLING, after all the charges of the civil and military establishment were paid. Under the protection of the English, we shall at present leave Shah Aulum, and return to the administration of affairs at Delhi, under his son, and Nidjib al Dowlah.

To that capital, and a small district adjoining to it, on each side of the Jumna, were the once mighty and extensive domains of the Mogul sovereign reduced; and even that wretched pittance of territory, on the departure of Abdallah, the rapacious Jauts, the avowed enemies of the Rohilla minister, endeavoured to wrest from his grasp. The intrepid minister, with a far inferior force, took the field, but made amends by his skill and address,

for what he wanted in point of number. Confiding in their numbers, unimpaired by the recent battle from which we have seen they early and prudently receded, the chiefs of that nation, in vain assurance of victory, amidst the toil of arms occasionally indulged in the sports of the field. This culpable negligence passed not unobserved by Nidjib al Dowlah, who, by his spies, was fully acquainted with whatever was transacted in the hostile camp. Having, by this means, gained intelligence of a large hunting party, in which Suraje Mull and his principal generals were to be engaged on a particular day, he contrived on that very day to dispatch a resolute body of 500 horse, under a commander of approved valour, to intercept them, while he himself with the main body of his troops, rushed on the Jaut army, utterly unprepared, and deprived of the advantage of its most skilful generals. In both cases the well-concerted project was crowned with complete success. After a desperate defence, Suraje Mull and his chiefs (about 300 in number) were cut off to a man, and the head of Suraje Mull being borne aloft on a spear, and exhibited to his army, they were struck with fear and horror at the sight; and after a feeble resistance, fled in every direction. They were pursued by the Moguls to a great distance, and with immense slaughter, after which the victors returned in triumph to Delhi, where the death of the restless and turbulent Suraje Mull seemed to promise them a long and undisturbed repose.

It proved, however, but of short duration, for the rajah's son, Jowahir Mull, being determined to revenge his father's death, and having in addition to his own troops, hired a body of 20,000 Mahrattas, under Mulhar Row, marched at the head of this formidable army to Delhi, to which city he laid close siege for three months, Nidjib being utterly unable to cope with such an

accumulation of force. Being reduced, at length, to great distress, and well knowing the mercenary nature of the Mahratta chiefs, he contrived by a large present, to bring Mulhar Row over to his interests, and the Jauts finding themselves betrayed by their venal allies, were ultimately compelled to agree to conditions very ill calculated to gratify their high-flown ideas of conquest and vengeance, and retired humiliated and disgusted to their own country. Repeated attacks, however, upon the capital, but of minor importance, continued, afterwards, to be made both by this people and the Seiks, but they were all repulsed or rendered nugatory by the political address of this able and upright statesman, who having discharged with honour both the duties of private life, and those due to the royal family, entrusted to his care, expired of a complication of disorders, and deeply regretted by the inhabitants of Delhi, in 1770. His son, Zabetah Khan, succeeded him in his important ministerial charge at Delhi; but in that station he seems to have acted with neither the ability, integrity, or loyalty of his father. Indeed it will be presently seen, that under whatever obligations the family of Timur might lie to Nidjib al Dowlah, they were utterly annulled by the long series of insults and oppressions heaped upon them at a subsequent period by this traitor, and his inhuman son, or rather monster in human form, GHOLAUM CAUDIR.

Deluded by a phantom of ideal grandeur, and impatient to be seated on the throne of his ancestors in the imperial city of Delhi, Shah Aulum, after a reluctant residence at Allahabad under the protection of the English, during five years, at length determined to exchange the comforts of independence for the splendid cares of a diadem, whose glory was faded, and whose authority was extinguished. Out of the liberal stipend settled upon him by the Company, Shah Aulum had been able to save a considerable

sum, and as the English continued firm in their resolution not to assist him in his ambitious projects, he turned his eyes towards the Mahrattas, who were by this time sufficiently recovered from their late disaster to engage in new schemes of conquest and aggrandizement, and in fact had at that moment an army encamped near Delhi, of 30,000 horse, waiting the current of events to be employed by one or other of the contending parties that harassed the empire. In this his rash determination to quit Allahabad, and to call in the aid of the Mahratta chiefs, he was encouraged and supported by his favourite minister, Hussam al Dowlah, a man of base and venal principles, and originally of mean extraction, but who had risen to distinction by becoming the pander of his master's illicit pleasures. This wretch, to whose pernicious councils the greater part of the errors of his early reign may be justly ascribed, hoped, by engaging the Mahrattas in the royal cause, and under their protection, to establish beyond controul his assumed power over the crown in that more enlarged sphere of action in which they possessed ample ability to place him, and his plans and councils were but too eagerly attended to on this and other occasions by his infatuated sovereign. The sum which was stipulated by this minister for their assistance in putting him in possession of Delhi was ten lacks of rupees, and this sum their rapacious chiefs insisted on being paid before hand, with which extraordinary demand, after much negociation, the emperor thought proper to comply. His own army, although not numerous, was respectable, having been disciplined after the European manner, and commanded by English officers, who were, however, not permitted to accompany him beyond the frontiers of Corah. To that boundary the imperial troops were attended by the Vizier and Sir Robert Barker, the English commander in chief, who, after repeating in vain his

own earnest request, and that of the presidency of Calcutta, that he would not depart from under their protection, took his final adieu. In this request the Vizier also joined, but insincerely, as he had secretly encouraged the departure of a prince, whose strict union with the English he considered as a bar to the success of projects to the accomplishment of which he wanted their assistance.

The royal army now moved forward, and arriving at Ferokhabad, the Nabob of which, Ahmed Khan Bunguish, was recently dead, Shah Aulum received from his son a tribute of five lacks, as a compensation for having confirmed to him by a royal firmaun those estates and that property of his deceased father, which, according to the laws of the Mogul empire, should have reverted to the crown. Thus was the royal treasury still farther replenished, and with invigorated confidence pressing forward towards the goal of his ambition, the emperor was in a few days joined by the Mahratta army, who, marching on with him to the capital without meeting any obstruction, entered it in grand procession, and completed their agreement by publicly enthroning him with great pomp on the musnud of Delhi. This joyful event took place in December 1771; a momentary exultation was diffused through that desolated metropolis, and the palace and court were illuminated by a transient ray of their ancient splendour.

Inflamed with resentment against Zabetah Khan, who, after his father's decease, was reported, not only to have treated the emperor, then resident at Allahabad, with marked disrespect, but, also to have violated the sanctity of the royal haram, by an intrigue with one of the princesses of the blood, —— with the aggravation of refusing to remit to court the customary tribute of his district ——Shah Aulum, early in the following year, commenced

his march at the head of 90,000 men, chiefly Mahratta cavalry, for the territories of that chief. They comprehended the province of Sehaurunpore, situated about 70 miles north-east of Delhi, in the upper parts of the *Dooab*, and in the vicinity of the Sewalick hills; and were conferred on his father, in Jaghire, in just reward for his long and meritorious services to the state. Zabetah Khan, conscious of guilt, and prejudging his fate, had made every preparation possible for resisting the *Mogul* forces; he had placed numerous garrisons in all his forts, and commanded in the field a chosen body of veteran Rohillas; but against the immense *Mahratta* army, now advancing to desolate his country, it was in his power to oppose no adequate force, and after several desperate and sanguinary conflicts, he was compelled to retire across the Ganges, and take refuge in the dominions of Sujah Dowlah, who, however in his heart he might detest the Rohillas, retained a still greater dread and abhorrence of the Mahrattas. Well knowing how obnoxious he was to them from his conduct at Paniput, that omrah had advanced to Shahabad, the frontier city of his dominions, attended by Sir Robert Barker, and a considerable body of English troops, to watch their motions, and Colonel Champion was at Benares with a still larger body; but the emperor restrained their impetuosity, and having plundered the country of every valuable it contained, the whole army returned to Delhi. On this occasion he experienced a glaring proof of the equity of his new allies, for out of the immense booty which they had obtained in this campaign, the Mahrattas scarcely allowed any part to the Moguls, with whom they had agreed to divide the spoil; and having thus drained both the emperor and the country, marched off towards Agra to pass the rainy season, and raise fresh contributions among the Jauts. In the late expedition we first hear

of the distinguished bravery and ability of Nudjuff Khan, general of the imperial troops, who will make a conspicuous figure in the annals of this reign, and whose exertions the emperor rewarded to the best of his abilities.

To fill up the measure of their perfidy, after the rains, the Mahrattas returned to the neighbourhood of the capital, and having been secretly bribed by Zabetah Khan, dispatched messengers to the court of Delhi, insisting on the restoration of that omrah to all the territories, for ejecting him from which they had been paid by the emperor. By their own peremptory mandates the newly appointed officers were removed from the districts near Delhi, in which they had been placed as the only means of paying the heavy arrears due to them; and the wretched emperor, baffled, deluded, and assailed on every side by insult, and clamour, began heartily to wish himself once more under the protection of the English, in the enjoyment of an abridged but undisturbed domain, and a solid and certain, though inferior revenue. His treacherous minister, Husham, grown jealous of the rising influence of Nudjuff Khan, is said privately to have instigated the Mahrattas to these outrages, in order to crush that chief, and obtain the disbanding of his army, on the plea that there was no money in the treasury to pay them. But neither would that loyal chief desert his sovereign in this extremity, nor would the affection of the soldiers suffer themselves to be torn from their general. On the contrary, on the near approach of the enemy, he marched out at the head of all the troops which Delhi could supply, and offered them battle under the walls of the city. Scarcely had he formed his line, when the Mahrattas began the attack in their usual impetuous manner; but they were repulsed by the steady bravery of the Moguls, and pursued to some distance. Their flight was probably

designed, for the pursuit was fatal. Having advanced beyond the reach of the artillery of the city walls, which defended their rear, they were surrounded by so superior a body of Mahratta cavalry as insured victory to the latter. Still, however, the Delhians for a time resolutely continued the unequal contest. Many brave Moguls perished on that fatal day, and Nudjuff, in particular, seemed determined not to survive the disaster. While attempting to rush singly on the armed myriads of the foe, he was stopt by his friends, and carried by force into Delhi, where, however, neither his courage nor his patriotism could save him from the vindictive fury of his rival.

The Mahrattas in a few days removed their camp close to the walls of the city, and their chiefs, Bissagee and Holkar, together with Zabetah Khan, insolently entered the palace on their elephants, as far as the hall of audience, a privilege allowed only to the royal family. The humiliated emperor descended from his throne to receive them, and was compelled to submit to all their arrogant demands. Zabetah Khan was completely restored to all the domains that had been wrested from him, and had also the rank of ameer al omrah bestowed upon him. The Jauts were also re-instated in many of their possessions which had been taken from them in the Dooab, and added to the royal domain; and the Mahrattas appropriated to themselves other large tracts; so that Delhi alone remained to the beggared monarch. Not content, however, with degrading him thus far, they compelled him to violate every principle of honour and gratitude, by demanding of him a grant of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, where he had been so long and so generously protected by the English. The English, however, on his retreat from those provinces, had seized upon them, as their property, not only by conquest, but by his former cession of them, and the Mahrattas stood too much

in awe of their power at present to attempt occupying them. Nudjuff Khan, upon whom the minister laid all the blame of resistance, was fined in a heavy sum, and banished the royal presence, and the city of Delhi, from which in three days he departed with all his adherents, but was immediately taken into the service of Holkar, who admired his bravery, at a large stipend.

The Mahrattas shortly after commenced their march for Rohilcund, with intent to plunder that province; but found there Sujah Dowlah, and an English brigade under Sir Robert Barker, to whom the Rohillas had applied for protection, ready to obstruct their progress. After committing their usual depredations on the northern and exposed districts of the province, awed by the approach of the British artillery, they retired precipitately across the Ganges, and bending their course towards the Jumna, before the end of the year returned to Deccan. On the retreat of the Mahrattas, Nudjuff Khan, with his faithful battalions, joined the forces of Sujah Dowlah, who received him with the greatest kindness, and by his earnest recommendations, in addition to those of Sir Robert Barker, he was again restored to the emperor's favour, who had, in fact, parted with him only by compulsion. He had long viewed with disgust the unprincipled conduct of his favourite minister, Husham, by whose predilection for the Mahrattas he had suffered such extreme affliction and debasement. The treasury was empty, and even the crown-jewels had been pledged to supply the pressing necessities of the court; the army also had become mutinous on account of the great arrears due to them. In this emergency, it seemed but just that the remedy should be derived from that quarter which was the source of these multiplied calamities. The minister was given up to the merited vengeance of his fortunate rival, and his

ill-gotten treasures were devoted to alleviate the public distresses. After keeping him confined, however, during two years, Nudjuff Khan had the generosity to set him at liberty, and allowed him a liberal pension for the remainder of his life.

It is not without indignation that the historian of this period finds himself compelled to descend from recording the annals of a great dynasty, and become the degraded narrator of the ambitious struggles for power of their viziers and favourites. Sujah Dowlah had, however, now become a personage of greater political consequence in the empire, possessed far more extensive territories, and a far more abundant revenue, than even Shah Aulum himself. His ambition, indeed, had expanded with his power; and he now determined, with the aid of his allies, the English, to seize on the country of the Rohillas, and make that fine, fertile, and contiguous province, a constituent, unalienable portion of his own dominions. The ostensible plea, never wanted by a tyrant, when resolved on acts of aggression, for this glaring act of injustice, was the neglect of the chiefs of that nation to discharge the sum of 40 lacks, stipulated to be paid him for the defence of their country in the preceding year against the Mahratta hordes. The chiefs urged, in excuse, their utter inability at that time to discharge the demand, owing to the desolated state of a great part of their country; but, whether that excuse were feigned or real, their ruin and expulsion were resolved upon by the inexorable Vizier. The presidency at Calcutta seem in this instance too easily to have listened to those delusive maxims of state policy, which removed for ever from the vicinity of their ally and of themselves, a dangerous and troublesome neighbour, of whom war was at once the employment and delight. The imbecile court of Delhi, soothed by the immediate payment of a large sum, and the promise of sharing in the plunder of Rohilcund,

prepared to take an active part in the iniquitous business; and Nudjuff Khan, at that time successfully pursuing the war against the Jauts, in the vicinity of Agra, was recalled for that purpose, and ordered to unite his forces with those of the Vizier in its reduction.

Early in the year 1774, all his mighty preparations for the attack being ready, the Vizier took the field, and was soon joined by the British under Colonel Champion. Hafiz Rahmut, the most distinguished chief among the Rohillas, as well by power as talents, commanded the army of warriors who were now to contend against such great odds in military skill, for their independence, and even their very existence, as a nation. Their collective force amounted to 24,000 horse and foot, 4000 rocket men, and 60 pieces of artillery.* They had the village of Cutterah on their rear, and a river that runs by that village covered their flank. Colonel Champion, by various skilful manœuvres contrived to draw them from that advantageous situation, and, by delaying the attack from day to day, caused the Rohilla general to relax somewhat in point of vigilance. On the 22d of April the British commander made the necessary preparation for action, and marching the following morning at two o'clock, *without beat of drum*, arrived about sun-rise within view of the Rohilla camp. The confusion of the Rohillas at the sudden appearance of so formidable an enemy, drawn up in battle array within cannon shot of their lines, may be conceived, but cannot be expressed. Hafiz Rahmut did the utmost in his power to rectify the error into which he had suffered himself to be betrayed. Immediately mounting his elephant, he sallied forth to reconnoitre their position, and on his return to camp, by his presence and authority, prevented the flight of a great part of the army,

* Hamilton's History of the Rohilla Afghans, page 231.

though he was too late to arrest the progress of a body of infantry, about 4000 in number, who, at the first alarm of the near approach of the English, had retired panic-struck from the field. He recounted to them their former glories on the plains of Hindostan; he reminded them that the enemy whom they had to oppose, though formidable in battle, were but *usurpers* like themselves; and he succeeded in inspiring them with an undaunted resolution to make, at least, one brave effort for the preservation of their independence.

Hafiz himself took his post in the centre of the Afghan army, directly opposite to the British troops. Fizoola Khan, the next chief in power and consequence, assisted by others, subordinate to himself in rank, had the command of that division of their forces which fronted the troops led on by the Vizier, and his general Latifet. For intrepid personal exertion, however, by distinguished individuals, there was little opportunity, as the action principally consisted of a cannonade, supported with great vigour and spirit on both sides for two hours; first at the distance of 2000 yards, and then, as the armies gradually advanced towards each other, of 500 yards. Unfortunately for the Rohillas, most of their shot, from the bad quality of the powder used by them, fell short of the enemy, and their rockets, the invention of an age of barbarity, though thrown in prodigious numbers, did but little execution; whilst a continued discharge of balls from the English artillery fell in torrents upon their centre, and made dreadful havoc among their unweildy columns. It was in vain that Hafiz Rahmut, descending from his elephant, and mounting a horse, repeatedly urged the cavalry to second him in a vigorous attack upon the flank of the enemy. The terror of the unremitting, well-directed fire of the English restrained them from rushing, as they thought, upon certain

destruction; and, in a short time, seeing their gallant general fall its victim, the centre immediately began to give way, and in a few minutes the whole broke and fled with precipitation. The right and left divisions, commanded by Fizoola Khan, and the other Rohilla chiefs, when they saw the centre broken and dispersed, and the allies advancing upon them, could not by all the upbraidings and intreaties of their leaders be induced to stand their ground, but fled off at full gallop, hurrying *them* reluctantly with them; and leaving their camp (which was still standing) with all their baggage, artillery, and an immense booty, to the victors. Some bodies of the Vizier's cavalry were dispatched after the fugitives, but, mounted on fleet horses, they fled different ways, and for the most part eluded their pursuers. The loss of the allies in this decisive action was inconsiderable, but that of the Afghans was not less than 2000 in killed and wounded, and the day was fatal to them in every respect, both individually, and as a nation.

Although Fizoola Khan was utterly unable to rally his troops on the day of action, yet, after the panic was over, and when he had retired to the famous hill-fort of Lolldong, he was joined by very considerable bodies of his countrymen, who preferred the desperate chance of that resource to unconditional submission. Their increasing numbers and resolute resistance eventually obtained for them, through the mediation of the English commander, more favourable terms than they could otherwise have expected. Fizoola was left in full possession of Rampore and its dependencies, yielding an annual revenue of more than fourteen lacks of rupees. The great body however of the Rohilla nation were compelled to retire to the west of the Ganges, and it was expressly stipulated that in future Fizoola's military establishment should never exceed 5000 men.

In the mean time Nudjuff Khan, in consequence of the agreement entered into by the emperor with Sujah Dowlah to assist him with a body of troops, had advanced to Bissoolee on the frontiers of Rohilcund, with 6000 men; but arrived too late to have any share in the reduction of the Rohillas. Having fulfilled the compact, however, he claimed the stipulated reward of *half the conquered country*, which was refused by the Vizier, on the ground of his having borne no actual part in its subjugation. On receiving, however, the imperial grants investing him with the sovereignty of the Rohilla territory, and Kinnoje, together with Corah and Allahabad, of which he had already been put in possession by the English, he remitted a handsome present to court, and reinforced Nudjuff, with some of his own troops to enable him to extend his conquests for the emperor *nominally*, but in reality for his own aggrandizement in the Dooab. Early in the following year (1775) in the midst of his triumphs and in the zenith of gratified ambition, expired Sujah Dowlah, and was succeeded both in his government and the office of Vizier by his eldest son, Asoph al Dowlah. The peishcush offered on this occasion was suitable to his rank and dignity in the empire; and thus was the royal treasury still farther enriched.

Had his ministers been sincere or disinterested, Shah Aulum might now have enjoyed the throne with some share of its ancient dignity and lustre; but the splendid victories about this time obtained by the arms of Nudjuff Khan over the Jauts, and the rajahpout chiefs, induced him almost wholly to lay aside the obedience of a subject, and treat his sovereign with a contemptuous arrogance, very unmerited by his imperial benefactor. He even refused to admit a royal officer to the command of the citadel of Agra, of which city and province, as well as the greatest part of Delhi, he had now become the entire master;

having an army of his own, and residing at Agra in almost regal state.

Next to Nudjuff himself, but far below him (in real dignity and consequence) the most prominent actor on the scene at this time was a crafty, venal, and unprincipled omrah named Mujud al Dowlah, the emperor's minister for civil affairs, highly in favour with his master, but a determined enemy of that commander, and as far as he dared, a resolute opposer of his ambitious projects. The captain-general, however, superior in genius, and commanding the army, looked down with supreme contempt both on the king and his minister. After long abusing the emperor's unlimited confidence, a circumstance arose which at once proved the deep duplicity of his heart, and his utter incapacity to conduct the affairs of a great empire. The SEIKS, whose efforts to become an independent state in Lahore, during the reign of Bahadur Shah, have been already noticed,* and who during the late distractions of the empire had become extremely numerous and powerful, about this time made an irruption into the province of Delhi, and extended their devastations to the very shores of the Jumna. To obviate a danger so near and so alarming, and drive the marauders back into their own territories, an army of 20,000 men was immediately raised, and in the absence of Nudjuff, Mujud al Dowlah, accompanied by one of the princes of the blood, was appointed to the command of it. It was attended by a formidable train of artillery, and was considered as a force perfectly adequate to the reduction of the enemy.

The royal army having advanced as far as Carnaul, near that city fell in with the first detachment of Seiks, which, however, being very inferior in point of numbers avoided an engagement by proposals of submission, and bought their peace by a peishcush

* See Chapter IV. page 511.

of three lacks, and the promise of an annual tribute. They were ordered to attend the march of the imperial troops, which now pursued its progress towards the Seik frontiers, and encamped before Puttiali, a town sixty coss north of the latter, strongly fortified, and commanded by a daring chief, named Amur Sing, who, having a numerous garrison, and abundance of provisions, was resolved to sustain a siege. To this resistance he was further instigated by intelligence of the approach of a large army of Seiks from Lahore, and by his emissaries he contrived to keep up a strict communication with the chieftains of the battalions of his countrymen, attendant in the train of the royal army. By this means he became intimately acquainted with all their plans and movements; and receiving information of the venal character of the minister, he determined to turn it to his advantage, and, to carry on the delusion more effectually, affected to enter into a negociation with the latter, making him costly presents, and still more splendid promises. Commissioners were in consequence mutually appointed to settle the terms of surrender, but those on the part of Amur Sing were directed as much as possible to procrastinate the final adjustment of matters. At length having received advice of the near approach of the army from Lahore, Amur Sing suddenly broke off the treaty, and, the Seik chieftains having previously lulled suspicion asleep in the mind of the minister, made their escape at the head of their troops, and joined their comrades. The shameful supineness and inaction of Mujud al Dowlah, during these transactions, corroborated the strong suspicions that prevailed throughout the army of his having been bribed to betray the royal cause; but, whether or not he was guilty of actual collusion with the enemy, the result was the same. The immense host of Seiks that had marched from Lahore having been joined by the fugitive battalions, and

the troops that composed the garrison of Puttiali, formed together an irresistible army, and at the first onset the king's troops being overpowered by numbers, and the impetuosity of their attack, were thrown into irretrievable confusion, and every where dispersed and put to the rout. The powerful and well-directed fire of the artillery, stationed in the rear, alone saved them from total destruction.

When intelligence of this fatal disaster reached Delhi, the whole city was thrown into the utmost consternation, and more especially so when it was found that the triumphant enemy, following up their victory, had crossed the Jumna, and in their usual ferocious manner were plundering the northern districts of the Dooab. Messengers were instantly dispatched by the terrified emperor to Nudjuff Khan at Agra, urging the necessity of his immediate return with the army under his command to Delhi, and the summons was chearfully obeyed by a chief sufficiently confident in his own merit, and who had now a fair opportunity of crushing for ever his inveterate enemy. Mujud al Dowlah, in the mean time, with the remnant of his discomfited army, had returned to the capital amidst the execrations of the people, and in vain endeavoured, by a multitude of fallacious statements, to justify himself to his insulted sovereign. That sovereign heard him with deep but silent indignation, as his palace was surrounded by his troops, and himself wholly at his mercy. On the approach of the captain-general to Delhi, Mujud al Dowlah, and one of the princes of the blood, under the pretence of doing him honour, were ordered to march a few coss to meet him, and conduct him to the presence. The minister, though warned by his friends that treachery was designed him, confidently marched out to meet his rival. On entering his tent, however, he was arrested, and sent back under a strong guard to Delhi; and shortly after

his whole fortune, amounting to twenty lacks of rupees was seized, and confiscated to the use of the captain-general. That distinguished chief himself was received by the emperor with marks of the highest respect, and under his direction early in the following year an army, ably commanded, was dispatched against the Seiks, who were defeated with great slaughter under the walls of Meerut, and the honour of the imperial army amply vindicated. From this period to his death, Nudjuff Khan resided constantly at Delhi, but became in his conduct more haughty and arrogant than ever, and left the humiliated emperor in the enjoyment of few privileges beyond that of granting empty titles, and the ratification of the acts of his imperious minister. From what he has just read, the reader will perceive that to enter, with any minuteness, into the transactions of this period of the Mogul annals would be only to record the rise and fall of ministers and favourites—to enumerate the struggles of grasping avarice and unprincipled ambition for the spoils of an expiring empire, and is unworthy the province of History. Let us hasten, therefore, to the close of this distressful scene, and contemplate, with due commiseration, the final catastrophe of this distinguished dynasty, and of this once potent empire.

From this vassalage (for so it must be called) under Nudjuff Khan, the emperor was released by the death of that chief, which took place, from a complication of disorders, in April, 1782. For his exalted situation as ameer al omrah, and his extensive domains in the Dooab and the Jaut country, there arose many and powerful competitors. The principal of these were Affrasiab Khan, an adopted son of the deceased, and Mirza Shuffee, the general, who had so successfully led the imperial army against the Seiks, and who was related, by blood, to that chief. Their contests, and those of their connections and dependents both in the male

and female line, to secure the object of their ambition, were protracted and violent, but I forbear the detail of them. Mirza Shuffee proved at length the successful candidate; but he enjoyed his new-blown honours only for a short time, being stabbed in the field by Ismael Beg, a distinguished Mogul chief, of whom much will occur hereafter. Affrasiab now succeeded to the high station for which he had before ineffectually contended, but found himself unable to appease the rage of the refractory chiefs who had devoted his predecessor to death; and after in vain applying to the English for their assistance, formed an alliance with the famous Mahratta chief, Madhajee Scindia, who had already, by a rapid career of conquest, obtained possession of the greater part of the territories around Agra and in the Rajahpout country subjugated by the arms of Nudjuff Khan. He had a large well-disciplined army at his command, and from his being long practised in the field, both of Indian politics, and of war, Affrasiab from that alliance indulged the most confident hopes of complete success. Those hopes would probably have been in a great degree realized, but the dreadful knife of assassination in eastern climes is always thirsting for blood, and by that knife, aimed by the same hands that guided it before, he also fell, a very few days after he had, in a personal interview with that chief, agreed on a day jointly to attack the common foe. Scindia in this extremity was at no loss how to act. By dint of large presents, by promises of implicit obedience, and a handsome establishment for the royal household, he prevailed on the emperor to place himself under the protection of his nation, and appoint himself to the command of the army, and the governments of Agra and Delhi. The Mogul chiefs, being without a head, and divided among themselves in the choice of a successor, bribed by his presents, and awed by his army, were soon prevailed upon to acknowledge

his authority, and separately made the best terms they were able with the new commander. Shah Aulum had an allowance settled upon him of 60,000 rupees per month; but a Mahratta guard constantly attended him, and, in fact, from that moment he was only a state-prisoner in the hands of Scindia.

In the short account of the Mahratta states, inserted in the preceding volume,* this very important actor in the scene before us, MADHAJEE SCINDIA, is stated to nave been the fifth son of Ranojee Scindia, the founder of the family, and to have succeeded to the patrimonial inheritance, a considerable portion of Malwa, obtained by the valour of that father, of which Oujein is the capital. By the limits of that province, however, he was by no means to be confined, and in the course of recent years, we have seen him acting as an expert and daring leader, in most of the predatory armies of his nation, that about this period overran the empire. We have remarked him gradually extending his authority over all the adjoining districts to the very banks of the Jumna, and securing to himself the conquests of *Nudjuff* Khan, in the Jaut country. He compelled the emperor to sanction by his presence his ambitious projects, for still more widely extending those conquests. The citadel of Agra, after a short siege, had submitted, and the stronger fortress of Alleeghur rapidly followed. He then marched with him into the country of the rajahs, and demanded an annual tribute, which was reluctantly submitted to, especially by the rajah of Jeypore, the most powerful of them, who secretly meditated a determined opposition to his claims, although the precise moment of resistance was not arrived. After this successful expedition of the new minister, the emperor returned to Delhi, and Scindia, with his army, went into cantonments at Muttra.

* Vol. II. p. 331.

Scindia was now in the plenitude of his power, and was both feared and respected. In the breasts, however, of the Mogul nobility, there burned a spark of latent jealousy, on observing the throne subjected to the supreme control of a Mahratta adventurer. An incident soon occurred which blew that spark into a flame. Towards the close of the following year (1787) a considerable body of Mahrattas having been dispatched to collect the tribute from the Jeypoor and other rajahs, was defeated and put to flight, which occasioned the immediate march of Scindia and the whole army into that country. The Rajahpouts, being firmly united, had contrived to distress him, by cutting off his supplies, and, in the confusion and distress occasioned by this calamity, Mahommed, and his brother, Ismael Beg, with other Mogul chiefs, deserted to the enemy. In a severe action which followed, Mahommed was slain, and his troops began to give way, but Ismael Beg, by the example of his heroic bravery, so animated the sinking spirit of his soldiers, that they returned with fury to the attack, and obtained a complete victory over the Mahrattas. Some days after the battle, the Sepoys, disciplined after the European manner, in whom lay the strength of his army, left Scindia, and enlisted under the banners of Ismael Beg, who, following up his victory, ultimately compelled that chief to evacuate Agra and Delhi, and retire to Deccan with the remains of his discomfited army. Such are the rapid transitions frequently occurring in India, from the most exalted state of power and splendor, to that of abject humiliation and distress.

The unfortunate emperor was now doomed, once more, to change masters. Himself and his capital were in charge of a Mahratta garrison, yet Ismael Beg, with the imperial army, was fighting against the troops of that nation, and, in the sovereign's name, had already commenced the siege of Agra. Even this

accumulation of evils might be borne; but a monster deeply stained with crimes and blood was now approaching Delhi, from whom he was to suffer a series of outrages and insults, unparalleled in the history of thrones, and of such a nature that the very recital of them makes humanity shudder.

The various rebellions of that turbulent chief, Zabeta Khan, have been occasionally noticed. Owing to the false policy of the Vizier, when he expelled the Rohilla nation from his western frontier, this chief was suffered to retain his possessions, in the hope that being thus favoured, his power and influence might be exerted to check any tumultuous insurrections of his countrymen. By his own numerous forces, united with the English army stationed in his dominions, the Vizier himself was secure from his depredations, but he was a perpetual thorn in the side of the unfortunate emperor. Towards the close of 1785, Zabetah Khan died, and the ferocious chief, above mentioned, his son, without paying the slightest homage, or making the least offering to the sovereign, as is customary in Hindostan, assumed the government of the district. Incensed as the emperor was at this slight, until Scindia should return with reinforcements from Deccan, he had no arm to revenge his wrongs; and GHOLAUM CAUDIR having raised a considerable army, in the absence of the Deccan chief, meditated the accomplishment of projects of the most daring and ambitious kind. The Mahratta garrison in Delhi, was known to be neither very powerful, nor numerous; their expulsion, the plunder of the city, and the captivity of the aged monarch, might be effected without much difficulty and effusion of blood. He had already fortified in the strongest manner his principal fort of Ghose-Ghur, and in his territory were other fortresses of great strength and intricate construction, where a pursuing army might be baffled or eluded.

The immense treasures, in gold and jewels, supposed to be hoarded in the palace, inflamed his imagination; and the possession of the person of the sovereign, who had long swayed the Indian sceptre at the will and direction of another, would, he conceived, insure to him that of all the power remaining in the empire. It elevated a petty Rohilla chief to the rank and wealth of princes. It was a prize worth contending for: and he determined to risque every thing to obtain it.

To the success of this daring undertaking there was one circumstance peculiarly favourable. The great mogul omrahs at Delhi, who, both from religious and political prejudices, heartily detested the Mahrattas, anxiously desired the emancipation of the emperior and his court from the yoke of that nation; but as the Rohillas were of the Mahommedan faith, they were not averse to their being under the protection of that power. The Nazir, or principal superintendant of the palace, in particular, is accused on this occasion of the blackest perfidy, by not only secretly corresponding with the Rohilla, but by inflaming his hopes of the spoil to be found in the palace, with which his situation might be supposed to render him best acquainted. Ignorant, therefore, of the real character of the man whom they hailed as a deliverer, they prepared the way for the admission into Delhi of its direst scourge; and when his army, formidable both for their numbers and ferocity, appeared before its walls, no native arm was raised for its defence: the whole Mahratta garrison, also, knowing themselves to be in every respect so vastly inferior, with great rapidity evacuated the city. The invader, however, having made himself secure of Delhi, did not immediately begin his system of massacre and depredation, but having compelled the emperor to confer on himself the dignity of Ameer al Omrah, marched away to the attack of the strong fortress of Alleeghur, where Scindia

had also left a garrison; and which, after a short siege, capitulated. On the fall of Alleeghur, he marched to join Ismael Beg, then occupied in besieging Agra; but with that chief, either from jealousy, or some other motive, not perfectly agreeing, he left him, in order to pursue his career of conquest in other parts of the Dooab.

Whatever might have been the cause of their separation, it was deeply disastrous to Ismael, who shortly after was attacked by a considerable Mahratta army, detached by Scindia from Gualior, under the command of his confidential minister, Rana Khan, and utterly defeated with the loss of all his cannon, baggage, and stores. He himself escaped with difficulty, by swimming his horse across the Jumna; but, being afterwards joined by a large body of his routed cavalry, on an invitation from the Rohilla to forget their differences, and unite their forces, he obeyed the summons, and the combined armies marched back towards Delhi. Shah Aulum being informed of the recent victory gained by the Mahrattas, and dreading the rage of Scindia, now forbad their entrance into that city, and ordered the gates to be shut against the confederated chiefs. The Nazir, however, and other Mogul chiefs within, encouraging them, they proceeded to violence, and having burst open the gates, again became possessed both of the city, and the person of the emperor.

Introduced to the presence by the perfidious Nazir, they threw themselves at the feet of the insulted monarch, and begged his forgiveness of a crime founded in the virtuous wish to release him from those disgraceful bonds in which the Mahrattas had so long holden the illustrious house of Timur. If he would renounce his alliance with that infidel race, and would appoint *them* his generals, with the same privileges and absolute authority with which he had invested Scindia, especially if he would permit one

of the princes of the blood to accompany them to the field with their united armies, under that sanction they made no doubt of driving the Mahrattas back to the Deccan, of restoring the lustre of his faded crown, and adding a large increase to his diminished revenue. The sceptered dupe of so many projects, the devoted victim of so many adventurers, remained for some moments in profound silence. At length, rather prevailed upon by the representations of the Nazir, who joined in their solicitations, than by their intreaties, the unfortunate monarch assented to their demands, and a treaty being drawn up, was ratified by the solemnity of oaths mutually pledged in one of the mosques of the palace.

In that mosque the doom of the empire and the emperor was sealed. The prince who sends an army to the field commanded by generals of his own appointing, becomes responsible for the charges of it; but, previously to the late treaty, the armies both of the Rohilla and Ismael Beg, had considerable arrears due to them, and from the treasury of Delhi those arrears must be disbursed. In a few days Gholaum Caudir repeatedly sent to demand of the emperor a very considerable sum for that purpose. The combined armies having as yet done no military service for the empire or himself, he refused compliance. This irritated the Rohilla, and being assured by Nazir that Shah Aulum really did possess secret hoards of treasure and jewels, he determined within himself to dethrone the unfortunate monarch and send him into confinement, when he would have the uncontrolled command of the treasures, and all the property of every kind in the palace. Having communicated this determination to Ismael Beg, and obtained his assent, early in the morning of the 26th July, 1788, these lawless ruffians, at the head of a numerous armed band, having entered the great Hall

of Audience, and insolently seated themselves near the throne, dispatched that base instrument of their villainy, the Nazir, with a positive demand of a large supply of money from the emperor. His excuse was that of *inability*. Two attendants were immediately ordered to bring from the state prison of the royal family, Bedar Bukht, son of the deceased emperor Ahmed Shah. The prince being placed on the imperial musnud, received from the chiefs and all present the usual presents and salutations made to an emperor on his first ascending the throne. Shah Aulum, with nineteen princes, his sons and grandsons, was then by the unrelenting Gholaum ordered into close confinement in an apartment of the palace called Noormahal. Here himself and family were kept without victuals or drink till they were nearly perishing with hunger; and on the 28th, one of the princes of Bedar's family having sent a few cakes and a little water to Shah Aulum, was ordered to be beaten with clubs.

The two rebel chiefs now began the search for treasures, in which they were grievously disappointed, as, contrary to the suggestions of the Nazir, very little was found in the treasury. This disappointment produced a violent quarrel between the confederated robbers, and they parted at length, in very ill blood; Ismael retiring to his camp, and Gholaum Caudir continuing in the palace. The new emperor in the mean time used his utmost exertions, the price of his throne, in collecting together all the remaining valuables of the palace, and by menaces and persuasion obtained from the princesses of the haram the whole of their jewels and wealth of every kind, which he sent in trays to Gholaum Caudir; but the important secret of the concealed treasure was supposed to be locked up in the breast of the dethroned emperor. On the 29th, Gholaum Caudir having prepared five whips, obliged Bedar Shah to take one in his hands, and

accompany him to extort a confession of his treasures from Shah Aulum. On the 30th, several ladies of the haram were tied up and beaten with whips in order to compel a discovery of their effects, and the whole palace resounded with lamentations. On the 31st, Gholaum, by these means, had heaped such an immensity of spoil, that, to pacify the enraged Ismael Beg, he sent him five lacks of rupees, as part of the plunder of the palace. During all this time the severest exactions were going on in the city, and among others this day, seven bankers were seized and imprisoned, in order to extort money from them. August 1st, Gholaum Caudir went again to the miserable Shah Aulum, and threatened him with punishment. "What I possessed," said the agonizing prince, "you have got; if you think I carry concealed treasures within me, rip up my bowels, and be convinced."

The aged princesses Maleka Zumani, and Saheba Mhal, mentioned in a former page as the widows of Mahommed Shah, still resided in Delhi. They were esteemed immensely rich, having not been molested during all the revolutions that had taken place since the death of that monarch. As they were related to the new monarch they were sent for to the palace, by a mandate that allowed of no refusal, and made instrumental to the purpose of plundering of their valuables the female part of its inhabitants, to whom at first some deference was paid; but the unsparing Afghaun soon forgot those distinctions so respected over all the Eastern world, and equally devoted male and female to depredation. These princesses having been made thus useful, were themselves, in their turn, plundered of their vast property, and on the ground of having still concealed treasures, subjected to the tongue of insult and to the pangs of hunger. The storm now also deservedly began to roll upon the Nazir, who became the victim of his own deception; seven

lacks were demanded from him. On the 3d, the most daring insult was offered by Gholaum to his imperial pageant. Having seated himself near him, he smoaked his hookah in his presence, with his feet stretched out upon the royal musnud, insulting him at the same time with the grossest invectives. On the 6th, however, he proceeded further, and seized upon the throne itself, with all the other thrones and seats, no longer golden, as in the better days of the empire, but ornamented with plates of gold and silver; those plates were torn off, and consigned to the mint. And now the floors of all the apartments in the palace, as well those inhabited by males as females, were dug up, and the cielings torn down to discover hidden treasure; and great lots of jewels, money, and plate, buried long previous to the birth of Shah Aulum, and utterly unknown to that indigent monarch, were in fact discovered. Still unsatiated, the rapacious Gholaum went again to the dethroned emperor, and demanded the money which he had saved from the revenues of Bengal and Allahabad. The unfortunate prince in reply begged him "*to put him to death*, and end his troubles." On the 7th, Bedar Shah was severely threatened with corporeal correction, and even with dethronement, if more money was not instantly produced. The miserable half famished king exclaimed that he should be happy to be released from such *mock royalty*. The Nazir too was threatened with flagellation, if he did not produce more money; and had a guard set upon him.

At length the fatal *tenth of August* arrived, when, not content with starving, beating, and otherwise grossly insulting his liege sovereign, and all the *princes*, and what to an Asiatic is still more horrible! the *princesses* of the royal family, the monster, attended by five Afghans, ferocious as himself, rushed into the apartment of Shah Aulum, and repeated his demand for the treasure, the

concealed treasure! The usual answer that he had no concealed hoards being returned, he ordered the attendant ruffians to seize the princes his sons, Soleyman Akber and others, to lift them up on high, and dash them on the ground with violence before the face of the agonizing father. At this refinement of diabolical cruelty, that father passionately exclaimed; "TRAITOR! forbear such cruelty to my children in my sight." The dæmon then, resolved that he should never see them nor the sun more! ordered the Afghans to cast the hapless monarch on the ground, which they did, and, falling upon him, stabbed out his eyes with a dagger. Other accounts say that he himself rushing upon the bosom of the prostrate king, with his own hands pricked out his eyes with the point of a poniard; an act perfectly credible, and entirely consonant with his bloody disposition. He then ordered the miserable princes to undergo the same fate; but from this additional piece of frantic barbarity he was restrained by the humane entreaties of an officer in his train. While these dreadful scenes were transacting, the whole palace rang with female shrieks and outcries of horror, which the menace of whips and the terror of inflicted tortures could not for a long time silence. The pale and bleeding monarch was left without medical aid in this miserable condition; but afterwards, being in exquisite pain, two surgeons of the household were upon his earnest intreaty permitted to attend him, and dress his wounds.

In the mean time, owing to the boundless rapacity of the Rohillas, the whole city continued in the utmost disorder and confusion; all the bankers and jewellers shops were shut up, and half the terrified inhabitants had fled into the country. On the 12th, more money was sent to the camp to Ismael Beg, and the apparently reconciled chiefs paid a visit to Bedar Shah in company. On the 14th, parties of Mahratta horse made their

appearance in the suburbs, and Ismael Beg is supposed to be secretly in treaty with their general Rana Khan, for the surrender of Gholaum Caudir, but procrastinates, that he may obtain as large a division of the plunder as possible. On the 18th, the Mharattas approach nearer, intercept a large convoy from Ghoseghur, and, in defending it, many Rohillas are cut to pieces, or drowned in the river. Even in this extremity, unsatiated with blood and plunder, and presuming on the superior strength of the combined armies to that of the Mahratta chief, the Rohilla continued his cruelties and spoliation in the palace, where several ladies expired with famine, and Shah Aulum, in his deplorable situation, was still denied bread for himself and his distracted family. So infatuated was this monster of depravity, that while the royal family were perishing with hunger around him, he would make sumptuous banquets in the Lion Tower, carouze all night with his officers, and in the wanton excess of his intoxication would send for the young princes, to sing and play before him, excusing his conduct by observing that they were the offspring of *singers*. The Mahrattas, in the mean time are making still nearer advances towards the city, which they almost surround, and cut off all supplies from it. With the Rohillas they have frequent skirmishes; but the grand attack is delayed till re-inforcements from Deccan, daily expected, shall have arrived. The Rohilla chiefs, avaricious as their leader, now began to mutiny for want of pay: Gholaum Caudir, advancing to appease them, one of the mutineers, drawing his dagger attempted to stab him, but was prevented by his companions. They were at length appeased by his promise of advancing them two months pay immediately.

In the beginning of September, intelligence of the rapid approach of the great body of the Mahratta army induced the

Rohilla seriously to think of quitting Delhi. With this view, part of his army on the 7th of that month crossed the river, on which the Mahrattas, unable to cope with them, retreated to some distance. He had before seized upon all the elephants and horses of the royal stables, together with their accoutrements, and he now divided the royal tents and field equipage among his needy retainers. The plunder of the palace had been all previously packed up in boats, and carried off: it was doubtless the hopes of eventually sharing in this plunder that kept his numerous army so compactly together. On the 14th, having received certain information that Ismael Beg had joined the Mahrattas, and was seeking an opportunity to deliver him up to Rana Khan, the terror-struck Rohilla on a sudden left the palace, and crossing the Jumna on his elephant joined his army, incamped on the opposite bank. In a few days however he returned to that scene of his brutal devastations; and suspecting Shah Aulum of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy, grossly abused, and with his own hands severely beat that blind and aged monarch; declaring that he would take the whole of his children with him, and that if he were defeated, he would put them all to instant death. He then forced them all into a boat, except Akber, who making some resistance, he was about to cut him down with his scymitar, when that spirited prince was also obliged to submit. With these he compelled the treacheous Nazir, and the aged princesses so often mentioned, to embark, that he might have under his control the whole royal family, and having evacuated the citadel he set fire to all the combustible parts of it; an act of savage atrocity worthy of his preceding conduct! The flames were extinguished, and the city and palace immediately taken possession of by the Mahratta chief, who released Shah Aulum from his confinement, and humanely ordered refreshments to be

served up to himself and the numerous persons of the haram, who for seven previous days had subsisted only on dry grain and water.

The reinforcement, so long expected by the Mahratta general, having at length arrived, Rana Khan lost no time in crossing the Jumna with his whole army, in order to attack Gholaum Caudir, and recover from his grasp the royal victims. That traitor, unable to withstand so formidable an army, immediately retreated towards his own country, but was pursued with such vigour and celerity that he was compelled to take refuge in the town of Mhirta, where he offered terms of submission as humiliating as his prior conduct had been haughty and arrogant; they were rejected by the Mahratta with indignation, and on the 21st of December a general assault was made on the place. The Rohilla and his troops defended the fort for a whole day with determined bravery; but seeing no prospect of final success, and justly dreading the vengeance that awaited him, Gholaum mounted a fleet horse, and having first carefully packed up the finest jewels obtained in the plunder of the palace in the saddle and howsings, made his escape in the dead of the following night. He had not advanced many miles when his horse fell with him, and he was so severly bruised by the fall that he lay on the ground unable to move; while the horse, recovering himself, galloped away with the treasures of Delhi, and was never after heard of. In this situation the inhabitants of a neighbouring village at day-break discovered the prostrate chief, and carried him prisoner to the Mahratta camp. Deserted by their commander, the Rohilla garrison at Mhirta on the following day surrendered at discretion. The princes of the royal family, as well as the aged princesses, were liberated by Rana Khan, treated with the greatest respect, and sent back to Delhi with

a proper guard for their protection, while the perfidious Nazir was thrown into irons, and reserved for condign punishment. Gholam Caudir too, when he arrived in the camp, was heavily loaded with irons, and, being placed in an iron cage, was kept for some time suspended in the front of the army to be gazed at as a monster of vice and unparalleled barbarity. Soon after, upon Scindiah's joining the army, by his orders the former was trodden to death by elephants; and the latter, having first had his nose and ears, and then his hands and feet, cut off, in this mutilated condition was sent to Shah Aulum at Delhi; but the miserable wretch died while conveying thither.

Scindiah, in the mean time, rapidly pursuing his career of victory, soon arrived in the country of the deceased rebel, where his discomfited army, unable to make any effectual opposition, fled in every direction before him. He soon became possessed of Ghoseghur, and all the inferior forts in that district, and added those territories to his own extensive domains in the Dooab. Having left a strong Mahratta force in his new conquests, he then marched to Delhi, where, sending Bedar Shah back to his ancient state-prison of Selim-Ghur, he, with great pomp, once more raised the blind debilitated monarch to the musnud, and had coins again struck in his name. But, notwithstanding these pompous ceremonies, which, like many other transactions of recent date, by the usurpers of the supreme authority at Delhi, can only be regarded as a solemn mockery of fallen majesty, since by the ancient laws both of Persia and India, a prince deprived of sight can never legally wield the imperial sceptre, I consider the *reign of Shah Aulum as terminated*, and the INDIAN EMPIRE itself, of which I have attempted, however inadequately, to give the General History, as no longer existing. From this period I consider the glorious SUN of Timur, which had for so

many ages illumined India, as set for ever! A dark and deeply ensanguined cloud had long hovered over the metropolis, and, at length, bursting upon the imperial palace, overwhelmed the last miserable sceptred descendant of that mighty race.

The most exalted state of human grandeur, whether enjoyed by kingdoms or dynasties, has its allotted period; and what more proper period can be assigned by the historian to the Indian Empire and the dynasty of Timur, than that in which all authority in the Supreme Head became annihilated, and all subordination in its dependent branches destroyed? That mighty empire, which, under Aurungzeb, reached from the tenth to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, and nearly as much in longitude, and produced a revenue exceeding thirty-two millions of pounds sterling, was now reduced (hear it, indignant Shade of Akber!) to a ruinated city, and a scanty district around it, with only a few eleemosynary lacks of rupees, allowed for the subsistence of that Head by a vassal chief, belonging to a nation ever among the bitterest enemies of his family! It is high time to draw the curtain over such melancholy scenes, as those which have darkened the concluding pages of this volume; and we take leave of that potent dynasty that once made the proudest thrones of Asia tremble, with mingled sensations of admiration and pity; with admiration of their heroic virtues, and pity for their unparalleled misfortunes.

END OF THE MOGUL HISTORY.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS.

CONCLUDING PORTION.

ADVERTISEMENT.

At the conclusion of Chapter V. on the European settlers in India, in the preceding volume, the subjoined paragraph occurs.

"Having now brought the History of the European establishments, and more particularly, that of the Company in Bengal, down to the close of the year 1757, we shall in the next Book resume, and uninterruptedly pursue, the regular Mogul history to its termination, that is, to the last visit of Abdallah to Delhi, when its authority virtually expired. In an additional Book, the History of the European Establishments, or rather that of our East-India Company, in which they were ultimately absorbed, will again be continued, and the work conclude with a summary statement of the different powers among which that once mighty empire is at present divided."

The first of these promises has, it is hoped, been fulfilled to the reader's entire satisfaction, since, in fact, the Mogul History has been brought nearly thirty years lower down than the last visit of Abdallah to Delhi, which took place in A. D. 1761. The latter promise it is found utterly impossible to fulfil in the extent desired, not only from the immense field to be traversed, and the magnitude and infinite variety of the events, the details of which, on the most limited scale, it is calculated would occupy two large additional volumes; but from the proximity of the period, a period of fierce debate and high political contention to that in which we live, rendered too

delicate to be entered upon; many of the principal actors in those turbulent scenes being still living, and the embers of contention and jealousy scarcely yet extinguished. After an immense labour and expence incurred in procuring the books and pamphlets requisite, most of them, unhappily, too strongly marked by the prevailing passions and prejudices of the times in which they were composed, to be perused without the most guarded caution, the project is for the present laid aside.

It has, however, been thought proper to wind up this part of the work by presenting the reader with an Additional Chapter, in which the long and ardent contests of the English and French nations on the Coast of Coromandel were brought to a final termination by the destruction of Pondicherry, and the expulsion of the French from India, in 1761, at the close of which year not a flag of that nation was seen flying on any fortress along the whole of its extensive coast. It seemed also necessary to bring down the English affairs in Bengal, which by the Shah Zaddah's irruption in 1759, began to be intimately blended with those of the empire, to the important period in which they obtained from the same prince, afterwards emperor, the office of DEWANNY, or collection of the revenues (dated 12th of August, 1765), in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, which elevated them from a chartered body of merchants to the rank of sovereign princes.

With respect to the Powers among whom India is at present divided, the elegant coloured Map of India, engraved by Arrowsmith expressly for this work, will in that respect be a surer guide to the reader than any more elaborate description which it might be in the power of the Author to furnish.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

Affairs of BOMBAY.—*The Pirate* ANGRIA *defeated and his Forts demolished; first, under Commodore James, and finally, under Admiral Watson, and Colonel Clive.—Affairs on the Coromandel Coast.—Count Lally arrives at Pondicherry with powerful reinforcements from France.—Immediately marches against Fort St. David's.—Attacks, takes, and completely demolishes that city.—Inflamed with this success he leads his army against Madras.—His partial success.—The siege raised by the arrival in Madras-roads of a fleet and army from England.—Disgraceful retreat of the French to Pondicherry.—Thus reinforced, early in* 1758 *the English take the field.—Battle of Wandewash.—Their signal successes by land and sea.—With their united forces they besiege, and take Pondicherry; which fine city they demolish in revenge for the demolition of Fort St. David's, and thus put a period for the present to the French power and consequence in India.—Affairs in* BENGAL.—*The* SHAH ZADDAH *invades* BENGAL; *repulsed by Clive.—Jaffier deposed; Cossim raised to the Nabobship.—On Cossim's flagrant abuse of the power intrusted to him, Jaffier replaced on the Musnud.—War with Cossim, who cruelly murders in cold blood* 200 *English gentlemen at Patna.—War with the Nabob Vizier, supported by the new Emperor.—Defeated in every action with the English army, both eventually submit and throw themselves on the protection of the English.—The Nabob Vizier restored to his dominions in* OUDE.—*The Emperor issues a firmaun, granting to the English the office of* DUANNY *of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.—That firmaun the basis of their future greatness and unrivalled prosperity.*

ENGAGED in detailing and bringing to a conclusion the more splendid and interesting events that occurred in Bengal under Clive and Watson, we neglected to notice in its proper place the important service rendered to the Company's affairs on the Malabar coast and at Bombay, by the spirited and successful attack of the fleet under Commodore James and Admiral Watson, on the usurped maritime domains of the renowned pirate Angria. It forms too important a feature in the history of that settlement to be omitted, and is in substance as follows.

In the infancy of the Mahratta government, a daring individual of that tribe, grandson of Sevajee, named Conajee Angria, had been employed by the Saho Rajah* as an admiral in the defence of that coast against the incursions of the SIDDEE, or Mogul admiral. The most signal success had crowned the naval efforts of this man, and inflamed by that success, he aspired to independence of the power that made him. In pursuance of this plan he seized upon all the strong forts on that range of coast, and by the aid of European engineers rendered them impregnable against any attacks of the native powers, Mahratta or Mogul. Issuing from these rocky recesses, these maritime retreats formed by the indenture of the coasts, in vessels of peculiar construction, called grabs, strongly built, and skilfully managed, himself and his descendants, all bearing the name of ANGRIA, had now for half a century carried on a predatory war not only against the Mohammedan powers who traded to and from India, but even against the more formidable states of Europe; capturing ships of great burthen and wealth, and often, through their number and valour, victorious over their ships of war. All nations had suffered by these depredations, but the English more severely

* See an account of the Saho Rajah in vol. ii. p. 236.

than others. To repress the insolence of these marine adventurers the presidency of Bombay had been put to an enormous expence in fitting out various expeditions, and in keeping up a constant naval force for the protection of their valuable commerce. Most of those expeditions had totally failed, and it was not until Commodore James was appointed to that station, and sent on that service, in 1755, that any impression was made on the barbarous but wary enemy. James had indeed with only four ships attacked some of the minor forts on the coast with vigour and success, and had even laid the stronger one of Severndroog in ruins; but still the business was only half done. The arrival in those seas, about this time, of Admiral Watson, with a more powerful fleet from England, seemed to afford a favourable opportunity for following up the blow and completing the long meditated conquest. After due consultation, therefore, with the admiral, it was resolved by that presidency to attempt the extermination of this race of piratical marauders.

The principal fortress of Angria, and capital of all his dominions, was named GHERIA, situated on a rocky promontory about a mile and a quarter long, and at the entrance of a spacious harbour, which forms the mouth of a river descending from the Balagaut mountains. The rock on which Gheria stood, rose fifty feet in perpendicular height above the level of the water, and the fortifications erected upon it consisted of a double wall with round towers, and were of proportionate thickness and elevation; many of the massy stones of which they were composed being ten feet long, and as many broad. In short, no expence or labour had been spared to render this place impregnable; for it was the depositary of all his treasures, and the grand arsenal of all his naval stores. Adjoining the harbour were extensive docks for ship-building, and opposite to them, at this time, were lying ten

of the strongest of his grabs, fastened together in such a manner that if one should take fire, all the others must inevitably be consumed with it.

So many formidable accounts of this fortress had reached Bombay, representing it as absolutely impregnable; a little Gibraltar situated on a mountain inaccessible from the sea; that it was resolved in council there to send vessels to reconnoitre it: and he whose daring naval efforts had caused the enemy most annoyance, the commodore himself, was immediately dispatched in the Protector of 44 guns, assisted by two other ships, on that arduous service. After having run considerable danger by approaching within cannon shot of the fort, that intrepid officer returned in December with a more accurate account of Gheria, which he acknowledged to be a place of prodigious strength both by nature and art, but neither inaccessible, nor impregnable.

As Angria was in equal hostility with the Mahratta as with the English government, an invitation was sent, as had been sent before, to the chiefs of that nation to join in the expedition against their common enemy, and recommending a vigorous attack upon him from the land side, while the English fleet battered the fortifications, and attacked his fleet in front. The proposal was acceded to with readiness, and at length, the preparations being complete, on the 11th of February, 1756, Admiral Watson, assisted by the patriotic zeal and tried abilities of Commodore James, with a fleet of nine sail, four of which were of the line, accompanied by five bomb-vessels, appeared before Gheria. On board this fleet, beside marines, was a battalion of 800 Europeans, together with 1000 sepoys, under the command of Clive. A large army of Mahrattas, under Ramajee Punt, had also marched from Choul to invest the place by land, and, thus blockaded on every side, the dreadful conflict commenced.

After the usual but ineffectual ceremony of summoning the fort to surrender, the fleet entered the harbour in two divisions, parallel to each other, and, anchoring on the north side of the fortifications, at the distance of 50 yards, began to batter them with 150 pieces of cannon, while from the bomb-vessels an infinite number of shells was at the same time discharged, some of which falling into the grabs, moored together as above described, set them on fire, and in a short time the whole were consumed. The besieged in the mean time were not idle, but kept up an incessant fire on their assailants, from near 200 cannon: being ill-directed, however, no great injury was done to the shipping; whereas, on the part of the English, every shot took effect, and before sunset the guns of the fort were entirely silenced. Angria predicting his fate, and detesting the English, had fled to the Mahratta camp, in hopes by large bribes of purchasing his peace with that venal nation. Anxious to get possession of his riches, to the exclusion of the English, they obtained an order from him to his brother, whom he had left chief in command, to deliver up the keys of the fort to the former only, and to resist the English to the last. Apprized by a deserter of these clandestine proceedings, Admiral Watson re-commenced the attack with redoubled vigour, to prevent their insidious allies accomplishing their designs, and Colonel Clive, landing in the night with his whole force, contrived to get between them and the fort. With the dawn the summons to surrender was renewed, together with the menace that if the fort were not delivered up in an hour, it would be stormed, and no quarter given. This peremptory requisition being followed up by a cannonade still more terrible than the former, had the desired effect, and in a short time the garrison surrendered. Colonel Clive, with his battalion, immediately took possession of the fort with all that it contained, which in military

and naval stores, and valuable effects of every kind, was of immense amount, besides a large sum in money, which was distributed without reserve among the brave captors. The other forts in the usurped marine domains of Angria being afterwards assailed by the allied powers, were successively taken possession of; and thus in one month a formidable enemy that for 50 years had ravaged the coast, and annoyed the fleets of all nations, was not only crushed but in a manner annihilated.*

AFFAIRS OF COROMANDEL.

In a preceding page we stated that the deputation sent from Bengal, in 1756, to solicit relief from Madras, found that presidency occupied in preparing to send a detachment of 300 Europeans into Deccan to aid Salabad Jing† in getting rid of M. Bussy and the French, who completely tyrannized over him and his whole court. The destination of that force, together with 600 Europeans, and 1500 sepoys in addition, immediately ordered for Bengal, left Fort St. George so destitute of troops that nothing could be attempted for the Soubah, while the presidency itself remained exposed to an immediate attack from the French of Pondicherry, should they be tempted to violate the conditional treaty, or rather the suspension of arms, so lately only agreed upon. The presidency therefore, in order to fortify the seat of government, without delay from all the inferior dependencies in the Carnatic, called in as great a number of troops as could be spared from the indispensible duty of their respective garrisons, and, even with this additional aid, its security appeared to be at best very precarious.

With respect to affairs in the Deccan, the contention between

* Orme, Vol. I. p. 417. Cambridge, p. 129.

† See of the preceding volume page 355.

Salabad Jing, or rather between his ministers and M. Bussy, having arisen to a great height, the latter, at the peremptory command of the Soubah, left his camp, with all his troops, and after a long and toilsome march of nearly 300 miles, conducted with great ability through an enemy's country, arrived in safety at Hydrabad, where he strongly fortified himself. At this place he continued till he was re-inforced by a detachment of 400 men, which, at his request, had been sent from Pondicherry to Masulipatam, the nearest French settlement, whence they had rapidly advanced to join him, a distance of 200 miles, and had, in their march, encountered difficulties, little inferior to his own. With this additional force he was enabled to establish himself in what are called the northern Circars, a portion of the maritime part of Deccan, which in a preceding page we observed were ceded to the French by Salabad Jing, in reward for their assistance in exalting him to the musnud, and the revenues of which are stated by Mr. Orme as amounting to half a million sterling.* He was also enabled to carry on a vigorous and successful war with the refractory Rajahs, or Zemindars in that region of the peninsula, and finally to awe the Soubah himself and his ministers into peace and submission. Having obtained this distinguished success over both the native and the Mogul forces, and having gained some intelligence of the intention of the Council of Madras to send succours to the Soubah, he now fell with fury on the English settlements in that part of the peninsula, and was crowned with success equally brilliant. Among inferior factories in its vicinity, the more important one of Vizigapatam was after a short investment reduced, and by its capture the French became masters of that whole coast from Ganjam to Masulipatam.† This was precisely the period of the proudest triumph of the French arms in India;

* Orme, Vol. I. p. 335. † Cambridge, p. 137.

how rapid and dreadful a change in their affairs afterwards took place will be demonstrated in no very distant page.

War being declared about this time between the two countries, in 1756 a powerful fleet was with the utmost expedition, for its magnitude, dispatched in the following year from France to India, containing an armament far more formidable, and better appointed than ever had been transported thither in one fleet. The fleet consisted of twelve ships of different rates, commanded by M. d'Achè; the land forces by General Count Lally, a man haughty and daring as Dupleix himself, and armed with unlimited powers to drive the detested English from all their settlements on the coast of Coromandel, and retaliate on their towns the unsparing vengeance poured out on Chandernagore. His orders were immediately on his arrival, which, however, owing to a most disastrous voyage did not take place until the end of April, 1758, to commence the siege of Fort St. David; and in fact the very night of his landing, 1000 Europeans, together with as many sepoys, commanded by Count D'Estaign, were seen in full march to attack that fort preparatory to the bolder meditated attempt on Madras.

Lally quickly followed at the head of all the force that could be drawn together for the attack on Fort St. David, and, before it, was soon collected an army amounting to 2500 French, the most formidable body of Europeans that India had ever seen assembled, with nearly as many sepoys, and a proportionate train of artillery. Colonel Polier commanded in the fort, and is thought not to have made all the resistance for which he was provided with the means; for though the enemy's cannon, which played furiously and incessantly, had before he surrendered very much damaged the works, no practicable breach had been made. The garrison, however, scarcely 300 in number, were utterly inade-

quate to its defence, the tanks or reservoirs having been injured by the bombardment, so that little water was to be had, and the ammunition was almost expended. The fort capitulated on the 1st of June, 1758. The garrison were made prisoners of war; nor could the most earnest solicitations of the commander and the governor carry the proposal that the fortifications should not be demolished during the war.

A court of enquiry was afterwards instituted at Madras, in which Major Polier's personal bravery was highly commended, but the early surrender, and the conditions, were reprobated in the most unqualified terms. The garrison were sent to Pondicherry, there to remain until their release could be effected by the delivery of an equal number of French prisoners. In strict conformity to the decided resolution formed at the court of Versailles of exterminating the English, and levelling their settlements on the coast of Coromandel, Count Lally now proceeded to the utter demolition of the works of Fort St. David. The whole were blown up and reduced to a heap of ruins. The revengeful spirit of French hostility did more than this; it led him to destroy many beautiful villas of the English in that quarter, and many handsome public structures that adorned the face of the country.

The English at Madras now became justly and deeply alarmed. They saw the storm that had ruined St. David's rolling towards St. George, and ready to burst upon the citadel. They immediately called in all the remaining troops in the garrisons of the different factories in the Carnatic; and proceeded with vigour and celerity to make the necessary arrangements for sustaining an attack which was to decide the fate of the British capital in Coromandel.

I forbear to follow M. Lally through his rapid and varied

career of victories in the Carnatic, while Madras remained without adequate resources to obstruct his progress. I forbear to notice, as irrelevant, the everlasting contests in which his haughty intractable spirit, born to control rather than to submit, involved him with M. Deleyrit, the civil governor, and the council of Pondicherry, who seem to have thwarted him in all the great designs which he had formed for the aggrandizement of his country in India, and to have locked against him the Company's treasury, which contained the sinews of war. My concern is only with the great features of his administration, and, therefore, passing by minor intervening incidents, let us attend him on his march to invest Fort St. George, flushed with his triumph over St. David's, and confident that *that* imperial settlement would experience a similar catastrophe.

Early in December 1758 the grand French army, augmented by large detachments from all their settlements in that region of India were seen advancing to the attack. Their number amounted to 3500 Europeans, 2000 sepoys, and as many horse. The English force, in like manner augmented, consisted of 1750 Europeans, and 2000 sepoys: and of this force a considerable proportion, under the command of Colonel Lawrence, had encamped on an eminence, called St. Thomas's mount, distant about nine miles from Madras. It is thus denominated from an ancient tradition, that the apostle St. Thomas had preached the gospel to the Indians on that spot. It is justly esteemed for the goodness of the air, and the pleasantness of the situation, on which account a number of villas have been built on the scite by the gentlemen of Madras, surrounded with beautiful gardens and plantations. As it was not the intention of the Colonel to risque an engagement with such an inferior force, especially when a defeat would inevitably be attended with the loss of Madras, on

the approach of the enemy he gradually drew off his battalions from the mount, and encamped nearer the town, on what is called the Choultry plain. The following day Lally encamped on the deserted mount, and on the 12th of December himself advanced to the Choultry plain. The English army, after about two hours cannonading, retired into the fort; and that evening the enemy encamped on the very spot which they had abandoned. At the same time their advanced guard took possession of the garden-house, and the neighbouring village, in order to invest the town

Early in the morning of the 14th of December, M. Lally marched in two columns to attack, and take possession of the Black Town, whose large extent made it impossible for the small force of the English to dispute it with the enemy. An immense multitude of black people, principally women and children, with frantic cries and gestures, now crowded towards the fort claiming protection, and imploring admission within the walls; but this favour could not be granted, and they were advised under the cover of the night, to disperse themselves over the country. While however the enemy were engaged in plundering the Black Town, and many of them were intoxicated with the arrack found in considerable quantities in its warehouses, a vigorous and unexpected sally was made by Colonel Draper, at the head of 500 men, which spread confusion and dismay through their ranks, and put the greatest part of them to precipitate flight. Being at length rallied by their officers, a severe but short conflict took place, in which the enemy lost in killed and wounded thirty officers and nearly 300 men; the loss of the garrison too was serious, being altogether nine officers, and 200 men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. This daring enterprize convinced M. Lally that he had now to contend with a very

different description of men from those who had behaved so ignobly at Fort St. David's.

Immediately after, the French began to prepare their batteries, and other necessary works for the close investment of the fort. The artillery, however, which they had embarked for the siege was still at a distance on the seas, impeded by contrary winds; on the 22d a great part of it arrived in the Harlem, and on the 2d of January, 1759, at break of day, a tremendous bombardment commenced from the principal batteries, which was answered with great spirit from the fort, both with shells and shot, and the contest was continued until seven at night, with little injury to the town, and with less to the besieged. The attack was resumed on the 6th and 7th with increased vigour on the part of the enemy; but by the strenuous exertions of Mr. Call, the chief engineer, their fire was as vigorously retorted, and the damage sustained rapidly repaired. As that gentleman's regular journal of the siege is published, and may be consulted in Mr. Cambridge's work, I must refer the reader for more particular details to his authentic page. To military men they are alone important, and they are both there, and in Mr. Orme, accompanied with draughts and plans which render them perfectly intelligible. It is sufficient for these pages to record that after a severe blockade, which commenced on the 12th of December, 1758, and concluded on the 17th of February, 1759, during which interval all the energies of united skill and valour were exerted on both sides, this memorable siege terminated by the appearance of an English fleet of six sail in the road of Madras, and bringing to its aid a detachment of 600 Europeans, with a proportionate quantity of money, stores, and ammunition. The latter, however, though welcome, was not materially wanted, owing to the provident care of Mr. Pigot, the governor, who both before and during the

siege had unceasingly performed all the various duties of his arduous situation.*

This long-expected fleet was first descried approaching the road, about 5 o'clock on the evening of the 16th of February, but it was near ten before, directed by lights held out in the fort, they cast anchor in the road. Consequently, on such a coast, no debarkation could take place until the following morning; a circumstance that might have been, but fortunately was not, attended with very serious consequences to the besieged. Lally had arrogantly declared that he never would relinquish the enterprize until he had tried the success of a general assault, and it was firmly expected by the garrison that it would take place that very night, before the reinforcement could be landed. Every man, therefore, capable of bearing arms, was ready at his post, and a continued increasing fire, kept up on both sides during the greater part of the night, seemed the prelude to the dreadful affray. Soon after two in the morning, however, that of the enemy began visibly to slacken, and at three it entirely ceased; nor could the motions of troops be any longer distinguished in their lines. The blaze of fires, however, in their trenches, and large piles of wood in flames were plainly perceived, as if to guide a retreating foe; and in fact at day-break the whole army was discovered at some distance, in full march towards St. Thomas's mount, on their return to Pondicherry. The hurry and confusion with which they raised the siege were evident in their leaving behind them a vast quantity of stores, above 40 pieces of heavy cannon, and their sick and wounded in the hospital, recommended in a letter by Lally to the humanity of the English governor, which was exerted in their favour. The loss during

* Orme, Vol. III. p. 455, and Cambridge, p. 204, where see the journal of the siege.

the whole siege amounted in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, to 33 officers, and, of rank and file in the battalions of Europeans, 559; of the sepoys, lascars, and others, including deserters, nearly 700, no inconsiderable proportion of the whole garrison! The loss of the French in these respects was never exactly ascertained.*

Shortly after the English army took the field under Major Brereton. The great commercial towns of Conjeveram and Masulipatam were successively taken possession of by himself and Major Ford, so that the French trade on that extensive coast, abounding in population and rich in manufactures, was soon almost confined to Pondicherry. Near the close of 1759 Colonel Coote invested and took Wandewash, which in the following year roused the utmost exertions of General Lally to recover it. The army he collected for this purpose amounted to above 2000 Europeans, together with treble the number of black troops, and at the head of these he pushed forward the siege with the utmost vigour. He had even proceeded so far as to make a practicable breach in the walls, when Colonel Coote appeared before Wandewash with an army of 1900 Europeans and about 3000 sepoys. After an obstinate and bloody engagement, fought on both sides with a bravery which the importance of the place inspired, Lally was completely defeated and fled, leaving above a thousand killed and wounded on the field of battle. He retired with the remainder of his routed troops to Pondicherry. The English, according to Mr. Orme, lost only 200 in killed and wounded, but the death of the gallant Brereton threw a shade over the triumph of victory.† This important victory was rapidly followed up by the siege and capture of Arcot, the capital of the province. At sea the efforts of the

* Ibid. † Orme, Vol. III. p. 589.

brave Admiral Pocock were distinguished by no less brilliant success. With eight ships only he attacked and defeated the French fleet of double that number, and compelled them to take shelter under the cannon of Pondicherry. After the capture of Carical and one or two other fortresses in the neighbourhood, which rapidly followed, that city soon became their only remaining port in that part of India, and it was determined immediately to invest it with all our forces by sea and land.

That magnificent city, upon which such immense sums had been lavished by the French, extended along the coast about a mile and a quarter, and was about three quarters of a mile in breadth. It was at this period considered as the finest city, and the best fortified, of any in India. The palace erected for the residence of its ostentatious viceroys, its noble citadel, its vast magazines, its beautiful bazar, its lofty gates, and walls flanked with bastions, eleven in number, and mounted with 500 pieces of cannon, rendered it worthy to be called the metropolis of a great nation. On the land side it was inclosed, as many cities in India are, about a mile from the walls, by a hedge of large aloes, prickly pears, and other thorny plants, called the *Bound-hedge*, intermixed with great numbers of cocoa-nut and palm-trees, altogether forming a defence impenetrable to cavalry, and of very difficult passage to infantry. This *Bound-hedge* was farther strengthened by five redoubts commanding the five roads that led into the town. To enter into the particulars of this famous siege, or rather blockade, so well and so minutely detailed by Mr. Orme, is unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that after the bravest possible exertions for a period of seven months on the part of the besieged, their supplies being entirely cut off, so that provisions for only ten days more remained for the support of 2000 persons, of which the garrison consisted, the haughty

Lally consented, without any conditions, to surrender the city. As the extirpation of the English from the maritime coast of India had been the avowed object of the French councils, and of all the governors down to Lally, evidenced in the utter destruction of Fort St. David's by the latter, a rigid retaliation was on this occasion adopted; and the extensive fortifications, together with all the noble public and private buildings of Pondicherry were in a few months with much labour demolished, and the French capital of India for ever bowed the head. This important, this memorable event took place on the 16th of January, 1761. The fate of the brave but impetuous and unfortunate Lally ought not to be omitted. On his return to France, his numerous enemies prevailing, he was tried and convicted of having betrayed the interests of his country, and the East-India Company, and beheaded in the 65th year of his age; a sentence which he bore with a firmness only to be paralleled by the black ingratitude that pronounced it.

With the towers of Pondicherry fell the once colossal power of the French on the continent of India. Thiagar surrendered at discretion in February; and the strong fortress of Gingee soon afterwards capitulated to Captain Smith, with only the honours of war allowed to its brave garrison. Thus finally terminated a war which had continued to rage, between the English and French, on the coast of Coromandel, with little intermission during fifteen years. In Bengal also we have seen their commerce and their government were alike annihilated. A few daring adventurers, however, retired to Mysore, where they were received with rapture by Hyder, who had recently usurped its sceptre, had publicly sworn the destruction of the English, and was secretly meditating the accomplishment of his oath. But here a vast field, and new prospects of almost

unbounded extent begin to expand to the view of the historian. That field too has been already beaten by able and patriotic writers, who are well known, and may be readily consulted. Having now gradually traced the progress, in commerce and in conquests, of the different European nations, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English, and French on the desolated shores of India, during a period of above 260 years, that is from the landing of the immortal Gama at Calicut, in A. D. 1498, down to the uncontrolled establishment of the English power on those shores by the destruction of Pondicherry in A. D. 1761, I trust I may retreat with honour from that field, and leave its future history to be recorded by the pen of others.

Previously, however, to finally quitting it, the intimate connection which affairs in the Company's principal settlement have with the preceding Mogul history, renders it necessary to take a last view of

TRANSACTIONS IN BENGAL.

in which province, and Bahar, it has before been observed, the fugitive prince, Ali Gohar, had, in 1758 and 1759, attempted to raise contributions and make conquests.* In this enterprize he was zealously assisted by Mr. Law, at the head of a French corps who had made their escape from Chandernagore, and had been permitted by the late Nabob to reside for some time on the northern frontiers of the provinces, but who afterwards was compelled to remove to Chitterpoor, as well as by several turbulent and disaffected Rajahs and Zemindars, who fighting under the royal banners hoped to obtain high distinction, and no small plunder. Among the latter, beside Mahommed Kuli Khan, Subahdar of Allahabad, who had given him protection at his capital, were Sunder Sing and Bulwant Sing, of Benares, and

* See page 591, preceding.

some partial success at first attended their arms; but Colonel Clive, who at that time commanded in Bengal, rapidly advancing from Moorshedabad together with Meerum, the Nabob's son, at the head of the English army, soon checked their progress, and as we have before seen, drove them back beyond the Carumnassa.

The prince, Hossain asserts, more than once wrote to the Colonel, offering him any terms for the Company, and himself, on condition that the English would quit the Nabob and join his army; but Clive thinking it incompatible with the English treaty with the latter, declined the offer. His proffered services being thus conscientiously rejected, in a few months he returned with a far more formidable force, and armed with all the terror of imperial authority, his father Aulumgeer having been recently assassinated; but he was defeated in various successive conflicts with the English under Colonels Knox and Calliaud, and compelled again disgracefully to cross the Carumnassa. About the same time also the Mahrattas entered the province from the southward, and penetrated into the Burdwan country, making a considerable but unavailing diversion in favour of the prince, for they also were totally discomfited by Colonel Calliaud's troops in conjunction with those of the Nabob. The particulars of these conflicts have in various publications been so amply detailed * to the public, and the result of all the prince's efforts to conquer Bengal and Bahar having been already stated to the reader, I shall not tread back the ground of history minutely to relate them; but, as usual, keep only to its great outlines, and the leading events of the period under consideration. Towards the close of the campaign the Nabob's son was killed in his tent by lightning;

* For these details consult Gholaum Hossain, *passim*; also Holwell's "India Tracts," octavo, 1774, in which are inserted Colonel Calliaud's letters, addressed during the course of the campaign to himself, as governor.

extreme anguish for which event is said by our well informed native historian to have affected the intellects of Jaffier Khan, his father, (although nobody besides himself felt the smallest grief at his death, for he was a young man of the most cruel and profligate character) and to have been, in part, the occasion of that important change in the government, the particulars of which it now becomes necessary to record.*

For a considerable period the internal administration of the province of Bengal had been most wretchedly conducted. Both Jaffier and his son had in their high station been guilty of the most atrocious crimes, and on the slightest occasions had freely used the dagger of assassination. These excessive cruelties, added to the oppressive exactions of the father, had rendered him equally obnoxious, both to the natives and the English. By his indolence too, and the defalcations of a train of worthless favourites, the revenues were become utterly inadequate to the support of the government. The council of Calcutta had long seen and regretted this scandalous deviation, from the line of principle and prudence, in the man whom they had exalted to its musnud. After violent and protracted debates among its members it was at length agreed upon by the majority of the board, to depose Jaffier Khan, and raise to the Nabobship, his son-in-law, that Cossim Ally Khan, of whom, in the preceding portion of Mogul history, we have prematurely been compelled to speak. Colonel Clive, it should be here remarked, after repelling the invasion of the Shah Zadda in the preceding year, had early in the present year (1760) resigned the government of Bengal, and taken his departure for Europe. Mr. Holwell, as oldest in council, succeeded to the presidency, which a few months afterwards he resigned to Mr. Vansittart, appointed to succeed the Colonel from

* Gholaum Hossain p. 399.

Madras. Soon after his arrival, the new governor, and Colonel Calliaud, attended by a body of European troops and some sepoys, towards the close of the year 1760, having arrived at his capital of Moorshedabad, announced to the Nabob the fatal intelligence of his deposition from the musnud, which his crimes had disgraced, and the elevation of his son to those honours having been determined upon at that presidency. Jaffier Khan at first fell into a violent rage, grossly abused the English, and menaced resistance; but his palace being surrounded, and the gates secured, he was compelled to submit. Boats were at hand to convey himself, his domestics, and his property in gold and jewels to a vast amount to Calcutta, which he preferred to a residence at Moorshedabad, where he would be at the mercy of his son-in-law, whom he equally dreaded and detested, and Cossim, amidst the general exultation of the people, was immediately proclaimed his successor.

In Cossim, however, the English government was deeply disappointed. With greater abilities and profounder policy than his predecessor, he pursued with vigour all the obnoxious projects of his father-in-law in respect to the trade of the Company; he greatly, but gradually, increased the numbers of his army, which he armed, clothed, and disciplined after the European manner, and rendered formidable by a well-appointed park of artillery; while, to elude the cautious vigilance and inspection of the English factory and agents of Moorshedabad, he removed the seat of his government from that capital to Mongheer, 200 miles higher up on the Ganges, which he fortified in the strongest manner possible. From this place he issued the severest decrees against both the judicial and commercial claims of the English in Bengal, and reversed all the immunities granted them by his predecessor, and confirmed by himself,

when advanced by them to the musnud. Mr. Vansittart, a just and worthy man, but wanting the spirit and vigour of a Clive, anxious to prevent an open rupture, undertook a journey to Mongheer, where he arrived in November, 1762, and entered into an amicable negociation with the Nabob, which terminated by his consenting to put the Company's commerce under certain restrictions, (Hossain states it to be the payment of *nine* per cent. on articles of commerce) and he issued his orders accordingly, which were immediately circulated with avidity by Cossim through the whole province. But the terms of this treaty were thought disgraceful at Calcutta, and were indignantly annulled by the council. Unwilling, however, to come to extremities with the Nabob, a deputation of gentlemen, with Mr. Amyatt at their head, was, shortly after, dispatched to Mongheer with fresh proposals for an accommodation. In the object of their mission, however, they were completely unsuccessful; and it seemed to be the determination of the tyrant to extirpate both the English and their trade; for on their return to Calcutta, these gentlemen, though furnished by himself with the usual passports granted to persons employed in public embassy, in passing through Moorshedabad, were by his orders, basely fired upon; Mr. Amyatt, and many of them killed, and the rest taken prisoners.

Previously to this catastrophe, it was sufficiently evident that the Nabob was determined on hostilities, and Mr. Amyatt, in consequence, had written to Mr. Ellis, the chief of Patna, desiring him to be upon his guard against sudden surprise. Mr. Ellis, upon receipt of this intelligence, and in the certainty that a declaration of war would be issued when the deputation reached Calcutta, resolved, when he conceived Mr. Amyatt was arrived within the boundaries of the Company, to be before-hand with the Nabob, and after consulting the military commander, formed the bold

resolution one morning at day-break, when the Mogul guard were mostly off their posts, and not suspecting an attack, with their handful of troops of seizing on the city. Having scaled the walls without much opposition, the little army marched on in two divisions towards the citadel, the garrison of which however resolutely held out, as well as the palace of the governor, in expectation of speedy relief. All the rest of the city was in their possession, but unfortunately, instead of keeping firmly together, the soldiers, allured by the riches of that great city, began to disperse and plunder the bazar and the houses of the opulent inhabitants. This imprudent step totally ruined an enterprize commenced, it must be owned, with more spirit than foresight, for detachments pouring in from all quarters soon overpowered the English, and after a short but brave resistance, they were completely routed, and pursued across the river, where they were all either destroyed or taken prisoners. Among the latter were Mr. Ellis, the chief, Mr. Lushington, and many other gentlemen, very highly esteemed in India, and very respectably connected in England. Inflamed with this temporary triumph, the Nabob immediately issued orders to the officers of the several districts for the indiscriminate slaughter of all Englishmen found in them, and it is possible that the massacre of the deputies at Moorshedabad might be the consequence of those orders; but as EMBASSADORS, in every event of peace, or war, their persons ought to have been considered as *sacred.*

When intelligence of this cruel and daring outrage arrived at Calcutta, the grief of the gentlemen of the council was alone to be equalled by their indignation. They immediately determined on the deposition of Meer Cossim, and a negociation was commenced with Meer Jaffier for his restoration to the musnud, which was speedily terminated by his assenting to all the articles

dictated by them, as the condition of that restoration, except *four;* and those were of such minor importance, that at a future board they agreed to alter them according to his wishes:* he was in consequence of this assent, and a solemn promise to avoid former errors in government, once more proclaimed soubahdar at Calcutta; and on the 17th of July, 1763, attended by Major Adams, and an army small in number, but resolute in mind to revenge the murder of their countrymen, re-ascended the musnud at Moorshedabad, the ancient capital of the province. To pass over partial and less important actions, which would necessarily occupy the space destined to events of greater magnitude and moment, the enemy having collected their whole force had encamped on the plain of GERIAH, to attack which the English had to pass a *nulla*, or deep ravine, in the very face of them. That force consisted of twelve battalions of sepoys, regularly disciplined, and fifteen thousand horse, with seventeen pieces of artillery mounted in the English manner, and worked by European cannoneers. Cossim himself dreading the just vengeance of the English for his unparalleled perfidy, should he fall into their hands, was not with his army, but kept at a secure distance at Mongheer, and afterwards removed higher up the Ganges to Patna. The total amount of the British on this occasion did not exceed three thousand men. After an obstinate contest of four hours, in the course of which the English line was for a moment broken in upon, the latter gained a complete victory, and a booty adequate to the magnitude of the royal army. Pursuing their victorious career, they arrived at Mongheer, which the tyrant had made his capital. To this city,

* Consult the treaty, consisting of thirteen articles, in Vansittart's Bengal, Vol. III. p. 340.

fortified in the best manner the time would admit of, they were obliged to lay a regular siege, and the defence was more than usually vigorous; at length, however, the assailants having made a practicable breach, the garrison, consisting of 2000 sepoys, after a siege of nine days capitulated. Here the army received the afflicting intelligence that the cruel tyrant had caused to be barbarously murdered the whole of the English prisoners, amounting to nearly two hundred, except Dr. Fullarton, who, in his medical capacity, having been serviceable to himself, and some of the great men of his court, had a few days before been set at liberty.

In fact Cossim had, in a previous letter to Major Adams, announced his determination to exact this diabolical revenge if he advanced with the army to Mongheer. The Major returned him for answer, that if he touched a hair of their heads he should have no mercy from the English, who would pursue him to the utmost extremity of the earth. The prisoners had been committed by Cossim to the care of a renegado French officer, his favourite general, named Sumroo, whose mortal enmity to the English nation seemed to render him the proper instrument of so bloody a deed, the horror of which is increased tenfold by its having been committed under the roof of pretended hospitality. The English gentlemen were invited by this base assassin to a banquet to be served up after the English fashion, for which purpose he had previously borrowed all their knives and forks. On the entrance of messieurs Ellis, Hay, and Lushington, they fell the first victims, being respectively seized by the hair by one ruffian, while another was at hand to cut his throat. Resistance was made, but it was useless, for the English were unarmed except with bottles and plates, the only weapons of offence they could procure, while the murderers rushing in upon them in-

indiscriminately levelled them with their carabines, or cut them down with their sabres; and thus, to use the words of Colonel Fullarton, "they were all terribly mangled and cut to pieces, and then promiscuously thrown into a large well, in the court of the house, which was afterwards filled up."*

Burning with revenge at this intelligence, the army with irresistable impetuosity pressed forward to Patna, where the object of their detestation was supposed to be, which after a resolute defence was taken by storm on the 6th of November, 1763. The Nabob however was too wise and circumspect to trust himself within the walls of any city attacked by the English: he contented himself with hovering near at the head of a select body of cavalry, from which he occasionally sent large detachments to harass the besieging enemy; and when intelligence reached him of its surrender, he retired with precipitation to the banks of the Carumnassa, which he crossed on a bridge of boats, and entered the territories of Sujah Dowlah, towards the close of the year.

The events that follow relative to Cossim's friendly reception at the court of Oude, the vain glory of the Nabob Vizier, the vast preparation for invading Bahar and Bengal, and the fact itself of that invasion by his innumerable, but ill disciplined battalions, together with the battle of Buxar, given in more than usual detail, as being more strictly connected with the Mogul History†—that fatal battle in which 50,000 Indians were opposed to 5000 of the company's troops, of which 1200 only were Europeans, are already before the reader. That decisive action took place, as there stated, in October 1764. No place of consequence now remained to the enemy, but the strong and almost impregnable fortress of Chunar Ghur on the Ganges. That fortress, how-

* Vansittart's Bengal, Vol. III. p. 376. † See page 598 preceding, et seq.

ever, after a long and obstinate resistance, which the garrison was enabled to make from the many advantages afforded them by its elevated site on a rock, projecting into the river, was at length surrendered by the governor to the English, in January 1765. It has been stated, that the Vizier in his panic, after the above victory of the English fled to Allahabad, another strong fort and city, 70 miles higher up the river, and constructed after the most approved rules of Indian architecture, by Sultan Akber, at the point where the Ganges and Jumna unite their streams. To this place he was pursued by the English general, and Allahabad, however fortified to resist an Indian army, not being able to withstand the battery of English artillery, being quickly taken, he fled for refuge to the Mahratta chief Mulhar Row, by whom he was cordially received, and promised that assistance which he so anxiously solicited. He also dispatched messengers to the Rohilla Afghan chiefs, established on the northern frontier of Oude, imploring their aid to crush the common foe.*

In the meantime his more sagacious minister, Beni Bahadur, despairing of success against a power to whom all opposition seemed unavailing, was endeavouring to open a negociation, by means of a native rajah, high in the confidence of the English, named Chittabray. General Carnac, however, who had now succeeded to the command of the troops, refused to listen to any proposals for peace, without his previously delivering up to the just vengeance of the English, Cossim and his bloody agent, in the massacre of their countrymen at Patna, Sumroo. To these conditions the Vizier would not listen, honourably declaring that he would rather lose his dominions than be guilty of such an act of perfidy, to men who had fled to him for protection in the extremity of distress. To put it out of his power, in

* Hossain, Vol. II. sect. 3. p. 365.

any exigency to act thus treacherously, he immediately released them; and both, it may be here remarked, after a variety of adventures, died miserably.*

Early, too, in the present year, (1765) expired, the victim of age and grief, the Soubahdar himself, Jaffier Khan. Upon his death-bed he had nominated his eldest surviving son Nudjim al Dowlah, then about eighteen years of age, for his successor, and the Council at Calcutta, after due deliberation, confirmed that nomination. Before his elevation to the musnud, however, in several conferences which were holden with him by some of its members, deputed for the purpose to Moorshedabad, the strict line of conduct to be observed by him as Nabob, was pointed out and impressed upon the inexperienced youth. The necessity also of very considerable changes, both in the civil and military departments of the province, was forcibly inculcated, and finally acceded to by the young Nabob, though he struggled hard to retain at the head of affairs the profligate Nundcomar, the favourite, but the venal minister of his father. His intreaties in that respect were of no avail, and a minister of their own choice was appointed to him, to serve at once as the governor of his private, and the guide of his public life. Under these restrictions, which past severe experience seemed to render requisite, he was installed Soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and the profound tranquillity enjoyed by those provinces after the submission of the Vizier, during his reign and that of his brother, who rapidly succeeded to his exalted station, evinced the wisdom of those precautions.

On the absolute refusal of the Vizier to accede to the conditions proposed by the English general, the continuance of the war being rendered necessary, the Mahrattas, more faithful

* Hossain, Ibid.

to Sujah, than his allies of the north, who with many professions had made no preparations for the campaign, early in May 1765 took the field. Sujah Doulah had also, by great exertions, and promises of high rewards, assembled together a large proportion of the troops who fled before the enemy at Buxar, but who now united with the martial Mahratta race, thought themselves marching on to certain victory. On receiving intelligence of their approach, General Carnac, without a moment's delay, advanced to meet them. He came up with them at a place called Calpi, where, after a conflict by no means sanguinary or protracted, he entirely routed the combined armies, pursued their flying squadrons in every direction, nor gave over that pursuit until he had compelled the Mahrattas, the more formidable of the two, to recross the Jumna, and retire within their own frontiers.

With respect to Sujah Dowlah himself, again defeated, desponding, his last stake ineffectually hazarded, he retreated with a few faithful bands to Ferukhabad, where Ahmed Khan Bunguish, the chief of that district, advised him in this extremity to throw himself, at once, on the clemency of the English, who were as generous as they were brave, and would not fail to pay every respect to an omrah of his rank and dignity in distress. With this advice, however grating to his feelings as a prince, and degrading to his character as a soldier, after due consideration, he resolved to comply; and, accordingly, the next day set out in his palanquin, with a few unarmed attendants, for the English camp. Informed of his intentions and approach, Carnac, with some of his principal officers, advanced in the front of the camp to receive him. On seeing them, the Vizier alighted from his palanquin, and after mutual salutation, the English general led his noble guest to a tent where a splendid entertainment was prepared, of which the

Vizier cordially partook, and after receiving the most solemn assurances of perfect reconciliation and future friendship, towards evening departed to his own tents, which were pitched at some distance. Impressed with a deep sense of the generosity and frankness of the English, the Vizier soon after repeated his visit, and a treaty between himself and the English was expeditiously drawn up, by which HE was re-instated in the full possession OF ALL HIS DOMINIONS upon the following lenient conditions; that he should pay fifty lacks of rupees, as an indemnification to the English for the expenses of the war, twenty-five lacks in ready money, and the remainder by assignments on the revenues of Oude; that the province of Allahabad should be assigned for the sole use of the Emperor, and its city and fortress be allotted for his residence; that a body of English should be stationed there as a guard to the Emperor's person; and that from the day of its signature, the friends and enemies of the one party should be deemed the friends and enemies of the other, and of course that their armies should be mutually assisting, in case of war and invasion, on the express condition that the party soliciting succour should defray all the charges attendant on the troops sent to his assistance.*

Such were the leading articles of the famous treaty of Allahabad, which was mutually signed and ratified on the spot by the contracting powers, but expressly stated at the time, to be subject to the final determination of Colonel Clive, who, about this time was expected in India to resume the government, with enlarged and almost unlimited powers.

For a considerable time back, indeed, dissensions had arisen to a very great height, both in England and at Calcutta, in respect to many of the transactions, which we have thus rapidly sketched,

* Hossain, sect. xi. p. 371.

dissensions that went almost to shake the existence of the Company; and no man was esteemed better able, from his profound knowledge of Indian affairs, and the concern which he had had in the exaltation of the Company to their present state of opulence and prosperity, to rectify errors, and settle matters on a permanent basis than that great warrior and statesman. Upon that account, powers thus vast and unprecedented were entrusted to him; and whatever objections may, in other respects, be urged against that great man, he certainly in this instance did not abuse them, but acted with equal circumspection and wisdom, and at the same time with a firmness and vigour that entitles him a second time to the splendid denomination of the Saviour of India. On his actual arrival shortly after, Colonel, now Lord Clive, expeditiously hastened to Allahabad, and deing decidedly of opinion, though so victorious a commander, that to extend our conquests beyond certain limits, that is to say, beyond our powers of keeping possession, both in respect to the vast expense incurred, and the number of troops necessary to be maintained for its defence, was inconsistent with sound policy; also esteeming the Vizier's dominions the firmest possible barrier against the incursion of Afghans, Mahrattas, and other barbarous hordes who had so long desolated the northern frontiers, readily consented to ratify the above treaty. Of the fifty lacks stipulated as the price of peace, one half was in a few days paid down in money, and for the security of the remaining portion, jewels of very high value were pledged with the English commanders.

Repeated interchanges of civility and mutual assurances of lasting friendship between the two parties had taken place, and the Vizier, in proof of it having given up the strong fortress of Chunar in exchange for Allahabad, which had been assigned for the residence of the Emperor, the latter set off on his return to his own

dominions; while the former remained at Allahabad to transact the important business of the DEWANNY, which has been detailed in a former page, and by which a chartered body of merchants became, in rank and wealth, equal to sovereign princes. Nor, though the daring rapacity of some individuals, and the unprincipled ambition of others, may, in a few instances, have brought disgrace upon the English character in Asia, have they ever forfeited their title to those distinguished honours; for, making those due allowances which by candour will ever be made for human passion and human frailty, and taking into consideration the magnitude and intricacy of their concerns, it may be truly affirmed that, as a body of men, their conduct has been such, AS REFLECTS CREDIT UPON THEMSELVES, AND DOES HONOUR TO THEIR COUNTRY.

FIRMAUN FROM THE KING SHAH AULUM, GRANTING THE DEWANNY OF BENGAL, BAHAR, AND ORISSA, TO THE COMPANY. DATED AUGUST 12TH, 1765.

AT this happy time, our royal firmaun, indispensably requiring obedience, is issued: that whereas, in consideration of the attachment and services of the high and mighty, the noblest of nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them the DEWANNY of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from the beginning of the Fussul Rubby of the Bengal year 1171, as a free gift and Ultumgau, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the DEWANNY, which used to be paid to the court; it is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees

a year, for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowlah Bahader, and regularly remit the same to the royal Sircar: and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, &c. we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenues of the said provinces, after remitting the sum of twenty-six lacks of rupees to the royal Sircar, and providing for the expences of the Nizamut: it is requisite that our royal descendants, the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaseddees of the DEWANNY, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever; looking upon them to be insured from dismission or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the DEWANNY, and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar of the 6th year of the Jaloos, (the 12th of August, 1765.)

FINIS.

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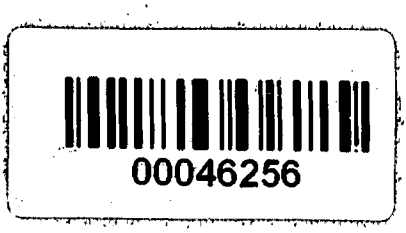
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